

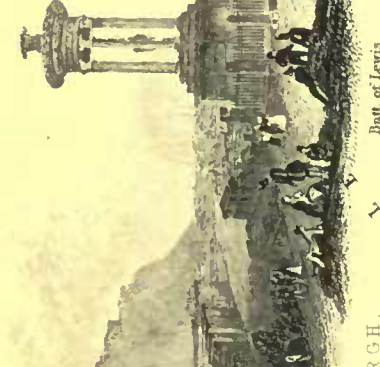


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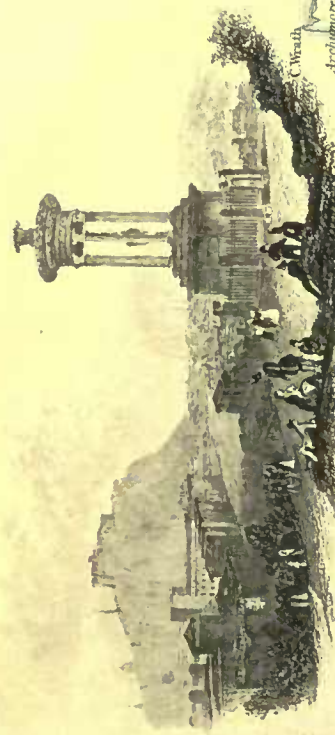
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COAST AND

SHETLAND ISLES



RELIC OF DOON & BORNS HILL



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SCOTT'S MONUMENT.

HOLYROOD HOUSE.

SCALE

SHINTY.

Longitude West from Greenwich

DEER STALKING

THE
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND,
FROM
The Earliest Period
TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY
THOMAS WRIGHT, ESQ. MA. F.S.A.

AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF IRELAND
THE UNIVERSAL PRONOUNCING DICTIONARY
&c. &c. &c.



*Encounter of King Robert Bruce and Sir Henry de Bohun
before the Battle of Bannockburn.*

Another preliminary event took place the same evening. Bruce himself, mounted upon a small horse or pony, was attentively marshalling the ranks of his vanguard. He carried a battle-axe in his hand and was distinguished to friend and enemy by a golden coronet which he wore on his helmet. A part of the English vanguard made its appearance at this time and a knight amongst them, Sir Henry de Bohun, conceiving he saw an opportunity of gaining himself much honour, and ending the Scottish war at a single blow, couched his lance, spurred his powerful war horse, and rode against the King at full career, with the expectation of bearing him to the earth by the superior strength of his charger and length of his weapon. The King, aware of his purpose, stood as if expecting the shock; but the instant before it took place, he suddenly moved his little palfrey to the left, avoided the unequal encounter, and striking the English knight with his battle-axe, as he passed him in his career, he cashed helmet and head to pieces, and laid Sir Henry de Bohun at his feet a dead man."

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THE
HISTORY

OF
S C O T L A N D;

FROM
THE EARLIEST PERIOD

TO THE
PRESENT TIME.

BY
THOMAS WRIGHT, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A.,
^{11/}
CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE,

AUTHOR OF THE "HISTORY OF IRELAND," THE "UNIVERSAL PRONOUNCING DICTIONARY," ETC., ETC.

ILLUSTRATED WITH PORTRAITS OF EMINENT SCOTSMEN AND CELEBRATED PERSONAGES
CONNECTED WITH SCOTTISH HISTORY.

VOL. I.

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P R E F A C E.

It is the object of the volumes now offered to the public to supply the general reader with a History of Scotland which shall be at the same time complete in matter and details and sufficiently popular in form, while its important points are related and investigated with as much impartiality as possible. There are so many periods in Scottish history marked by hostility of political feeling, the bitterness of which is not yet entirely forgotten, that it is difficult for a writer to enter upon them without falling more or less under the influence of party prejudices, which detract from the usefulness of most of the previous historians, who seem often to have written almost for the purpose of advocating a party or of sustaining a cause. It has been the aim of the writer of the present Work to give as far as possible a truthful narrative of facts, with as little colouring as the character of the materials will allow, and these unfortunately present too often the prejudiced impressions of those from whom we derive them without sufficient means of correcting them.

It is hardly necessary to remark that the original material of Scottish history from which we derive our information differs very much in its quantity and still more in its value, and the spirit of modern criticism has justly rejected as utterly unauthentic much which our older historians adopted without hesitation. It is hardly necessary to inform the general reader that the annals of all nations who boast of any antiquity commence in absolute fable, and that many ages of their existence passed before they were capable of transmitting to their descendants any written records of historical events, the place of which was still occupied by loose traditions, preserved orally, and so distorted and disfigured, when not absolutely displaced, that we can with difficulty make any historical use of them. We have a few scanty notices of Scotland in the Greek and Latin, and in later foreign writers, which give us occasional glimpses of the condition of the country and people who inhabited it at a very remote period, but they form no connected story. I leave the poems attributed to Ossian out of the question, for the critical discussion which these poems have undergone has so long gone strongly against

their authenticity, that it would at least be very dangerous to make any use of them in a sober history. Indeed all the native annalists of Scotland, until at least the eleventh century, inspire very little confidence, much of what they relate bearing upon its face the character of fable, while the rest can be considered as no better than vague popular traditions, the truth or falsehood of which we have no means of verifying. Of these materials I have adopted such as appear to me most trustworthy or probable, and as such only I wish them to be received by the reader. After the eleventh century, we soon find Scottish annalists who were contemporary or nearly contemporary with the events they relate, and the relations between England and Scotland, whether hostile or friendly, become so intimate, that we have frequently the narrative of the chroniclers of the one country, to check or correct that of those of the other. On such records as these last mentioned, which, though far more copious and trustworthy than anything which preceded, are still necessarily imperfect, we depend for the history of Scotland during the middle ages. With the wars of the Edwards, and the writings of Fordun, Barbour, Wyntoun, and their contemporaries and successors, Scottish history becomes first copious and satisfactory. From this time the materials of history are far more abundant, but the labour of sifting them is increased proportionally; for each writer is distinguished by his own one-sided views, and his motive for recording events is often a pique against some of those concerned in them, or the wish to panegyrisé others, or some other personal motives equally liable to make him collect stories which served his purpose without inquiring into their correctness, or intentionally to give a false or exaggerated colouring to them, or even sometimes to invent stories which had no foundation in truth.

With the commencement of the sixteenth century, another class of materials make their appearance in the State Papers, which thenceforward throw a new light on the causes and motives of public transactions. The volumes of these invaluable documents published by the English State-Paper Commission, and the printed correspondence of Sir Ralph Sadler, Henry VIII.'s ambassador to Scotland, have furnished the main portion of the history of the reign of James V., and the details in these letters are so truthful and picturesque, that I have often given them in the words of the writers. We now also begin to derive great advantage from the valuable, though not always strictly correct, contemporary history by George Buchanan. No one can justly accuse Buchanan of intentional misrepresentation, but he appears sometimes prejudiced by political or personal partialities, and his memory evidently failed and misled him in relation to some of the events which he had witnessed in earlier life.

We next arrive at an important period of Scottish history, that of the religious reformation, when the form of presbyterial church government was first

established which has continued to the present day. This Work was not intended to be an ecclesiastical history of Scotland, but the church at times acted so prominent a part in political events, and even momentarily absorbed the whole power of the state, that it is impossible to understand the civil history of the country without entering into the church history at the same time. At the moment when the presbyterians were triumphing over the catholics, but while the catholic party remained still very formidable, Mary Stuart arrived in Scotland to become the instrument of the latter, and to commence a reign of extraordinary turbulence and scandal. The character of this unfortunate princess has since become a sort of battle-ground between the catholic party and the stricter protestants, and her history has been written generally by ardent partisans who have disfigured it with special pleading and quibbling discussion from which it seems difficult to relieve it: even in the most recent life of Mary Queen of Scots which has appeared in this country, the writer has merely suppressed or rejected all the evidence against her, and exaggerated what can be said in her favour. In the history of her reign in the present Work, I have endeavoured as much as possible to let the original records tell their own tale, which appears to me to be a very simple and clear one, and I have used all the records that are accessible, not omitting even those so recently published that they have been used by no historian before. Among these materials certainly the most important are the large collection of Mary's own letters published lately in seven volumes 8vo, by Prince Labanoff; and the interesting collection of documents relating to Scotland from the archives of France, published still more recently in two enormous 4to volumes by M. Alexandre Teulet, for the Bannatyne Club. These latter documents have for the first time been made use of in the present history, and I have employed them copiously.

It was on the deposition of Mary that the Scottish church began to assume a more active position in the state, and during the earlier part of the reign of James VI., it was engaged in a constant struggle first for its patrimony and next for power, in the course of which James appears to have imbibed a settled hatred to the presbyterian form of government. After his accession to the English throne, his whole life was a continued effort to suppress presbyterianism, and introduce an episcopacy which had more of the spirit and forms of the old Romish hierarchy than was preserved even in England. His policy, persevered in by his son and successor, was especially obnoxious not only to the people, who looked with the bitterest hatred on everything that was Romish, but to the nobility, some of whom were sincerely attached to presbyterianism, and others were afraid of losing the church lands which they had obtained at the time of the Reformation, while the attempt to raise the spirit of the old faith was combined with the resolution to establish a political despotism of the most degrading description.

The consequence was a succession of unexampled struggles and sufferings, in which the church acted the most prominent part, and which ended in the overthrow of royalty. We have excellent contemporary annalists of this period, among whom stand prominent the stern presbyterian Calderwood and the episcopalian Spottiswode, both whose labours have been largely used in the present Work.

With the triumph of the parliament in its struggle against King Charles, the supreme power in Scotland fell into the hands of the church, which became so powerful that it was able almost to impose the presbyterian form of church government on England. Divisions, however, soon rose within itself, which show us how unfitted any ecclesiastical establishment is to carry on with advantage the civil government of a country. The misgovernment which followed was put an end to by Cromwell, under whom the presbyterian church was held within very strict limits. The restoration of royalty raised the hopes of the presbyterians only to disappoint them cruelly, and the reigns of the two last of the Stuarts form one of the darkest periods in the whole range of Scottish history. It is full of the deepest interest, and is sprinkled with events of the most romantic character. The church is again the great actor in it, and its more striking events have been recorded in the autobiographical writings of many of the ministers and others who outlived the sufferings of its persecutions, as well as in several valuable contemporary histories, such as the voluminous work of Woodrow, as well as in the exculpatory memoirs of many of those who had either been direct persecutors, or had at least supported and been employed under the government.

There is a mass of similar materials for the history of the period which followed the revolution of 1688, an event which brought liberty but not peace to Scotland. The cause of the exiled family found much greater sympathy in Scotland than in England, and it was predominant in the highlands, and the struggle between the Jacobites and their opponents was bitter and long-lasting. The church had then returned to its true position in the state, and, being protected from persecution, gradually relinquished its political importance; yet I have considered it necessary to give more briefly the ecclesiastical events of this period, because they seem a necessary conclusion to the history of the period which preceded it. It is gradually lost sight of in the intrigues of political party and in the struggle which ended in the act of union, a measure which was so blindly and obstinately opposed at the time, and which has been in the event so beneficial to the whole people of Scotland, as well as to England. The materials for the history of this great event are contained in the records of proceedings of the last Scottish parliament, in the correspondence and private papers of the leading men engaged in it, and in the printed pamphlets of the time.

The union strengthened the supreme government by destroying the subordinate one, and as the latter had stood in the way of all effectual improvement, an entirely new era was now opened to Scotland. Jacobitism was expelled from its chief field of intrigue, and, driven to desperation, it now ran into more dangerous courses, which ended in the rebellion of 1745. This last-mentioned event, while it brought for a moment immense sufferings on the kingdom, conferred a lasting benefit by the destruction of the old turbulent feudalism of the highlands. From this time the prosperity of Scotland went on increasing steadily and rapidly, and the union became so complete that Scotland can henceforth be hardly considered as possessing a history separate from that of Great Britain. I have endeavoured in the following pages to trace in detail the course of all the previous events and revolutions, and I might have stopped here but for later events of a sufficiently remarkable character to fix the attention of the historian. The Scottish church had, since "forty-five," run in its course quietly, without interfering in general politics, until, but a few years ago, a spirit arose in it which led first to a collision with the civil courts, and then to a lamentable division in the church itself. The church thus for a moment assumed a place in history to overlook which would have been an imperfection in a work like the present, but I have endeavoured to give a simple detail of facts without advocating either one side or the other in events which are within the memory of every one. It forms a necessary and appropriate conclusion to the History of Scotland.

THOMAS WRIGHT.

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK I.

SCOTLAND DURING THE FIRST THIRTEEN CENTURIES OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

CHAPTER I.

CONDITION OF SCOTLAND WHEN FIRST KNOWN TO THE ROMANS; CAMPAIGNS OF AGRICOLA; BATTLE OF THE GRAMPIANS.

At the period when Britain was invaded by Julius Cæsar, it was inhabited by a variety of separate and independent tribes, which were not all of the same race or equally civilised. The population of the wooded districts in the interior was naturally wilder and more barbarous than the inhabitants of the maritime parts, which were, from an early period, in continual intercourse with the still more cultivated peoples of Gaul, and the forests and mountains of the north must have harboured a race less civilised than either. The Romans, after the expedition under Claudius, spent nearly forty years in subduing the southern Britons, before they came in contact with the Caledonians. In the year 80 of the Christian era, Julius Agricola first carried the Roman arms into what is now termed Scotland, and subjugated the country south of the narrow isthmus formed by the Clyde and the Forth.

A late admirable writer on Scottish antiquities* has attempted to give us a picture of the physical appearance of Caledonia at the time of Agricola's invasion, by supposing a primeval traveller embarked on a journey of exploration. He lands him on the northern shore of the Solway, prepared, in the spirit of adventure, to pene-

trate the unexplored regions in his front, and to meet the rude native in the forest village. Standing near the mouth of the Nith, he would find himself on the borders of a swampy labyrinth, covered by a thick wood, extending inland over that now fertile country where lies the town of Dumfries. To the left was situated a rough hilly district, the modern Kirkcudbright and Wigton shires, abounding in streams and lakes; and, if we may judge from the character of its inhabitants, inaccessible and stern; while, on the right, stretching away towards the German Ocean, lay a continuation of this mountain country, thickly interspersed with groves of trees, and probably intersected here and there by ranges of morassy pasture-land. Had our tourist advanced through that region, directing his course to the eastward, he would, in his progress, have emerged upon the plains of Berwickshire, a less repulsive country than any he had yet passed—where the superabundant moisture lay upon a rich soil, and where the lower basin of the Tweed, like a green oasis in the wild, could not fail to arrest his eye; but, instead, he is supposed to have pushed on to the interior, and to have descended by the vale of Clyde into the territories of the Damnii,

* The late Robert Stuart, of Glasgow, in his *Caledonia Romana: a Descriptive Account of the Roman Antiquities of Scotland*, a very meritorious

publication on this subject. The most learned dissertations on the earlier periods of Scottish history will be found in the *Caledonia* of Chalmers.

at once the most powerful, and, perhaps, also the least barbarous of the northern tribes. His course, through Nithsdale, and among the dreary uplands of the Clyde, must have presented a tolerable accumulation of the various obstacles which fettered the powers of locomotion, in those primitive times. After forcing his way with difficulty for some distance through wood and jungle, he arrived within what may properly be called the Lowlands of Scotland—generally understood to extend from the hilly district on the border to the great northern barrier of the Grampians; for, although crossed in several directions by various chains of minor elevation, such as the Lammermoor, the Ochil, and the Campsie hills, they comprise, in the abstract, a greater extent of plain and of arable land than any other district in the country. Here, over a wide range of territory, dwelt the important tribe, to which the Romans gave the name of *Damnii*; and we may presume that the nature of their possessions was comparatively fertile—for, if any of those native elans were more powerful than another, the superiority must probably have arisen either from the strong and inaccessible situation of their possessions, which gave them a double confidence in war, or from the more fertile quality of the lands they occupied, the numbers of their wandering herds, and the attendant spread of a population proud of its wealth, and powerful to defend it. As, therefore, the country of the *Damnii* was not by nature strong, the importance of that tribe must undoubtedly be ascribed to this last-mentioned reason—a productive soil and a numerous people. Descending by the banks of the Clyde, and passing over into what are now the counties of Renfrew and Ayr, the traveller would probably find himself in one of the most pleasant districts of North Britain—wild and sterile, perhaps, when compared with the plains of Kent and Sussex, or with the other regions of southern England—but highly attractive, when viewed in common with the general aspect of the country around. Here, in all likelihood, the almost interminable forest gave way to extensive plains, covered with indigenous grasses, heath, or reeds, according to the nature of the soil, the presence of stagnant water, or other local circumstances. From the Clyde, eastward, as far as the Firth of Forth, and down to the green plains of Berwick, the

country was, no doubt, much covered with wood, and its surface in general but little exposed to the light of day. On its eastern side dwelt the *Gadeni* and *Otadeni*, two considerable tribes, whose possessions extended southward into Northumberland, and who, perhaps, towards the north, occupied the best part of the country which lies upon the estuary of the Forth. Beyond the isthmus of the Forth and Clyde lay the great forest of *Celyddon*, which gave, in the Celtic dialect, its name to the Western Highlands, and which, when altered by the Romans to *Caledonia*, became the designation of the whole country situated to the north of the wall of *Antoninus*. From the district of *Athol*, in *Perthshire*, it spread over the mountainous interior as far as the county of *Sutherland*, descending on the west coast to the peninsula of *Cantire*, and thence stretching eastward to the banks of *Loch Lomond*. Impervious, from the thick growth of trees and underwood, it was, we are told, infested with wolves, wild bulls, and boars; and, according to some accounts, the grizzly bear had even been known to revel within its dark recesses. Bleak, craggy mountains, and dismal swamps of great extent, may have afforded some variety to the landscape, although they added nothing to its attractions. Within those forbidding wilds, however, a considerable population seems to have existed in early times; and, from the many *Druidical* remains discovered in that part of the country, it appears evident that its inhabitants were not entirely savages. Leaving on his left this region, the adventurer may be supposed to have proceeded by *Strathern* to the *Tay*, and thence along the eastern sea-coast towards the extremity of the island. Throughout the first part of his progress, the way was probably beset with many difficulties—the rich alluvial valley drained by the *Ern* being then, in all likelihood, widely covered with woods and thickets; but whenever he approached the sea, beyond what are now the boundaries of *Perthshire*, the scene would materially change, and the hitherto abundant vegetation give place to a long extent of open moorland country, for such appears to have been the general aspect of that part of Scotland, from the mouth of the *Tay* as far as the *Moray Firth*—an extensive track, naturally bleak and sterile, from its exposure to the keen blasts which swept the German Ocean. The course of the explorer would close on the

coast of Nairn or Banff, for little more was open to his curiosity in this remote corner of the world. The northern part of the island, Sutherland and Caithness, was, in ancient times, nothing but an immense morass, here and there covered by trees.

The population of the wild districts thus described must have been small in comparison of the extent of country they occupied. Possessing in common the general characteristics of the Celtic race, they were separated into a number of different tribes, ruled by a diversity of laws or customs, and capable of uniting only under the pressure of extraordinary circumstances. The Roman writers speak of them all as living in the most degraded state of barbarism, but we find nothing that is definite in their accounts, which apparently owe much to the imaginations of the writers. So little indeed is known of the manners of the early inhabitants of North Britain, or of the exact degree of civilization which existed among them, that it would not be to our purpose here to enter upon an investigation of them.

From the geography of Ptolemy and the topographical notes of Richard of Cirencester, we learn the names of twenty-one different native tribes inhabiting North Britain. First of these were the Otadeni, inhabiting the whole extent of coast from the Tyne to the Firth of Forth, including a large portion of Northumberland, with the modern counties of Berwick and East Lothian, and part of Roxburghshire. Next to them were the Gadeni, who occupied the west part of Northumberland, the small part of Cumberland north of the Irthing, the west part of Roxburghshire, the whole of the county of Selkirk, with Tweeddale, much of Mid-Lothian, and nearly all West Lothian. The Selgovæ inhabited Annandale, Nithsdale, and Eskdale, in the county of Dumfries, with the east part of Galloway, as far as the river Dee. The Novantes inhabited the remainder of Galloway, having the Solway Firth on the south, and the chain of hills which separate Galloway from Carrick on the north. The Damnii, already mentioned, inhabited the whole extent of country from the ridge of the hills just mentioned to the river Ern on the north, comprehending all Strathclyde, the counties of Ayr, Renfrew, and Stirling, and a small part of those of Dumbarton, and Perth.

These five tribes inhabited the district

south of the Forth and the Clyde, the only portion of Scotland ever occupied with any permanency by the Romans. Beyond these lay, first, the Horestii, who held the district between the Forth—the *Bodotria* of the Roman geographers—and the Tay, comprehending the counties of Clackmannan, Kinross, and Fife, with the eastern part of Strathern, and the country to the west of the Tay as far as the river Brand. The Venricones occupied Gowrie, Strathmore, Stormont, and Strathardle in Perthshire, the whole of Angus, and the larger part of Kincardineshire, having the river Carron for their northern limit. The northern part of the Mearns, and all Aberdeenshire on that side of the Doveran, were inhabited by the Taixali. From the Doveran on the east to the Ness on the west, lay the Vacomagi, who possessed the shires of Banff, Elgin, and Nairn, with the east part of Inverness, and Braemar in Aberdeenshire. The Albani held the modern districts of Braidalban, Athol, with part of Lochaber, and Appin and Glenorchy in Upper Lorn. A part of Argyleshire, and the greater part of Dumbartonshire was inhabited by the Attacotti. The tribe known particularly by the name of Caledonii inhabited the whole of the interior country from the ridge of mountains separating Inverness and Perth northward to the forest of Balnagowan, including all the middle parts of Inverness and Ross. This district formed the ancient forest of Celyddon. The Cantæ inhabited the east of Ross, from the estuary of Varar on the south, to the *Abona*, or Dornoch Firth, on the north. The south-eastern coast of Sutherland was inhabited by the Logi, whose country extended from the *Abona* to the *Avon-Uile*, the *Ila* of the ancients. Beyond this river the Carnabii occupied the south, east, and north-east of Caithness. The small tribe of the Catini inhabited the north-west corner of Caithness, and the eastern half of Strathnaver in Sutherlandshire. The interior of the county last-mentioned was peopled by the Mertæ. Next to them were the Caronacæ, inhabiting the north and west coast of Sutherland, and a small part of the western coast of Ross. The west coast of Ross was inhabited by a tribe named the Creones, said to have been remarkably fierce. Another tribe, almost identical in name, the Cerones, inhabited the whole west coast of Inverness and the countries of Ardnachurehan, Morven, Sunart, and Ard-

gowar, in Argyleshire. The neck of land now known by name of Cantyre, was the district of the Epidii.

Agricola having, in the year 79, reduced to submission the whole of the north of England, to what is now considered the Scottish border, prepared, towards the summer of the year 80, to invade the territory of the Caledonian tribes, with an army amounting probably to not less than twenty-five or thirty thousand men. A Scottish antiquary already quoted, has endeavoured to trace the movements of the invaders by the vestiges of military occupation still remaining, and supposes that the Roman army either advanced in two divisions—the one keeping to the left through the county of Dumfries, and the other marching eastward into Roxburgh and Berwick; or that the entire force pushed forward upon one only of those routes, proceeding in two columns, the first a day's march or more ahead of the other. He arrives at this conclusion by an examination of the remains of Roman camps, which have been, or which still can be, traced in the south of Scotland, many of which may, with great probability, be ascribed to the troops of Agricola, when it is considered that by no other route could he, without almost insurmountable difficulty, have penetrated the hilly regions of the Scottish border:—"The existence of those military works does not, however, enable us to determine whether the Roman forces entered the country by a simultaneous movement, east and west, or only on one particular line of march. But if their formation may be ascribed to the period in question, they plainly point out the course followed by the invaders, and likewise show that the whole army could not have advanced in an united body, as none of those camps have been thought capable of containing a greater number than ten or twelve thousand men. Finding the remains of such entrenched works upon both routes, it might, at first sight, appear certain that Agricola had directed his march by the two approaches. But as it appears that the same general, on more than one occasion, led back a part of his forces into England, it is possible that some of those mentioned were the camps raised on his return. To be brief, however, it seems not improbable Agricola had found it necessary to divide his forces in traversing a country exceedingly barren of supplies, and that in consequence he directed their advance by the two separate routes already

alluded to. The right-hand column, crossing the shire of Roxburgh, may be supposed to have proceeded by the vale of the Leader, towards the level districts on the Forth, now forming part of the counties of Edinburgh, Linlithgow, and Stirling; while the opposite division approached perhaps the same point along the plain of Annandale, and the valley of the Clyde. On the first of these tracks only one encampment has been discovered, which can properly be ascribed to Agricola; on the latter three, all of them about the same size, and very similar in form; in this respect differing considerably from any other field-works of the Romans which have been traced in those districts of the country. The first is situated at Channel Kirk, in the north-west corner of Berwickshire; the others in succession on Torwood Moor, near Lockerby, at Tassiesholm, not far from Moffat, and at Cleghorn, in the vicinity of Carstairs. These must form, however, but the links of a broken chain; for estimating the march of the Romans, through an uncultivated country, at the rate of fourteen miles a day, it is certain that the two divisions of this force must have entrenched themselves at several other places along their line of march into the interior of Scotland. Besides the camps now mentioned, some others equally large have been discovered in the same districts; but they differ very much in construction from those ascribed to Agricola, and to all appearance are the works of a later period, when as great a change had crept into the field arrangement of the Romans, as into the efficiency of their ancestral discipline. The column which marched by Annandale must necessarily have found its motions greatly confined, until it *debouched* from the mountain passes south of Biggar. While the other division, crossing a more open country, and tempted perhaps by the promising aspect of the Lowlands on the Tweed, may have frequently sent out exploratory parties to survey the country, or to communicate with the fleet, which, it is supposed, at this time accompanied along our eastern shores the march of the land forces. But on neither side could the retreats of the North British tribes be penetrated, without much labour on the part of their invaders; besides having to struggle with the natural obstacles of the country, they had likewise to encounter all the rigours of a very stormy season."

The natives were probably taken by sur-

prise, and struck with a general panic; for some time at least they seem neither to have attempted the reprisals of a desultory resistance, nor to have had the daring to hazard a battle. Agricola meanwhile continued to advance, securing the country as he went, by erecting numerous forts, in which he placed garrisons, provided in case of necessity to support a protracted siege. The vestiges of many such intrenched situations, or *castra stativa* of the smaller class, still exist; all of them exceedingly well situated, in a military point of view. Agricola appears to have extended his conquests this year as far as the Forth, and it is even probable that some of his detached parties pushed forward to the Tay. Having penetrated thus far into the country, and made himself acquainted with the districts extending westward to the Clyde, and the neck of land dividing that river from the Forth, the practised eye of the Roman leader could not fail to be struck with the advantage presented by the isthmus in his front, as the base of another line of defence, similar to that which he had the year before established across the country of the Brigantes farther to the south. Here he judged it expedient to set a temporary limit to the advancement of his schemes; and he returned, it is believed, to the south, with a portion of his troops, leaving the remainder to execute in his absence the various military works which his genius had designed. The natives, who had fled on the approach of the legions, now recovered sufficient courage to attack the forts which were left in the rear; but the ill-directed efforts of a comparatively undisciplined people were employed in vain against the strong entrenchments and the well-concerted resistance of the Roman detachments. Disappointed, therefore, in those attempts, and expecting perhaps that the enemy would abandon their territories on the approach of winter, the inhabitants seem to have retired to the mountains, or to the deepest recesses of the forests.

According to the brief narrative of Tacitus, Agricola, in the fifth summer of his command, (A.D. 82), embarked in the first Roman vessel that ever crossed the estuary, and, having penetrated into regions till then unknown, he defeated the inhabitants in several engagements, and lined the coast which lies opposite to Ireland with forts and troops. Some authors have understood this passage to mean, that the Roman gene-

ral took shipping on the Clyde, descending thence upon Knapdale and Cantire; but the more generally received opinion is, that the scene of this invasion lay in the counties of Kirkcudbright, Wigton, and Ayr. Some imagine that the estuary which he crossed was that of the Clyde, and that he thence marched inland to the south-west; but others have maintained, that his passage was more probably over the Solway Firth, from the shores of which he is supposed to have invaded the districts of Galloway and Carrick. "When Agricola entered North Britain, two years before, he had left this track of country unexplored; it therefore now became, in an important degree, necessary that he should endeavour to establish some check on its inhabitants, before he ventured to lead his army beyond the Forth. On that account, nothing seems more probable than that his attention should have been directed to this quarter, and that after having spent the preceding winter in England, he, in the spring of the year 82, assembled a powerful array of troops, with which to increase his army in the north for active service, and landed at their head in some of the bays of Galloway; accompanied in his enterprise by a Roman fleet, which then, for the first time, appeared on the waters of the Solway. Had he, on the contrary, first rejoined the forces stationed on the isthmus, and thence advanced into Ayrshire, it is difficult to understand why he should have taken the trouble to provide a vessel for the expedition: for, commanding, as he did, the right bank of the Clyde, he could have experienced no great difficulty in crossing that river, and traversing the comparatively level county of Renfrew, towards the coast which 'lay opposite to Ireland.' He may indeed have sailed down the Clyde, and thus effected his object; but this could scarcely be called 'crossing' an estuary: and as to his having ever troubled the natives of Cantire, the scepticism of general Roy seems very excusable indeed. If, however, we adopt the supposition that Agricola embarked from Cumberland, and landed, as has been supposed, near the mouth of the Loekar, in Dumfries-shire, we shall have him in the territories of the Selgovæ, a warlike people, who may, perhaps, have acquired much of their ardent character from the nature of their country, for the most part exceedingly rugged, and widely intersected by lakes and rivers. Marching inland from their point of de-

barkation, the Roman troops must have, in the first instance, forced their way through the forest which covered what is now the Lochar-moss, and having crossed the Nith, not far from Dumfries, they advanced, in all probability, on a south-westerly course, as far as the modern town of Wigton. Hitherto the progress of Agricola through Scotland had been without opposition; but, unlike their fellow-countrymen to the eastward, the ancient inhabitants of Galloway seem to have 'girt them' for the fight; and to them is due the honour of having first ventured to meet the Roman legions in battle. In the midst of defeat they frequently renewed the struggle for independence; and, when no longer able to face the heavy-armed cohorts in the field, they retired to the high lands, within the recesses of the forest, and fortified themselves upon their summits against the enemy's approach. So much we may gather, at least, from the page of the historian, and from an antiquarian survey of the district possessed by the warriors of the Selgovæ. From the Nith to the Dee, along the southern part of Kircudbrightshire, on almost every hill-top adapted for defensive position, the remains of British hill-forts have been observed: and what strongly confirms the opinion that a Roman army had, in that quarter, been opposed by the natives, is, that in close proximity to many of those British strongholds, the distinct traces of Roman camps may be perceived, apparently raised as checks on the native garrisons; as if their invaders, finding them too strongly posted for assault, had been obliged to entrench themselves in their neighbourhood, for the purpose of watching their movements, or with the intention of reducing them by famine. It cannot, indeed, be distinctly proved that these encampments had been occupied by the troops of Agricola; yet, many circumstances favour the supposition that such was actually the case. Before his recall from the government of Britain, that able commander had, undoubtedly, made himself master of all that part of the country which is situated to the southward of the Forth and Clyde; how otherwise could he have thought of invading Ireland, or have carried the bulk of his army to the base of the Grampian hills? And as Tacitus informs us that much fighting occurred before he occupied the coasts of the Irish channel, what can be more likely than that the district of Galloway was the scene of the

Roman march of their fifth expedition, and that those curiously-placed camps we have just referred to should, in many instances, have been the consequences of its occurrence, and the witnesses of the succeeding strife? As was to be expected, the gallant resistance of the Selgovæ availed them nothing. The trained Velites were equal adepts with themselves in bush-fighting; the heavy infantry of the legions superior to all opposition; while hunger assailed them within their walls; till, deprived of every hope, the fortune-deserted Britons were compelled to yield obedience to the Roman power. Beyond the Selgovæ, on the west, lay the Novantes, a tribe, which Agricola must have likewise subdued in his campaign; and when that object was effected, he probably advanced through Ayrshire, towards the Clyde, to form a junction with his forces on the isthmus; or, according to another view of the question, he may again have bent his steps to the eastward, descending to the low country by Lanark, and the beautiful valley of the lower Clyde. The fleet which had conveyed him over the Solway, if it be the same we heard of in the following year, must, in the meantime, have returned to the south of England, and have rounded the Land's End, to winter, it is probable, upon the coast of Kent, whither, at all events, we find it retiring, for the same purpose, on a subsequent occasion. It is not known whether Agricola left any part of his forces behind him, in occupation of the districts he had thus overrun, or whether he compelled the inhabitants to deliver hostages as a guarantee of their submission. In all likelihood he adopted the latter course, anxious to assemble as large an army as possible on his northern frontier, with the intention of leading it to farther conquest on the advance of the following spring. With this view, the chief part of his troops would, perhaps, pass the succeeding winter in the neighbourhood of the Forth, where supplies could easily be obtained by sea."

When the advancing spring of the year 83 enabled Agricola again to take the field, he prepared to explore the country beyond the Forth. He could, in general, have but an imperfect knowledge of the region he was about to enter, and, unacquainted with the number or character of the people with whom he would have to contend, he appears to have prepared against whatever resistance might be op-

posed to him, by so taking his measures, that all the means at his disposal should be most effectually brought into play. He assembled a fleet in the Firth of Forth, to act in union with the land forces, and with it transported his army into Fife. "Such is believed, at least, to have been the opening of his sixth campaign; and we have every reason to suppose that this was the actual course of procedure which Agricola followed. Supposing, with Sir R. Sibbald, that the Roman troops crossed at Queensferry, they must have turned to the right, and advanced, in the first instance, along the coast; for Tacitus reports, that the fleet advanced for some time in sight of the army, and that the soldiery and marines frequently met in the same camp, glorying to recount among themselves their several tales of peril and adventure. This statement leads us to infer that Agricola kept his ships in immediate communication with himself, until scouts had examined the interior, and enabled him to decide both in respect to his own motions, and as to the duties on which the service of the fleet could be best employed." The Caledonian tribes were now, however, aroused to a sense of their danger, and had laid aside the animosities which interfered with their joint assemblage in arms. The Roman commander had reason to believe that a general confederacy of the natives was forming against him; and knowing this, he ordered his ships to proceed round the coast of Fife, to survey from the sea the country through which he probably intended to march. From the statements of some Britons who had fallen into their hands, the Romans learnt that the appearance of the fleet had given the greatest alarm to the natives; they believed that the sea, their last means of escape, was to be effectually shut against them; and in this extremity, seeing the invading army had crossed the Forth, they made a sudden attempt to surprise the forts erected on the isthmus, but without success. The daring character of the attack was sufficient to create uneasiness among the officers of Agricola, some of whom were timorous enough to counsel a return to the southern side of the Firth. This advice, however, ill accorded with the bold designs which had been formed in the able and vigorous mind of their leader, who determined to advance; and learning that the Caledonians were preparing to assail him in force, he appears to have lost no time in pushing forward to meet them. He

divided his army, and advanced in three columns, adopting this course, in order to divert the attention of the enemy, and to avoid being surrounded by their superior numbers. These several divisions appear to have marched at the distance of from eight to ten miles apart, one of them consisting of the ninth legion, then the weakest of the Roman army. In the advance, this legion had been obliged to encamp on unfavourable ground, environed by woods and marshes. In the dead of night, a sudden attack was made on it: the advanced guard was surprised; the sentinels were put to the sword; and, before the soldiery had time to recover from the panic of the moment, the shouts of the infuriated Britons were heard within the walls of the camp. But, in spite of the suddenness of the attack, the self-possession of the legionaries did not desert them, and, animated by the *prestige* of a victorious name, they met the enemy with unflinching courage, and there was a long and bloody struggle within the entrenchments. Agricola had suspected the intentions of the enemy, and had hastened forward with his own division to support the threatened legion. As he approached the scene of conflict, he learnt the danger in which a portion of his force was involved, and ordered his light infantry, and the swiftest of his horse, to make a detour, and assail the enemy in the rear, while, with the remainder of his forces, he hastened in person to relieve the camp. On his arrival, about day-break, the combat was still raging in all its fury; but the shouts of their approaching comrades, and the sight of their standards, gave new courage to the beleaguered cohorts, who had hitherto been able to act only on the defensive. The Caledonians had fought with the greatest ardour and determination, and even after the arrival of Agricola with his reinforcements, they were slow to abandon the contest. For some time, the battle continued to be maintained in the very gateways of the camp, until, finding themselves attacked on all sides, the Britons at length gave way, and sought shelter among the neighbouring thickets and morasses.

"The locality of this daring assault has been sought for by some authors on the banks of the river Erne, in the vicinity of Comrie; but if we are to suppose the districts of Fife and Kinross to have been the scene of Agricola's operations during the sixth year of his command, we must certainly look to the southward of the

Ochil hills for the position occupied by the ninth legion on the occasion referred to. Throughout the few sections of his work in which the Roman historian alludes to the incidents of this campaign, we meet with several particulars which give weight to the conjecture that the forces of Agricola were, at that period, employed in a country immediately adjoining to the sea, and that they were indeed frequently quartered upon the very coast. We find it stated, for instance, that on many occasions the fleet and army were enabled to act in concert, that the soldiery and marines were often encamped together, and that it was owing to the presence of the vessels of war, which seemed to banish every prospect of escape, that the natives were roused to attempt the desperate hazard of assailing the Roman camps. All this is adverse to the idea of an inland field of operation; and if we add to those details, that, after the attack on the ninth legion, the mass of the Roman forces demanded to be led into the interior of the country, while shortly before, some of his officers had anxiously recommended that Agricola should, for security, recross the Forth, we cannot but think that the peninsula of Fife may be justly regarded as having been the principal scene of his transactions at this period of his command. It is by no means probable, that the Roman army was, at that time, so divided, as to be able to act on two separate points, widely distant from each other; or even that, when united, it would be pushed rashly forward into the remote and difficult recesses of the country; for it must be remembered, that the whole tribes of the north were then in alliance to oppose the progress of the invaders: and it may, therefore, very properly be inferred, that, under such circumstances, the advance of the Roman forces would, more than ever, be conducted with caution. The words of this biographer would seem, indeed, to imply, that the march of Agricola was, on this occasion, a very guarded one. He was careful, no doubt, to drive the enemy from the coverts around him, and to establish fortified posts as he went along. All this required considerable time; and taking into account what must have been the limited duration of a Caledonian summer, it is probable that the Romans had, during its continuance, quite sufficient to engage their attention in making good the positions they held to the south of the Ochils; although it is possible enough that some of their ad-

vanced parties did, that season, penetrate as far as the valley of the Erne—the first, perhaps, to break ground at Ardoch, and to commence the works of the important station which was eventually constructed there. On a general view of the question, and in accordance with the opinions of many others, we are inclined to believe that the attack on the ninth legion occurred in the neighbourhood of Lochore, two miles to the southward of Lochleven, in the county of Fife; and that in the remains of an ancient encampment, existing some years ago in that locality, were to be seen the last traces of the *valla* which had been defended against the night assault of the Caledonian Britons. The thickets which afforded shelter to their retiring parties are no more; but a large morass still exists in the vicinity, in which many remains of an ancient forest have been discovered."

In the summer of the year 84, Agricola made his last campaign against the Caledonians, in which he contemplated the entire subjection of the interior of the country. He began by sending his fleet to sail round the northern parts of the island, and alarm the enemy by repeated descents on different parts of the coast. He then advanced with his army, in which some of the Britons of the south now served as auxiliaries under the banners of Rome. They found the Caledonian warriors to the number of about thirty thousand men, drawn up on the declivity of the Grampian hills, where the different tribes had assembled to make unitedly their last stand for their native liberties. Fresh accessions were daily made to their strength by the arrival of new levies, or of warriors from more distant tribes who had not had time to send them sooner. They had chosen for their commander a chief named Galgaenus, celebrated among the Caledonian clans for his high birth and personal courage. To oppose to these, Agricola had eleven thousand auxiliaries, eight thousand foot and three thousand horse, with about four thousand legionaries. With the usual Roman policy, the weight of the battle was thrown upon the auxiliaries, whose foot was drawn up in front, flanked on both sides by the three thousand horse, with the legionaries in the rear, to carry assistance wherever it might be needed. But the enemy was so greatly superior in numbers, that the Roman army could not be drawn up in its usual compact form, without exposing it to the danger of

being surrounded by the multitude of assailants; to prevent which Agricola placed the troops with intervals between them, thus extending his flanks by weakening the centre. He refused to listen to those officers who advised him to strengthen the centre, by bringing up the legionaries in reserve, but he showed at once his courage and his confidence in the result, by sending away his horse, and taking his post on foot in front of the eagle.

Before the battle, the two hostile leaders addressed their men in encouraging language, and the historian Tacitus has put into their mouths measured speeches, which are however, probably nothing more than rhetorical flourishes of the historian.* The Caledonians responded to the exhortations of their chief, according to their usual custom, with war-songs and fearful shouts,

* The following are the concluding words of the speech of Galgacus, as given by Tacitus:—

“Do you think,” he said, “that the Romans are as brave in war as they are licentious in peace? Their success has proceeded from our dissension; they always turn the faults of their enemies to the glory of their own arms. Their armies have been drawn from different nations, and are held together only by success: the first touch of adversity will disperse them, unless we acknowledge that Gauls, Germans, and—I blush to speak it—most of the Britons also, have been so well trained to fidelity during a short and recent servitude, that they have forgotten the long struggle which they made in the cause of independence. But this is not the case; fear and dread are their only ties, and these are but weak bonds of fidelity; once remove them, and hatred will begin when fear has ended. But further, everything which can add charms to victory is on our side. The Romans have no wives to encourage them; no fathers to upbraid them if they run away; most of them have no country to care for, or at all events one that is far away. So few are they in number, and so alarmed by continued watching, that it seems as if God had given them up into our hands; heaven and earth fight against them; everything is new and unknown to them; an unknown climate and strange sea, and strange forests, in the depths of which they are held fast to become our prisoners. Do not be frightened at outward show—the shine of their gold and silver cannot save them, or do harm to us. Besides, we shall find friends in their own ranks; the British levies will hail a cause which is their own; the Gauls will remember their ancient liberty, and all the other Germans will desert, as did the Usipians a little while ago. Let us conquer these who are before us, and nothing remains to alarm us; nothing but ungarrisoned castles, colonies of old men; what with a disaffected people, and tyrannical governors, the Roman municipalities in Britain are in a weak and distracted state. Here we have a general to lead us on, and an army fit for fighting; with them you will meet with nothing but taxes to pay, mines to work, and all the rest of those burdens which are laid on slaves; and whether you will submit to such a fate for ever, or for ever be

and then they began to gall the Romans with a shower of arrows. The Roman missiles produced far less effect on the Caledonians, who warded them off with their small shields, and often parried them with their long broad-swords. Agricola saw how his own troops were embarrassed by this mode of distant combat, and he chose three troops of Batavians, and three of Tungrians, and ordered them to close in with the enemies. The arms of the Caledonians were ill-fitted for close fight, while the troops now employed against them were accustomed to it by long experience. Every thrust told on the faces and bodies of the Britons, who were so closely crowded together, that they could hardly give a blow in return, and the Batavians drove the confused mass over the plain, and up the side of the hill; while the other cohorts, seeing

released from it, depends upon the issue of this day's battle. When, therefore, you advance against the enemy, think of your noble ancestors, think of your children who will come after you.”

Agricola is represented as speaking as follows:—“It is now the eighth year, brave companions in arms, since your valour and fidelity, seconding the good fortune of the Roman empire, have reduced Britain to subjection. Through all the numberless expeditions and battles you have been engaged in, the bravery and toilsome perseverance you have shewn in encountering not only the enemy, but even nature herself, I have had no cause to repent of my soldiers, nor you of your general. We have, both of us, outdone all who have gone before us; no general or army has ever passed so far beyond the usual bounds, as we have done, and here we are on the furthest extremity of Britain, which we are actually occupying with our camp, and not according to the mere fictions of public report. When you were on your march hither, and harassed by the marshes, rivers, and mountains which impeded your path, have I not heard you cry out, ‘When shall we see the enemy; when shall we be brought to battle?’ Now you see the enemy before you, driven from their retreat, and forced to fight; now, then, you have a fair field on which to exert your valour; all will depend upon the result of this day's battle—all will be smooth, if you gain the victory; all disastrous, if you are defeated. For, as so much ground got over, so many woods cleared, so many estuaries crossed, upon the way to glory and honour—all that now seems advantageous will prove the more fatal to our retreat. We are not so well acquainted with the country as our enemies, or equally supplied with provisions; so that we have no resource but in our arms and weapons. For myself, I have long since decided, that neither general nor army can ever find safety in flight. An honourable death is better than a life of disgrace; and safety and glory are but one common cause. If we fall, it will be no disgrace to die here, on the confines of nature and of the world.

“But, further, if it were a new foe that we had to contend with, and a strange nation that we were

the success of the Batavians, were excited to follow their example, and the whole line rushed upon the enemy. The violence of this general charge carried all before it; but it was not so fatal to the Caledonians as it might have been, for they were borne down and prostrated on the ground, many of them but slightly wounded, and many not wounded at all. The light war-chariots peculiar to these British warriors, and which had been so formidable in their domestic wars, were useless against the disciplined and steady troops now opposed to them, and dragged about by the horses without plan or guidance, they only served to increase the general embarrassment and confusion.

The main body of the Caledonians still remained untouched on the heights overlooking the plain, and despising the comparatively small army of their assailants, they now made a lateral movement on each side to outflank and surround them. Agricola had foreseen this contingency, and four *ale*, or troops of horse, reserved for this purpose, charged the advancing multitude, and after a short contest dispersed them. The stratagem of the Caledonians was thus fatal to themselves; for the advantages of concentrated numbers in their main body had been thrown away in unavailing attacks upon the extremities of the Roman position, and the British centre was now too weak to offer further resistance. The scene had now become fearful; the whole plain was covered with pursuers and pursued, here fighting in groups, there yielding and making prisoners, and ever as the small parties of the victors made new captives, more than they could manage, they slew those first taken, lest they should escape to swell new armies of enemies. The ground was everywhere strewn with arms and carcases, and the flight of the fugitives was marked by a track of blood, until they found an asylum in the forests. There they resumed their courage, and collecting in a body, fell unexpectedly on the foremost of their pursuers, who were surrounded in a moment, and in danger of invading, I should point out to you the deeds of other armies, and exhort you to follow their example; but now I have no need to do so. Look back on your own brave deeds, and then ask your own eyes, who are the enemy before you? These are the same people who attacked your camp last year by night, and fled at the first sound of your shouts; these are those tribes who have always run away from us, and to this it is owing that they have baffled us so long. Like hunters, we have beaten the woods and forests of Britain, until we destroyed all the noble game, and none remain,

being overwhelmed. But Agricola was prepared for this contingency also, and he detached some strong and active cohorts to scour the country and beat the woods, ordering part of the cavalry also to dismount and pursue the enemy in the woods, while other parties of horse scoured the open country. The Roman army was thus saved from the partial disasters which might have been caused by their rashness and confidence; while the new ardour of the Britons was discouraged when they saw their hopes baffled by the Roman discipline. They no longer kept together in bodies, but each endeavoured, as he best could, to gain the wildest and most inaccessible parts of the forests. Night and fatigue put an end to the pursuit. About ten thousand of the Caledonians lay dead upon the field, although the loss of the Romans amounted only to three hundred and sixty. Among these was a brave young officer, Aulus Atticus, prefect of a cohort, who was carried by his own ardour and the impetuosity of his horse into the midst of the enemy.

The victors passed the night beside the field of battle, exulting in the great victory they had gained. They heard the movements and lamentations of the Britons, who came to carry off their more distinguished dead, or to seek their friends who lay wounded; and they saw the fires of the surrounding districts, where the natives were actively engaged in burning their houses, and such of their property as they could not easily carry away. In some instances, we are told, despair drove them to the extremity of putting to death their wives and children before they abandoned their homes. Next morning, the full extent of their victory was revealed to the conquerors. Everywhere reigned a profound silence; the hills themselves were deserted, and the scouts, sent out in every direction, found no traces of inhabitants except the smouldering ruins of their residences. Meeting thus no longer with an enemy to contend with, and the season being ad-

but the cowardly and inactive, whom the bare noise of the hunters has scared into those remote regions. Their appearance in arms before us this day cannot be called resistance, but a capture, for you have at last found them, and they cannot escape you; your victory will be glorious and complete. Here, then, end your marches and dangers, and here you will put the finish to a war of fifty years; on this battlefield we will prove to our countrymen at Rome, that the long delays of this protracted warfare, and the causes which have led the enemy so often to revolt, have never been imputable to their soldiers."

vanced, Agricola drew off his army into the territory of the Horestii, of whom he took hostages. While there, he ordered the fleet to circumnavigate the northern part of the island, a service they performed with success, striking terror into the population of the maritime districts. During this expedition, the Orkney Islands were explored and reduced by the Roman navigators. On his return from this expedition, Agricola

was recalled from the government of Britain.* The most probable site of this decisive and sanguinary engagement appears to be the moor of Ardoch, towards the base of the hills lying westward of Muthill, in Perthshire. Remains of military entrenchments and other field works are found in different parts of this plain, which seem to mark it out as the scene of some important engagement in these remote ages.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF CALEDONIA FROM THE RECAL OF AGRICOLA TILL THE DEPARTURE OF THE ROMAN LEGIONS FROM BRITAIN.

THE victories of Agricola seemed to have ensured to the Romans the entire conquest of North Britain, yet on his recal, the country beyond the Forth was again abandoned to the native tribes, and the line of forts he had constructed from that river to the Clyde became the northern boundary of the Roman empire in Britain. During thirty-five years after the recal of Agricola, the ancient historians are almost silent on the affairs of this island. The Caledonians appear to have regained their native courage, and to have harassed the Roman frontier. When Hadrian ascended the imperial throne in 117, the Roman forces appear to have had little hold on the country to the north of the Tyne, and the turbulence of the Caledonian tribes had risen to such a height, that the emperor himself, in the course of a progress through his empire, came to Britain to repress them. We have no account of his transactions in this island, further than that, having driven the Caledonians back into their wilds, he erected an immense barrier across the isthmus, from the Tyne to the Solway, for the security of the Roman province. Thus the conquests of Agricola in the north were virtually abandoned. Hadrian's wall, of which the gigantic remains may still be traced across the island from Wallsend to Bowness, consisted

of a massive wall of stone, with an earthen vallum or entrenchment, nearly parallel with it to the south, and strengthened by a series of stations or fortified towns, forts, and watch-towers.†

We have now another period of some years during which Britain seems to have remained in tranquillity, as it is hardly mentioned by historians. On the death of Hadrian, in 138, he was succeeded by Antoninus Pius, one of the best and ablest of the Roman emperors, who sent over as his governor of Britain, Lollius Urbicus, a man worthy to be the successor of Agricola. His attention was soon called to the northern parts of the province entrusted to his command. A dispute had arisen between the once powerful British tribe of the Brigantes, which had preserved a certain degree of independence in the wilds of Cumberland and Westmoreland, and another tribe called the Genuni, and the former tribe had attacked the latter. The Caledonians on the other side of the walls took advantage of the sudden confusion occasioned by this event to make an incursion into the Roman province. Lollius Urbicus hastened to the scene of revolt, and the Brigantes were severely punished for their insubordination. He then invaded Caledonia, and drove its warriors before him with such rapidity of

* This account of Agricola's campaigns is taken from the narrative of *Tacitus*, and the explanations of Mr. Stuart, whom I have followed sometimes verbally.

† It has been the custom to ascribe the earthen vallum only to Hadrian, and the wall as a separate

work to the emperor Severus; but the recently published work of the Rev. J. Collingwood Bruce has, we think, decided the question, that the wall and vallum are integral parts of one same contemporary work, no doubt that of the former emperor.

success, that early in the year 140, we find him in possession of the whole country as far as the isthmus of the Forth and Clyde. Aware, from the experience of the past, that the chain of detached forts established by Agricola were an insufficient protection against the inroads of the northern tribes, Lollius Urbicus determined to imitate the great work of Hadrian, in uniting them by a continuous wall. This work appears to have been nearly completed in the course of the year 140, and numerous inscribed stones which have been found on its site, state the part performed by the different legions and cohorts of auxiliaries. It has been usually called the wall of Antoninus, from the name of the emperor under whom it was erected, but for ages it has been known among the peasantry of the country around by the popular appellation of Graham's Dyke. It consisted of a deep entrenchment, with a massive wall of mingled earth and stones behind it, and extended over a distance of about twenty-seven English miles, from Carriden, near Borrowstoness, on the Forth, to West Kilpatrick, on the Clyde.

Lollius Urbicus appears to have remained in command of Britain during the whole reign of the emperor Antoninus. It is believed that he was the author of many other public works in North Britain, and that after the completion of the wall, he advanced further to the north, penetrating by the valley of the Erne, and taking possession of the comparatively level country along the eastern coast, as far as the promontory on the Moray Firth, called by the Romans Ptoroton, and now known by the name of Burghead. The emperor Antoninus died in 161, and was succeeded by his son-in-law, Marcus Aurelius. The news of the accession of a new emperor was the signal for revolt among the Caledonians, who took arms to invade the Roman province; but they seem to have been quickly repressed by the new proprietors, and we hear no more of their depredations till the accession of the infamous Commodus to the imperial throne. Then the Caledonian tribes rose again, in such formidable numbers, that they passed the barrier of Lollius Urbicus, and slew a Roman general and his men, who opposed them in the field. The alarm was so great, that a messenger was sent in haste to Rome, and Ulpius Marcellus was sent to take the command of the armies in Britain, and to oppose the further march of the

barbarian invaders. Ulpius Marcellus was a man of great military abilities, remarkable for his integrity, his rigid abstinence, his indefatigable activity, and above all, for his strict discipline. He had no sooner assumed the conduct of the war in Britain, than the Caledonians met with a repetition of terrible reverses, which secured the peace of the province; but his merits soon excited the jealousy of the emperor, who recalled him to Rome. His recall was followed by several years of civil commotion among the Roman colonists, during which we hear nothing of the state of the north. The year 193 was one of especial degradation to the Roman name; it witnessed the successive rise and fall of three Roman emperors, made and destroyed by the prætorian soldiers, whose insolence had now reached the highest pitch. The assassination of Commodus was followed by the elevation of Pertinax, who, after a reign of three months, was beheaded by the soldiers, and they then set the empire to sale by public auction. The purchaser was Didius Julianus, a wealthy merchant—a man without any degree of strength of character or ability. This proceeding raised a feeling of indignation through the empire, and three men stood forward to avenge the insulted dignity of Rome—Severus, who commanded the Pannonian legions; Pescennius Niger, the commander in Syria; and Clodius Albinus, who governed in Britain—all men beloved by their troops, and popular in the provinces where they had been stationed. Severus wanted many of the virtues of his rivals, but he equalled them in all the abilities of a commander, and he was more persevering and reckless in his ambition, hesitating at no act of cruelty or treachery to secure his object. He marched direct to Rome, put to death the ignoble emperor of the prætorian guards, and degraded the latter from their privileges, and then prepared to contend with his two competitors for the empire. By a course of treacherous dissimulation, he lulled the suspicions of Albinus, while he contended with his eastern rival; but when Niger was defeated and slain, and the east reduced to obedience, then Severus no longer concealed his intention of getting rid of the rival who remained. Messengers were sent to assassinate Albinus, who discovered and evaded the danger, and learnt by it that his only hope of safety lay in open war. He immediately carried

over the troops from Britain into Gaul, where his cause was ruined in the fatal battle of Lyons, on the 19th of February, 197. On the death of Albinus, Severus, now established without competitor on the imperial throne, sent Virius Lupus as his lieutenant, to restore the province of Britain to order.

Virius Lupus soon found himself hard pressed by the independent tribes of the north, who had evidently increased much in strength during the preceding years. We are told by the Roman historians that the various tribes of North Britain had collected round two heads into two principal divisions, and that their own separate names had been lost in the two general appellations of the Caledonii, or those who still enjoyed their independence in the wild country beyond the most northerly of the Roman barriers, and the Mæatæ, or people of the lowlands, who had submitted to the Roman power. It appears that the latter, in alliance with the Caledonians, had risen against their foreign rulers, and had driven them out of the country between the walls of Antoninus and Hadrian, and that the latter was itself but a feeble barrier against their inroads into the southern province. Virius Lupus seems to have been wanting in the courage and decision of character which the circumstances of Roman Britain required. It appears that the Mæatæ of the lowlands had deceived the governor of Britain by engagements of loyalty and professions of attachment, while they were engaging in a hostile league with the Caledonians. Lupus pursued the weak and always disastrous policy of appeasing the enemy with gold, and they were bribed with a large sum of money to retreat from the frontier. But not more than two years had passed, when, become more formidable by the consciousness of the terror which they had before inspired, they took arms again, and attacked the Romans with greater fury than ever. Totally unfitted to cope with such an enemy, Virius Lupus dispatched hasty letters to the emperor, describing to him the dangerous situation of the province under his command, and imploring him either to come to his assistance in person, or to send such a considerable reinforcement of troops as would strike terror into the barbarians.

Severus, in addition to his love of war, was at this moment glad of an excuse for undertaking a distant expedition. The age of the old warrior was embittered by the

misconduct of his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, who disturbed his repose by their filial disobedience and by their mutual jealousies, and he wished to carry them away from the licentiousness of his court and capital, and break them into military discipline under his own eyes. He therefore obeyed the summons of his lieutenant of Britain with such alacrity, that, in spite of his advanced age and a painful disease, which affected his limbs, and often deprived him of the power of walking, that he reached Britain in an extraordinary short space of time, in the latter part of the year 208. He lost no time in drawing together the Roman troops from all sides, and marched at the head of a vast force to meet the enemy, who, alarmed at the vigour of his movements, and profiting by the lessons they had learnt under Virius Lupus, sent ambassadors to negotiate for peace, offering to give satisfaction for their previous offences.

But Severus had not marched this distance to negotiate, nor was he willing to return without a triumph. He retained for some time the Caledonian ambassadors, then dismissed them without an answer, and, having made his preparations for war during the winter, led his army into Caledonia early in the year 209. He left his younger son, Geta, to manage the government of the southern province, and appointed the oldest and most experienced of his courtiers as a council to assist him with their advice; while Caracalla accompanied his father in his expedition. They were engaged in desultory hostilities immediately after passing the old frontier defences; but it was the policy of the Caledonians to avoid any general battle, and although they were beaten in every petty engagement with their invaders, this sort of warfare was far more harassing to the latter than to them. The Romans, however, suffered most from the inclemency of the weather and from the hardships presented to them in their progress by the natural character of the country. They were constantly employed in making bridges, filling up marshes, cutting down forests, and making roads across the mountains; and while thus employed, they frequently fell into ambuscades of the natives, who placed sheep and oxen in sight of the soldiers to allure them from their way in search of booty, and fell upon them suddenly as they were in the act of securing it. Many of the Roman soldiers were cut off in

this way, and so sure were they to be put to death when they fell into the hands of the natives, that when any of them were unable to proceed they begged to be put to death by their companions. The Roman writers estimate the loss of the army in this expedition at fifty thousand men, but this is no doubt an exaggeration. Notwithstanding the difficulties he had to contend with, Severus ceased not to advance until he reached the northern coasts of Britain. He is said to have there observed the parallax of the sun, and the comparative length of the days and nights in summer and winter, and to have ascertained in person that Britain was an island. It will not diminish our admiration of this wonderful man to learn, that during a great part of this harassing expedition he was carried in a covered litter, in consequence of the disease in his limbs which so often afflicted him. He now condescended to treat with the natives, who were themselves glad of any opportunity to rid themselves of these persevering invaders. Domestic afflictions contributed to the emperor's decision to make peace, for amid the dangers of the campaign he was constantly tormented by the unfilial behaviour of his sons. As he was frequently unable to leave his bed to discharge the duties of a commander, he tried to induce Caracalla to go and take the command of the troops. But Caracalla cared less about conquering the barbarians, than about his future prospects of empire, and he employed himself busily in seducing his father's soldiers to support him as sole successor to the empire, to the prejudice of his brother. He was disappointed at the slowness of his father's malady, and he attempted to bribe the physicians to hasten its progress, but they proved too faithful to be the assassins of their imperial patient. Caracalla now made a more open attempt on his father's life. Severus had caused the soles of his feet to be punctured, and thereby obtained so much relief from his complaint, that he was able to ride on horseback. He left the camp with his son to receive a surrender of arms from the Caledonians, and to confer with them on the terms of a treaty. In front were the Caledonians, and Severus rode before his army to confer with them. Caracalla was beside his father, when, observing what he considered a favourable opportunity, he checked his horse and drew his sword to stab his father in the back. The soldiers in the rear, observing this moment,

shouted out to Severus to warn him of his danger. Caracalla was startled, and desisted from his purpose; but the emperor also was alarmed by the shout, and turning round beheld the drawn sword and understood its meaning. He made no remark, but proceeded with the business he had in hand. When this was ended, he retired to his tent, and summoning his son with Papinian the celebrated jurist and Castor, he commanded a sword to be brought, and addressed Caracalla in the following words:—"If you wish to kill me, do it here, not in sight of the soldiers and the enemy. I am old and feeble; you are young and strong. But if you shudder at doing such a deed with your own hand, here stands Papinian, who will do all you command him, as if you were the emperor." We are not told how this meeting ended; but immediately afterwards Severus concluded a treaty with the Caledonians, whereby they agreed, on condition he should withdraw his army, to give up a considerable district of their territory to the Romans. Severus retired with his troops, apparently in the winter of the same year (209), and established his head-quarters at York.

But a very short period had passed, when the Caledonians, encouraged perhaps by reports of the increasing infirmities of the Roman empire, were again in arms, and, regardless of their treaty, renewed their inroads on the frontier. The news of their revolt inflamed Severus with fury, and, summoning his army to march immediately he against the faithless enemy, is said to have declared, in a quotation from Homer, his intention of commencing a war of extermination. The Caledonians and Mæatæ had again united their arms, and the northern districts of the Roman province had already experienced the effects of this formidable coalition. But the emperor's disease was now gaining fast upon his vitals, and his last moments were again embittered by the insubordination of his son. On the fourth of February, in the year 211, just as the army was ready to march, Severus died at York. Caracalla made a hasty treaty with the Caledonian tribes, and hurried to the south.

The Caledonians were now again secure in their own boundaries, and they were no doubt often engaged in border warfare, but we have no historical information on Roman Britain for many years. During this period Britain was strong enough to set up em-

perors of its own, who disputed the rights of their rivals in Italy, and the northern tribes appear either to have been peaceable, or to have been kept in check. The usurper Carausius, who ruled Britain seven years during the united reign of Diocletian and Maximian, is said by some writers of a later date to have carried on a successful war against the Caledonians. Be this as it may, we know that in the beginning of the fourth century the Roman province was again threatened from the north, for in 306, the emperor Constantius Chlorus, who had restored Britain to the empire by the destruction of the usurper Allectus, directed an expedition against the northern barbarians, which appears to have been successful; but on his return he died at York, on the 25th of July, 306, leaving the empire to his son, Constantine the Great, who left Britain to contend for empire on the continent.

At this time some great change had taken place in North Britain, of which no historian has left us an account, for the invaders of the northern border have suddenly lost their names of Caledonians and Mæatæ, and appear under the three divisions of the Picts, Scots, and Attacotti, the latter chiefly remarkable for their extreme barbarity. They had been known from the first period of the Roman occupation of the island as a particularly fierce and warlike tribe, occupying part of the modern counties of Dumbarton and Argyle, and their very ferocity of character seems to have given them, in the course of the barbarian hostilities of these latter years, the lead among the elans of the north. Some have supposed that Picts was only another name for the Caledonians, while others look upon them as a new race, settlers from Scandinavia, or Northern Germany, who came to make common cause with the natives against their Roman foes. It is certain that at this time the grand movement of the Teutonic race was going on, which ultimately overwhelmed the provinces of the empire. The Scots were undoubtedly a Celtic race, and traditionary history is probably correct in bringing them from Ireland. But the silence of authentic history at this period leaves these questions involved in the utmost darkness.

From this moment the northern frontier of the province of Britain was seldom at peace for any length of time. It was not long after the accession of Constantine the

Great, when that emperor was obliged to direct hostilities against the Picts, and he is said to have chastised them so severely that they remained quiet during the rest of his reign. Constantine died in 337, and from this time history has preserved but slight notices of British affairs. The Scots are first mentioned in the year 360. On the accession of Valentinian in 364, a general confederation was formed among the Picts, Scots, and Attacotti, who forced their way with irresistible fury over the walls of Antoninus and Hadrian, and carried devastation into the heart of the Roman province, while their progress was facilitated by the attacks of the Saxons on the eastern coasts. In the year 368, as Valentinian was on his way from Amiens to Treves, he received the sudden and unexpected intelligence that the province of Britain was reduced to the greatest extremities by this general combination of the barbarians, that Nectaridus, count of the sea coast, was slain, and the duke Fullofaudes had been surprised and cut off by an ambuscade of the enemy. Alarmed by this intelligence, the emperor sent Severus, who held the high office of count of the domestics in the imperial palace, but he was soon after recalled, and Jovinus substituted in his place. This commander hastened to take possession of his new government, and sent an officer named Provertuides in advance, to assemble the troops in Britain, that they might be ready for active operations on his arrival. Meanwhile the state of things in Britain grew worse and worse, and as a last resource Valentinian determined to send over the celebrated Theodosius, the greatest man in his empire, and the father of a future emperor, to conduct the war against the barbarians who were ravaging Britain. With an army of legionaries and auxiliaries he landed at Rutupia (Richborough, in Kent), and found the enemies ravaging the country round London. Thither he marched hastily, and, having divided his men into several bodies, fell upon the straggling troops of the barbarians whilst they were out plundering, and enumbered by the quantity of their booty. He speedily routed those who were carrying off the prisoners and cattle, and he restored the plunder to the rightful owners, reserving only a portion as a reward for his soldiers. He then entered London in triumph, to the great joy of the inhabitants, who had been for some time blockaded by the invaders from the north. Theodosius soon con-

tinned his march to the north, driving the barbarians before him, and relieving and restoring the towns and fortresses. Having entirely cleared the southern province of its invaders, Theodosius continued his march into the fastnesses of the north, and having completely reduced the country between the two walls, to which in honour of the reigning emperor (Valens), he gave the name of Valentia, he repaired the wall of Antoninus, and erected several new stations and watch-towers.

Towards the end of the century, the province of Britain was weakened by the departure of so many of its soldiers to support the usurper Maximus in his struggle for the empire, that it became again exposed to the ravages of the Picts and Scots. The emperor Theodosius, who was now in Gaul, committed the task of repelling these invaders to Chrysanthus, who, with the authority of vicar, restored the island to a temporary state of tranquillity. The days of Rome's supremacy were now, however, numbered, and her hold on the distant province of Britain became weaker and weaker. In the earlier part of the reign of Honorius, the barbarians were held in check by the vigour of Stilicho, but all the remaining energies of Rome were soon required to defend Italy against the Goths. Soon afterwards, under the reign of Honorius, in 410, Britain was declared independent, and the province was now left to its own resources to resist the invasions of the barbarians. It was soon overrun by the Saxons and by the Picts, and was thrown into the utmost confusion, which is pictured to us but dimly and feebly through the fables of the eccle-

siastical writers. We are told, however, that the Picts, following the line of the eastern coast, poured their devastating troops through the modern counties of Northumberland, Durham, and Yorkshire, whilst the Scots, issuing from their westerly haunts in the islands, and passing through Cumberland, joined the other band of invaders, and both together carried desolation through the whole land. The Britons, in despair, turned to the still powerful name of Rome, and sent to the emperor for help. A legion was sent over, and the invaders from the north were defeated with great slaughter, and again driven back to their haunts. But the armies of Rome were wanted nearer home, and the auxiliary legion was obliged to return. It was no sooner departed, than the old enemies sallied from their retreats, and again ravaged the country with fire and sword. The Britons are said to have made a new appeal to Rome, and a legion was again sent to their aid, and drove the Picts and Scots into their own forests and marshes. But no sooner was this service performed, than the Roman soldiers took their last leave of this island, leaving its inhabitants to provide in future for their own defence. Many years of calamity followed, which are seen but dimly through the mist of tradition, during which southern Britain was first overrun by the Picts and Scots of the north, and then by the more powerful race of the Angles and Saxons from Germany, until the latter became masters of England, to the full extent of the Roman province, and restrained the northern clans to the narrow limits which had been allowed them under the rule of the Roman legions.

CHAPTER III.

KINGDOMS THAT AROSE ON THE DEPARTURE OF THE ROMANS; THE PICTS; SCOTS; STRATHCLYDE BRITONS.

IN the struggle for territorial possession which followed the separation of this island from the empire of Rome, the Angles made themselves masters of the whole of the province of Valentia, and the kingdom of Bernicia (or Beorna-ric) extended from the Tyne to the banks of the Clyde and the Forth. In whatever manner or from what-

ever people the name of Picts (Pehts) originate, it was applied now to the whole native population of Scotland, which had formed itself into a kingdom which had the Forth for its southern boundary. Traditions of an old date represent these northern tribes or clans as still divided into six separate kingdoms, all subordinate to one superior chief.

Tradition, perhaps, rather than history, gives us a list of twelve Pictish monarchs who reigned in succession during a little more than a century after the departure of the Romans, beginning with Drust the son of Erp, who appears as the founder of this monarchy, and extending to Drest the son of Munait, who is said to have ascended the throne in the year 554.

The name of Scots was first applied to the Celtic inhabitants of Ireland. We cannot decide from the scanty historical notices of the invasions of the Picts and Scots in the later Roman period, whether the latter were merely allies brought over from Ireland, or whether they were Scottish colonists settled on the coast of North Britain; but we learn from the Irish historians that amid the domestic hostilities which disturbed Ulster during the fifth century, numbers of the Irish tribe of Dalreada left their native land rather than lose their independence, and settled on the promontory of Cantyre, and as new settlers arrived these Irish Scots gradually extended themselves over the surrounding districts. At the beginning of the sixth century, this colony had become sufficiently formidable to excite the jealousy and hostility of the Picts, and perhaps at their invitation, in 503, Loarn, Fergus, and Angus, the three sons of one of the Irish Dalreadian chiefs named Eirck, led over a new party of Dalreadians from Ulster to join their kinsmen in Britain. According to the obscure traditions which are our only guide in the history of this period, the three brothers appear to have been left unmolested to establish a new kingdom. Fergus received as his portion of the new territory the peninsula of Cantyre; Loarn took possession of the district to which he is said to have given his name; and Angus is supposed to have colonized the island of Ila. Each of these princes, with their followers, formed a distinct tribe, independent of the others, except in a nominal subordination to the eldest, when he could enforce obedience. This division of power led in the sequel to frequent contests for supremacy. Angus, we are told, soon died, leaving a son named Murdach to inherit his authority within the narrow limits of Ila. Loarn, the eldest brother, also died soon after the establishment of the new kingdom, and left his brother Fergus sole monarch of the Dalreadian Scots. Fergus himself is said to have died in 506, leaving the sovereignty to his son Domangart.

Domangart reigned five years, and left two sons, Conegal and Gauran. A peaceful reign of twenty-four years enabled Conegal to extend his settlements and consolidate his authority. His brother Gauran succeeded him in 535, and occupied the throne during twenty-two years. He was slain in an engagement with Bridei, son of Mailcon, king of the Picts. The reigning family had now separated into two great branches, the children of Conegal and the children of Gauran, the latter of whom remained in possession of Cantyre, while the other family held Argail, or Argyle. In after times the succession was often a matter of dispute between these two clans. Conal, the son of Conegal, succeeded Gauran, and after a troublesome reign of fourteen years, he became involved in a civil war with the rival sept, and the sanguinary battle of Loro in Cantyre placed the supreme power in the hands of Aidan, the son of Gauran, who was solemnly inaugurated by St. Columba in the island of Iona, in 574.

There was at this time another independent kingdom whose history is allied in many respects with that of the Picts and Scots. As the Saxons advanced on every side from the eastern coasts, the Romanised Britons of the Valentian province succeeded in preserving their independence in the west, and established what was known as the kingdom of Strathclyd, or Strathclyde, and sometimes the Cumbrian kingdom, (in Latin, *regnum Cumbrense*). It extended from the Irthing, the Eden, and the Solway, on the south, to the Upper Forth and Loch Lomond on the north, and from the coasts of the Irish sea and the firth of Clyde eastward to the limits of the Merse and Lothian. It included the extensive tracts of Liddesdale, Teviotdale, Dumfriesshire, all Galloway, Ayrshire, Renfrewshire, Strathclyde, the middle and west parts of Stirlingshire, and the greater part of Dumbartonshire. Its metropolis was Alcluyd, situated on the northern bank of the Clyde, at the influx of the Leven; the Scoto-Irish gave it the name of Dun-breton, the fortress of the Britons, which modern times has altered into Dumbarton. The early history of this kingdom is obscured with fable, but in 577 it is said to have been ruled by a king named Rydderech, between whom and Aidan, king of the Scots, hostilities had arisen from some very trifling cause. The battle of Arderyth, said to have been fought between these two kings in 577, is a favourite theme of Celtic

poetry and tradition. The Scots were defeated by the Cumbrian Britons on this occasion, but Rydderech, who is said to have obtained his crown in a contest with several competitors, appears not to have held it long, for in 584 Aidan was in alliance with the Strathclyde Britons, and then their king is named Malgon. In the year just mentioned Aidan and Malgon fought the Saxons at Fethanlea, on Stanemore, a stony district on the eastern borders of Westmoreland, in which the Scots and Britons appear to have had the advantage. Aidan again coming to the assistance of the Britons is said to have defeated the Saxons in battle at a place named Leithredh; but he was defeated by them at Kirkiner in 598, and in 603 he was so utterly defeated by his Northumbrian foes in the great battle of Dagsastan (Dawstane in Liddesdale), that the remembrance of this disaster deterred the Scots for many years from further contests with the Anglian kingdom of Northumberland.

The Angles of Bernicia seem during this period to have been frequently engaged in hostilities with their northern neighbours the Picts. The victory of Cattraeth, so disastrous to the Britons, the memory of which is preserved in the poetry of a later period, is said to have established the authority of king Ida to the banks of the Forth; but the same traditionary authority tells us that his successes were at last checked by the arms of the British chief Owain. For some years afterwards the attention of the Northumbrian kings was turned more to the south than to the north, and Ethelfrid, the victor at Dawstane, was engaged principally with the Britons of the west. But no sooner had Edwin assumed the sceptre of Northumbria in 617, than he prepared to turn the sword against his northern neighbours. He re-established the authority of the Anglian crown on the borders of the Forth, and in support of his conquest he raised a strong fortress on a rock not far from the estuary of that river, which was named, after its founder, Edwines-burh, and has since, under the slightly corrupted form of EDINBURGH, become the metropolis of North Britain. When Edwin was slain by Penda, the power of the Northumbrian kings was to a certain degree paralyzed, but the Forth appears to have remained their northern frontier during the two reigns of Oswald and Oswy. The latter died in 670, after having chastised the Scots and over-

run the Pictish territory. At this time the Northumbrian kings appear to have established their power from sea to sea, and the city of Carlisle, the ancient capital of the South Cumbrian Britons, was in their possession, until it was given by Egfrid to Cuthbert in 685.

Egfrid seems to have been continually at war with the Picts on his northern frontier. He is said to have vanquished them in 679. At length, in 685, in consequence of some provocation with which we are not made acquainted, he made war upon the Pictish king Bredei, and resolved, in opposition to the advice of his nobles and the forebodings of his bishops to invade the Pictish territory. He is supposed to have passed the Forth below Abercorn, and, destroying every thing before him, he plunged into the defiles of ancient Caledonia. After having burnt Tula-Amon and Dun-Alla, believed to be in Perthshire, he crossed the Tay into Angus. Bredei, the Pictish king, now summoned his warriors from every side to oppose the destructive progress of the invaders, and the two armies met at Nechtan's-mere, near Dun-Nechtán (Dunnichen, in Forfarshire,) on the 20th of May, 685. The Saxon army was defeated with great slaughter, and their king was himself slain by the hand of Bredei. Edwin's body was carried to Iona, and there buried; and few of his followers returned to Northumbria to tell of his defeat. In consequence of this defeat, the Northumbrian kingdom shrunk within the waters of the Tweed, and its kings never recovered the lost territory, which still however continued to be inhabited by its Saxon population. In 699, a Northumbrian army was led by their experienced commander Berht to revenge the defeat of Dun-Nechtán; but they were again repulsed. The Saxons had their revenge a little later, when, under Beorht-frith, in 710, they defeated the Picts, in Mananfield, and killed Bredei, their king.

The Scots of Cantyre and Argyle were, more than any of the other kingdoms of which we have been speaking, exposed to perpetual hostilities, and this perhaps gave them the force and character which secured to them the supremacy in North Britain. Not only had they to contend with their Celtic rivals, the Picts of the north, and the Strathclyde Britons of the south, and with their Teutonic enemies of Northumbria, but their old family connections in Ireland involved them in the troubles of that

island, and although they might be weakened by the numbers of their warriors slain in the wars of Ulster, their loss was no doubt much more than compensated by new migrations from their first fatherland. King Aidan, the greatest of the Dalriadian monarchs in North Britain, died at the advanced age of eighty years, in 605, and left the crown to his son Eocha-bui, or Eocha the yellow-haired, whose reign of sixteen years was a continuous scene of warfare. He appears to have been engaged in 620 in a war with the Cruithna of Ulster, the ancient enemies of the Dalriadic race, against whom his army was led by his son and heir, Kenneth-caer, or Kenneth the awkward, who was victorious in the battle of Ardeoran, in which Fiachna, the son of the king of Ulster, was slain. Another son of Eocha, Donal-breac, or Donal the freckled, gained the battle of Kenn against the Irish rulers of Ulster in the same year. In 621, Kenneth succeeded his father, and continued the war against the Cruithna of Ireland, but he was defeated and slain in the battle of Fedhaevin, three months after his succession. He was succeeded by Ferchar, the son of Eogan, the first of the race of Loarn who obtained the crown of the Scots in North Britain. This chief died in 637, when the crown again reverted to the race of Gauran, in the person of Donal-breac, the younger son of Eocha, who immediately led into Ireland a mixed army of Scots, Picts, Britons, and Saxons, to support the cause of a fugitive Irish chieftain. He was defeated in a sanguinary engagement, and compelled to make a hasty retreat into his own country. Next year he made war upon the Picts, and was again defeated in a battle said to have been fought at Glenmoreson, in Perthshire. We know nothing of the remaining years of his reign, until 642, when he engaged in a war with the Cumbrian Britons, and was slain by one of the chieftains of Strathclyde. One or two obscure monarchs followed in rapid succession, and in the middle of the seventh century the strength of the country was exhausted in a struggle for sovereignty between the two families of Cantyre and Loarn.

The greater rivalry, however, was that existing between the descendants of Conegal and Gauran. In 652, Donal-duin, or Donal the brown, of the race of Conegal, ascended the throne, and he was succeeded in 665 by his brother Maolduin. History has only preserved two events of his reign, which

show how it was torn by domestic feuds. Domangart, the son of Donal-breac, who, as we have already said, was of the race of Gauran, was assassinated in 672, and it is not improbable that Maolduin, who was of the rival race of Conegal, directed the dagger which struck him. The feud was not allowed to sleep, for, three years after, Maolduin's own son, Conal, was murdered by an assassin of the rival sept. Amid these atrocities, Maolduin died, and the two races of Conegal and Gauran had so effectually weakened each other, that a chieftain of the family of Loarn, named Ferchar-fada, or Ferchar the tall, stepped in and seized upon the sceptre. The dagger was not allowed to lie idle, for in 695 the representative of the race of Conegal, Donal, the son of the murdered Conal, was also assassinated. After a reign of twenty-one years, Ferchar died in 702, and the crown reverted to the race of Gauran, in the person of Eocha, the son of Domangart, and grandson of Donal-breac. In 704, this prince invaded the territory of the Britons of Strathclyde, but he was defeated in a sanguinary engagement on the banks of the Leven, and next year the sceptre was wrested from him by Aimbhealach, the son of Ferchar-fada, of the race of Loarn. In the year following (A.D. 706), this monarch was dethroned by his brother Selvach, and was compelled to seek refuge in Ireland. Selvach's tyranny encouraged him to return in 719 to make an attempt to regain his authority, but he was slain in a battle at Finglein, in the mountains of Loarn.

Selvach, a warlike and unscrupulous chief, had never ruled the whole territory of the Scots of North Britain. When he usurped the sceptre of Aimbhealach, a chieftain of the race of Conegal, named Duncha-beg, or Duncha the little, assumed the government of Cantyre and Argyle, and restricted the authority of Selvach to his family territory of Loarn. These two rivals, equally warlike, were, as might be expected, seldom at peace, and in 719, they fought a naval battle off Ardaness, on the coast of Argyle, in which, after a long struggle, Selvach was defeated. Duncha died in 721, and was succeeded by Eocha III., who carried on the hostilities of his father against the rival race of Loarn. But on the death of Selvach in 729, the united crown of the Dalriadic Scots was again fixed on the head of Eocha, who continued to wear it in apparent peace until his death in 733. Eocha was of the

race of Gauran, but on his death he was succeeded without opposition by Muredach, the son of Ainbhealach, of the race of Loarn. This seems to prove that the war so long carried on between the two races had ended in an agreement that each should wield the sceptre alternately. Muredach had not been long on the throne, when he became involved in a war in Ireland, and invaded Ulster, but he seems to have been driven back with disgrace.

Meanwhile a storm from another quarter was gathering over his territories. The Picts of the north had been for some years involved in sanguinary civil wars, which ended in 730 in raising to the Pictish throne Ungus, who is distinguished in the ancient Irish annals by the epithet of the Great. A prince of the race of Loarn, Dungal the son of Selvach, invaded the Pictish island of Culren-Rigi, and carried off a niece of Ungus, named Forai. To revenge this insult, Ungus led his army from Stratherne, in 736, and making his way through the mountain passes into Loarn, laid waste the country of the Scots with fire and sword. He seized Duna and burnt Craic, two of the strongest fortresses of Loarn, and having captured Dungal and Feradach, the two sons of Selvach, he carried them in fetters to Forteviot, his capital. Muredach had returned from Ulster, and, not discouraged by his defeat there, he collected his warriors and followed on the track of the Pictish king. But he was defeated by Talorgan, the brother of Ungus, in a fierce conflict at Cruic-Coirbre, and he was either slain in the fight, or died soon after, for he was succeeded in the same year (736) by his son Eoghan, who appears to have reigned obscurely during three years. He appears to have been dethroned in 739 by a brave prince of the house of Gauran, named Aodh, or Hugh. The hostility between the Picts and the Scots had continued without intermission, and it required the vigour of Aodh to sustain his people against their powerful antagonists. He fought a great battle with Ungus in 740, in which it was doubtful which party ought to claim the victory, but which appears to have been so destructive to both as to put a stop to further hostilities during the remainder of the reign of Ungus, who died in 761, after which the tide of success seems to have turned to the side of the Scots. Aodh marched into the heart of the Pictish territory, in 767, and penetrated to Forteviot in Stratherne, the Pictish capital;

but the Picts had there gathered round their king Ciniod, and a great battle was fought with equal bravery on both sides, but with a result so doubtful, that, without acknowledging himself defeated, Aodh found it prudent to retreat into his own dominions. The Picts had seized the defiles of the mountains, and made it equally difficult for him to advance with any hope of success, or to retreat with safety. With great skill and bravery he succeeded in conducting his army into the passes of Upper Loarn, where the Picts did not venture to follow him. In 769, two years after this expedition, Aodh died, and left the sceptre to his son Fergus, who reigned three years, and was then succeeded by Selvach II., a prince of the race of Loarn. The rivalry of families continued to distract and weaken the Dalreadic kingdom, and it is supposed that Selvach II. fell in a civil war in 796. Eocha-annuine, or Eocha the passionate, another son of the great Aodh, seized upon the crown in that year, and thus placed it again in the family of Gauran. This prince, who is called by the Latin chroniclers Achaius, is one of the most celebrated of the Dalreadic kings, and fable has clothed him with many fictitious attributes, which only prove the impression of his greatness which was made on his contemporaries, and continued to succeeding generations.

Eocha or Achaius found his reign disturbed at its commencement by a civil war between the tribes of Argyle and Loarn; and in a very sanguinary battle between the two rival septs in 799, the leader of the former, Fiangelach, the son of Dunlaing, was slain, and the chiefs of Loarn, Conal, son of Neil, and Congalach, son of Aongus, were triumphant. Another son of Dunlaing, Aongus, was slain in a battle in 812. Achaius seems to have paid little attention to these feuds, which perhaps, by weakening the subordinate and turbulent clans, increased his own sovereign power. This king has obtained great, though in some respects unfounded celebrity in early Scottish history. It has been pretended that he formed an alliance with Charlemagne, that from this alliance was derived the well-known double tressure which ornaments the Scottish arms, and that he founded the order of the thistle. All these are undoubted fictions; but it is more certain that he married Urgusia, the sister of two successive Pictish monarchs, Constantine, who ruled from 791 to 821, and Ungus, who occupied

the throne after him till 830, and by this alliance gave his descendants a claim to the Pictish kingdom. Achaius died in 826, and was succeeded by Dungal, the son of Salvach II., of the race of Loarn, the last of that family who ever obtained the throne. After a feeble reign of seven years, it passed from him to the race of Gauran.

Meanwhile the Pictish kingdom had been itself declining in power. Ungus, who reigned in the middle of the eighth century, was the greatest of their monarchs. After repressing the hostility of domestic foes, he engaged in more extensive wars with his neighbours. In 736, he invaded the country of the Scots. Soon after, the Scottish king Muredach invaded the Pictish territories, but he sustained a disastrous defeat from the Picts under Talorgan, the brother of Ungus. The Scots were again defeated by Ungus in 740. In the same year, the Pictish king repulsed an invasion by the Northumbrians, under their king Eadbert. In 750, Ungus overpowered the Britons of the Cumbrian kingdom, in the well-fought battle of Cath-O, in which his brother Talorgan was slain. Ungus died in 761, leaving the Pictish kingdom to become soon a prey to civil discord, in the midst of which their shores were exposed to new assailants, the Vikings, or Danish pirates. These first appeared on the east coast of England in 787, and soon afterwards they began to infest the Scottish islands. In 839, they landed among the Picts, and the two sons of Ungus, Uen, who then wore the crown, and his brother Bran, were defeated and slain in battle.

Drest, the successor of Ungus, and the son of his predecessor Constantine, held the Pictish sceptre, when Alpin, the son of Achaius, succeeded Dungal on the throne of the Scots in 833, but his right was disputed by another claimant, Talorgan. Alpin, by his mother's side, was the cousin of Drest, and he naturally espoused the cause of his relative, although it is probable that the part he took was prompted in a great measure by personal ambition. He set sail in 836 from Cantyre, landed in the bay of Ayr on the coast of Kyle, and laid waste the country between the Ayr and the Doon, before the chiefs could bring together their people to oppose him. Over this country the authority of the Picts now extended. Having followed the course of the rivers just mentioned, and penetrated to the mountains which separate Kyle from

Galloway, the Scottish king was slain in an encounter with one of the petty chiefs of the country, at a spot afterwards called Laicht-Alpin, or the stone of Alpin. His son Kenneth succeeded him, a man distinguished equally by courage and prudence. He had no sooner assumed the sovereignty, than he declared his intention of marching into the Pictish territory to avenge his father and the numerous chiefs that had fallen with him; but the Scots are said to have been so much discouraged by the late disaster, that it was not without difficulty he persuaded them to renew the war. A new invasion of the Pictish territory was marked by the most horrible atrocities, neither age nor sex affording protection against the fury of the Scots. The vigour and abilities of Kenneth were shown not only in these devastating wars against his Pictish neighbours, but at home he reduced entirely the turbulent clans of Argyle and Loarn. In 839, the death of Uen or Uven, opened to Kenneth a way to the Pictish throne, and he immediately prepared to assert his claim against his competitor Wred, the son of Bargoit, who had succeeded Uen. While the strength of the Picts was divided in resisting the ravages of the Danes on their coasts, Kenneth marched over the mountainous ridge of Drum-Alban, gained a great battle, and seized upon the crown. The feeble Wred appears to have retreated to the south, and to have demanded assistance of the Angles of Northumbria, and in conjunction with them to have made head against Kenneth during three years. At length, after a sanguinary and desolating war, Kenneth, in 843, made good his claim to the throne of all the kingdoms to the north of the Tyne, and thus for the first time was Scotland united under one head. The Scots from Ireland had gained the supremacy over all the native tribes, and, although the name of Picts remained for some time, in the sequel that of the conquerors was applied generally to the people of the United Kingdom.

We can say little of the manners or condition of the people of North Britain during this period, but from what we know they appear to have been raised but a step or two above absolute barbarism, nor do they appear as yet to have been much improved by the introduction of Christianity, which, since the preaching of Columba in the sixth century, had spread itself over the whole northern peninsula. The possession of the

sacred island of Iona, the head seat of Christianity in the north, appears to have contributed not a little towards the establishment of the superiority of the Scottish race over that of the Picts. We know little of the influence of the clergy of the north at this period, but the circumstance that Kenneth's conquest of the Picts, and his assumption of the supreme rule of the united races is said to have been foretold by the abbot Adamnan, would lead us to believe that the church was no stranger to the contest which ended in the destruction of the Pictish dynasty. In fact among the Irish and Scots at this early period the Christian monks appear exactly in the position with

regard to the people which had been held by the Druids of old; it was their special office to support the authority of the chiefs, by giving to it the sanction of religion, and to encourage the people in their warlike expeditions with prophecies of their success. The enmity which existed between the churches of the Scots and the Saxons was as great as the hostility between the two races. The latter, supported by the church of Rome, looked upon their rivals as heretics, whom it was their duty to convert or subdue, and their memorable disputes in the seventh century about the time of celebrating Easter fill many chapters of the Ecclesiastical History of venerable Bede.

CHAPTER IV.

SCOTLAND FROM THE REIGN OF KENNETH MAC ALPIN TO THE END OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

KENNETH MAC ALPIN ruled the united kingdom of the Scots and Picts vigorously and successfully during sixteen years. He frequently invaded the Saxon province of Lothian; and, during the embarrassments of the kingdom of Northumbria, he burnt the fortress of Dunbar, and plundered the abbey of Melros. But he made no attempt to retain possession of these districts, and he was probably called to defend his own territory against the attacks of more formidable enemies. The Britons of Strathclyde appear to have burnt Dunblane; whilst the Danish pirates, under their ferocious leader, Ragnar Lodbrog, advanced into the interior of ancient Caledonia, as far as Clunie in Stormont, and Dunkeld on the Tay. Kenneth found leisure, in spite of these turmoils, for works of a more peaceful character; for in 850 he removed the reliques of St. Columba from Iona to a church which he had built at Dunkeld, and he is said to have carried the "fatal stone," on which the Scottish kings had been crowned, from Argyle to Scone. This latter proceeding was equivalent to making a permanent removal of the seat of power, and accordingly, we find that he died at Forteviot, the Pictish capital. This event occurred on the 6th of February, 859.

Kenneth Mac Alpin was succeeded by

his brother Donal Mac Alpin, who held the sceptre four years. The Picts had not yet become reconciled to Scottish rule, and Donal seems to have been fully occupied in repressing the turbulence of his own subjects. Some of the rebellious Picts fled to the Northumbrians, who assisted in making war upon him, but without effect. With this exception, he is said to have been at peace with his neighbours; and the most important event of his short reign recorded by the chroniclers, was the re-enactment of the laws of Aodh-fin, the son of Eoeha III. Constantine, the son of Kenneth, next occupied the throne of a country which was now torn to its vitals by the ravages of the Danish invaders. During half a century, the northern pirates had been gradually establishing themselves in the maritime districts of Ireland, from whence they were now enabled to harass the western coasts of Scotland with continued attacks. They found in the Clyde a commodious inlet into the country, and soon ravaged the territory of the enfeebled Britons of Strathclyde; while the Firth of Murray, the mouth of the Tay, and the estuary of the Forth, offered them advantageous harbours on the east. In 866, the Danes of Ireland, under Anlaf, ravaged the Scottish coasts, from the first of January to

the seventeenth of March, when they returned to Ireland laden with spoils. Four years later, Anlaf and his brother Ivar sailed to the Clyde with a much larger force, and besieged Alcluyd, the metropolis of the Britons, which they took and plundered after a siege of four months. They then overrun a great part of North Britain, and did not return with their plunder and captives to Ireland till 871. The Scottish king seems to have taken advantage of the weakened state in which the Britons of Strathclyde were left by their Danish plunderers, to strike at their independence, for in 871 their king, Artga, was slain by the procurement of Constantine. New invasions by the Danes followed. In 875, they issued from Northumberland, under their leader, Halfdene, and ravaged Strathclyde and Galloway. In 876, they again invaded North Britain, where they remained amidst doubtful conflicts for several months. They returned in 881, with a mighty host, and the Scottish king, encountering them bravely on the shores of the Forth, was defeated and slain.

On the death of Constantine, the crown was assumed by his brother Aodh, or Hugh, a weak, and perhaps an effeminate prince. The district between the Dee and the Spey was at this time ruled by a chieftain named Grig, an artful and unprincipled man, who raised up as a competitor for the crown so feebly worn by Aodh, a prince named Eoacha, the son of Ku, the British king of Strathclyde, and grandson, by a daughter, of Kenneth Mac Alpin. The contending parties fought at Strathalan, and Aodh, dangerously wounded in the battle, was carried thence to Inverurie, where he lingered two months, and then expired, after a troubled reign of only one year. Grig immediately placed the crown on the head of his protégé, Eoacha, and governed jointly with him, or rather solely in his name. Grig's tyranny gradually wearied the patience and excited the indignation of his subjects, who rose in 893, drove their two rulers from the throne, which was given to Donal IV., a son of Constantine. Grig was allowed to live the remainder of his days in the castle of Dunadeer, in Aberdeenshire, where he died in 897. In the midst of his vices and cruelty, Grig patronized the ecclesiastics, and in return they have left a magnificent eulogium of him, in which they represent him, under the Latinized name of Gregory, as overwhelming the Picts, crushing the

Britons, conquering England, and subduing Ireland. To palliate his treason and usurpation, they charge his unfortunate predecessor with vices, of which we have reason to believe that he was innocent.

Donal IV. proved his courage, not only in the manner by which he acquired the sceptre, but by his vigorous resistance to the invasions of the Danes. These depredators landed from the Tay, with the intention of plundering his capital Forteviot, or Dunkeld; but Donal raised his people, and, hastening to defend the "fatal stone," met them in the neighbourhood of Scone, and inflicted upon them a severe defeat. In 904, the Danes again came in great force from Ireland, resolved to carry away with them the plunder of Forteviot, the Scottish capital, and had nearly reached that place, when they were bravely and successfully encountered by Donal, who slew their leader, but he himself fell in the engagement. Constantine III., the son of Aodh, immediately assumed the sceptre. He had only held it three years, when the Danes made a general descent upon North Britain, and appear even to have plundered Dunkeld, before Constantine could assemble warriors sufficient to oppose them. But in an attempt upon Forteviot in the following year, they were entirely defeated by the Scots, and the land was for a while freed from their ravages. But, about the year 918, the Irish Danes, under their king Reginald, landed again from the Clyde, and began to devastate the country. The Scots, assisted, we are told, by some of the northern Saxons, marched against them, and encountered them at Tinnore. The Danes on this occasion are said to have been drawn up in four divisions, the first conducted by Godfrey, son of Ivar, the second by earls, and the third by chieftains, while Reginald himself commanded the fourth, which he placed in ambush as a reserve. Division after division were beaten back by the furious attack of the Scots, who were checked with difficulty by the unexpected appearance of Reginald with his reserve. But during the night the Danes retreated to their ships, and they did not venture to attack Scotland again for many years.

The Scottish king, thus relieved from the Danes, was destined soon to encounter a new and more formidable antagonist. In 924, Northumbria was visited by the victorious arms of Edward the Elder, and the Danish kings who had established them-

selves there, Sihtric, Uhtred, and Reginald, and had obtained possession of York, submitted to him, and we are told that even the kings of Scotland and Strathelyde acknowledged king Edward as their father and lord, and concluded a firm alliance with him. This alliance was not destined to last many years. In 925, the great Athelstan succeeded to the English throne. One of his first acts was to give his sister in marriage to Sihtric, the Danish king of Northumbria, who was baptised, and received, as a vassal of the English king, that part of the ancient kingdom of Northumbria which extended from the Tees to Edinburgh. Sihtric died within a year, upon which Athelstan seized the favourable opportunity of incorporating that country with his other states, and expelled Guthfrith and Anlaf, the sons of Sihtric by a former marriage. Anlaf fled to Ireland; while Guthfrith, who was the elder brother, took refuge with Constantine, king of Scotland, and Eocha, or Eugenius, king of the Cumbrian Britons, who were ready to deliver up the fugitive, had he not again made his escape. Guthfrith attempted to raise his countrymen in Northumbria, and made an unsuccessful attack upon York, and finally betook himself to the sea. The great power of king Athelstan now alarmed his weaker neighbours, and when they saw how he was strengthened by the final expulsion of Guthfrith, Owen Dha, the lawgiver, the most powerful of the princes of Wales, Owen, king of Gwent, Constantin, king of Scotland, and Ealdred, the Saxon chief of Bamborough, entered into an alliance against him. But the army of the Saxon monarch was victorious, and those princes were compelled to sue for peace, and to renew their oaths and pledges. The Scottish king was now more alarmed than ever, and he began to prepare for a more decisive struggle. In the autumn of the year 934, Constantine, as the feudal dependent of Athelstan, attended a Saxon parliament at Buckingham, on his return from which the revolt broke out. Eocha was at that time king of the Britons of Strathelyde, in virtue of a disposition of Constantine, by which this kingdom was assigned to the tanaist, or presumptive heir of the Scottish crown, till his accession to the latter, and this prince now acted in concert with the Scots. But Athelstan was prepared for the emergency, and marching with his army into Scotland, he laid waste the country to Dunfoeder and Wertermore, while his fleet rav-

aged the coast as far as Caithness. Constantine seems to have remained quiet in his fastnesses behind the firths, till the storm of war was past, and then he appeased the English monarch by submitting and sending his son as a hostage.

While Athelstan was occupied in continental negotiations, the Scots recovered their courage, and a new confederacy was formed against him. Anlaf, a son of Guthfrith, had married a daughter of Constantine, and the latter combined with the Danes of England and Ireland, and other kindred states, to restore him to the Danonorthumbrian kingdom. In 937, Anlaf appeared in the Humber with six hundred and fifteen ships, and immediately joined his forces with those of his father-in-law, Constantine, of Eocha of Strathelyde, and of many other petty princes of British race. Athelstan marched at the head of a well-appointed army to oppose them, and encamped near Brananburh, in Northumberland, a place of which the exact site is not now known with certainty. It was here that the crafty Anlaf made use of the same stratagem formerly employed against the Danes themselves by king Alfred, but not with the same success. In the disguise of a harper, he gained admission to Athelstan's camp, where he played before the king and his guests during their repast, and marked well the position of the king's tent and other circumstances necessary for his design. When he departed, disdaining to carry with him the paltry reward he had received from the Saxon monarch, he buried it in the earth; but, while engaged in this operation, he was observed and recognised by a soldier who had formerly served under him. This man communicated his discovery to the king, and when the latter upbraided him for not having caused the Dane to be seized before he left the camp, the man replied, "O king, the same oath that I have taken to you I took to Anlaf; had I violated it in regard to him, you might have expected similar treason towards yourself; but deign to listen to the advice of your servant; move your tent to some other spot, and there await in patience the arrival of your reinforcements." The king followed the soldier's counsel, and in the evening Werstan, bishop of Sherburne, arrived with a body of forces, and established his quarters in the place previously occupied by the king. The same night, Anlaf, with a strong body of Danes, forced his way into the

camp, and his first victims were the bishop and all his attendants; but when he followed up his success by attacking the quarter then occupied by the king, he was opposed with vigour and driven away. Two days after was fought the memorable battle of Brananburh, which was long celebrated as one of the great conflicts of the middle ages. Five kings, seven earls of the Danes and their allies, a son of the Scottish king Constantine, and an immense number of warriors, are said to have fallen in the conflict. The victory was partly owing to the valour and skill of Athelstan's cousin and chancellor, Thurcytel, who led to the war the citizens of London and a body of merchants under Singin. Thurcytel slew the son of Constantine with his own hand. Constantine and Anlaf fled with such of their followers as escaped the slaughter to their ships; the latter hurried back to Dublin, while Constantine sought his own dominions to brood over his disaster, and his spirit appears to have been so broken, that he did little during the rest of his reign but listen to his monks and ecclesiastics. At length, in 944, after a reign of forty years, he relinquished his diadem for the cowl, and retiring to the monastery of St. Andrew's, became there abbot of the Culdees.

On the voluntary abdication of Constantine, the crown was placed on the head of Malcolm, the son of Donal IV., the beginning of whose reign was disturbed by the turbulence of some of his subjects. But the most important event of this reign was the obtaining of the kingdom of the Strathclyde Britons from the English king Edmund, in 945. Northumbria had been now inhabited for years by a large mixture of Danes in its population, and had become a sort of Danish kingdom, as troublesome to the Scots as to the English. The Cumbrian Britons were frequently involved in the hostilities of the Danes, and as the Scottish monarchs had long had an eye upon their district, as well as upon that of the Saxons of Lothian, as advantageous appendages to their own kingdom, they felt personally when the English monarchs marched into the territory north of the Tyne. In 945, king Edmund, in retaliation for some hostilities of the Britons, invaded and ravaged the territory of Strathclyde, and then, foreseeing the trouble which it would give to the English crown to keep possession of this distant kingdom, he gave it to Malcolm, the

king of the Scots, on condition that the Scottish sovereign should enter into a close league of alliance, and assist him in defending Northumberland whenever it should be attacked. In the following year Edmund was murdered, and his crown was given to his brother Edred, who was soon called to defend his territory in the north, which was again agitated by Anlaf. On this occasion the Scottish king fulfilled his promise without hesitation, and marching to co-operate with the Saxon army, he overran Lothian, which then formed part of England, and entering Northumberland, laid waste large tracts of country, and returned to Scotland laden with plunder and captives.

The part which Malcolm acted on this occasion drew upon him the hostility of the Danes, who began again to infest the coasts of Scotland, and at the same time he was forced into a civil war with some of his own turbulent subjects. The men of Moray, at the instigation of their chief Cellach, had rebelled against him at the beginning of his reign, but they had been suppressed. They now rose again, but Malcolm marched against them, and Cellach was defeated and slain in battle. In a subsequent year the men of Moray marched southward to revenge the death of their chief, and were met by Malcolm in the Mearns. Here, at a place called Fetteressoc, Malcolm fell a sacrifice to the treason of some of his own followers. He was succeeded on the throne by Indulf, the son of Constantine III., who prosecuted and punished the murderers of his predecessor. It is stated by the Scottish chroniclers, that in the reign of this king, who ascended the throne in 953, Edwines-burh, which had been nearly ruined in the preceding wars, was at length relinquished by the English king Edwy, amid the distractions of Northumbria, and it probably remained in this state of desertion until at a subsequent period it was formally resigned to the Scottish monarchs. Indulf's chief troubles arose from the invasions of the Danes, who now driven from England by the vigorous government of king Edgar, transferred their depredations to Scotland, and landed at Gamrie in Buchan, but they were repulsed with considerable slaughter by the chieftain of that district. In 961, the Danes returned in greater numbers, and landed within the bay of Cullen in Banffshire. Indulf, who had hastened to meet them, encountered these predatory enemies on the moor to the west of Cullen, and ob-

tained a sanguinary victory, but, in pursuing the vanquished Danes to their ships, the king was unfortunately slain.

According to the constitutional system of succession to the Scottish throne, Indulf was succeeded by the tanist Duff, the son of his predecessor Malcolm. But an ambitious ecclesiastic, Doncha, abbot of Dunkeld, whom Scottish writers have compared with his English contemporary Dunstan, instigated Indulf's son, Culen, to claim his father's sceptre. Both parties flew to arms, and they met at Duncrub, in Stratherne, where Duff was victorious in an obstinate and sanguinary engagement. The abbot Doncha and Dubdou, chief of Athol, were slain in the battle. The friends of the pretender and the ecclesiastical party were still however strong enough to drive the king from Forteviot into the north, where he was assassinated in the year 965 at Forres. The reign of Culen, who now seized upon the throne, was of the same duration as that of his predecessor, but much less honourable, for the new monarch disgraced the throne by his vices, and at length lost it by his own baseness. To gratify his reckless lust, he offered violence to the daughter of his kinsman Andarch, the dependent king of Strathclyde, on which the Britons took up arms to defend the wrongs of their prince. In a battle in Lothian, the Britons were victorious, and Culen and his brother Eocha were slain.

This event took place in 970, when Kenneth III., the brother of Duff, succeeded to the throne. This prince renewed the war with the Britons of Strathclyde, who, after a short but brave struggle for their independence, were overcome by the superior power of the Scots, and their kingdom was finally annexed to the territories of the Scottish kings. Kenneth acknowledged the superiority of the Saxon Edgar. The Saxon chronicle tells us that, in the year following Kenneth's accession to the throne, Edgar "led all his ship forces to Chester; and there came to meet him six kings, and they all plighted their troth to him, that they would be his fellow-workers by sea and by land." The principal of these was Kenneth, king of the Scots, who had with him his sub-king Malcolm of Strathclyde. William of Malmesbury tells us that the six kings showed their respect to king Edgar by rowing him in a boat on the river Dee.

Kenneth was soon involved in fierce hostilities with the Danes. In 973, king Edgar

was compelled by the turbulence of the Northumbrians to require his performance of the terms on which Strathclyde had been given to the Scottish crown, and having sent the Britons of that kingdom to harass the Danish settlements as far as Stanmore, he marched himself through Lothian, and penetrated into Deira, where he plundered and wasted the country, and carried away the son of the Northumbrian ruler as his captive. This expedition seems to have given new provocation to the Danes, who, after some partial attacks on the north-eastern coast of Scotland, sailed into the Tay with a numerous fleet, and landed a great force. Kenneth, with such chiefs as he could hastily bring into the field, marched against them and met them at Luncarty, in the vicinity of Perth. In this great battle, the tanist Malcolm commanded the right wing of the Scottish army, and Duncan, the chief of Athol, the left, while Kenneth placed himself in the centre. After a long and obstinate struggle, the two wings of the Scots gave way before the fury of the Danes, but they rallied behind the centre, and renewed the fight on better ground, and the Danes in their turn gave way, and were at length defeated with great loss.

This great victory gave the Scottish king leisure to apply himself to the internal regulation of his kingdom. The great project of his life was the abolition of the old law of tanistry, and the introduction of the principle of a direct lineal succession to the crown. It is said that a law to this purpose was introduced by the king, and agreed to by his nobles, but it was not carried into effect, and the attempt led to many troubles, and was the cause of many crimes. To clear the way for it, he procured the untimely death of the then tanist Malcolm, prince of the Strathclyde Britons. It was perhaps the attempt to change the law of succession, which was seized upon as the pretence for an insurrection in the turbulent district of Mearns, in the course of which he put to death in the palace of Dunsinane, the only son of Finella, the widow of the chieftain of the Mearns, and daughter of the chieftain of Angus. Finella was implacable in her desire of revenge, and she watched anxiously for the opportunity of gratifying it. At length the king, who was, according to some, carried away from his chief retinue in the pursuit of the chase, or, according to others, performing a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Paddy at Fordun,

was induced to accept the hospitality of Finella, in her castle of Fettercairn, and she immediately led him into a private apartment, where he was murdered. When the king's followers were informed of what had taken place, they hastened to revenge his death on the murderess, and, finding that she had fled, they burnt her castle to the ground. The lady was pursued, and, her retreat being soon discovered, she was put to death as a punishment for her crime, and her name was long remembered as odious among her countrymen. Kenneth was murdered in the year 994. He was succeeded by Constantine IV., the son of Culen, whose pretensions to the sceptre were disputed by Kenneth the grim, the son of Duff. In a conflict between the rival pretenders, near the river Amon, in Perthshire, in 995, Constantine lost his life, and his opponent immediately seized the sceptre, and began to reign as Kenneth IV.

Kenneth was no more than his predecessor destined to hold, without dispute, the kingdom he had obtained by violence. Malcolm, the son of the murdered Kenneth III., who, as his father's intended heir to the throne, had been made sub-king of the Cumbrian Britons, was only hindered from asserting his claims for a while by foreign hostilities. The English king, Ethelred, had adopted the dangerous policy of buying off the Danish hostilities with money, and in the year 1000 he sent a message to Malcolm, demanding that the Britons of the Cumbrian kingdom should contribute their share of the Danegeld, on pretence that they were bound by the treaties with the English kings to assist in resisting the Danish invaders. Malcolm refused to acknowledge himself a tributary, and Ethelred, who charged him with breaking his agreement and assisting his enemies, marched into the north, and overrun his territories. At last, the English fleet not having been able to proceed from Chester to co-operate with him on the coast, Ethelred consented to make peace with Malcolm, and the old league was formally renewed. No sooner were the forces of Ethelred withdrawn, than Malcolm declared his intention of enforcing his claim to the Scottish crown. The contest was soon decided in favour of Malcolm. The chroniclers tell us that Kenneth began hostilities. The two antagonists met at Monivaird, in the upper part of Stratherne, and Kenneth, after

fighting with extraordinary bravery, was slain in the field.

The reign of Malcolm II. was a continued scene of trouble and turbulence. The Danish pirates continued to infest his coasts in every quarter, and they succeeded in establishing themselves at the Burgh-head of Moray, where they found a commodious and an impregnable retreat. Uhtred, the Danish earl of Northumberland, invaded the district of the Cumbrian Britons, and fought a battle with the Scots, near Burgh-upon-Sands, the result of which was doubtful. In the north, Sigurd, earl of Orkney, directed the attacks on the shores of the Moray firth, and collected an immense quantity of plunder from the surrounding districts. Even after he had married Malcolm's daughter, his new relationship with the Scottish king placed no restraint on his depredations. But in 1010, Malcolm gained a decisive victory over the invaders at Mortlach in Moray, which relieved that part of the kingdom from the visits of these ferocious marauders. In gratitude for this victory, Malcolm soon after built a church, and endowed a monastery at the place where the battle was fought.

While the Danes were thus desolating the countries bordering on the firth of Moray, other parties visited the coasts of Angus and the shores of Buchan, but they were met and defeated by the Scots at Aberlemno, in the county of Forfar. A new body of Danes, under a leader named Camus, landed near Panbride, on the coast of Angus, to revenge their comrades, but they had not penetrated far into the country when they also were encountered and defeated by the Scots. They attempted to make their retreat towards the north, but they were overtaken by the Scots, and in another conflict, Camus himself was slain, with most of his followers. Another party of Danes, who landed about a mile west of Staines Castle, on the coast of Buchan, were defeated by the governor or chieftain of that district. So many repulses checked the ardour of the invaders, and the evacuation of the Burgh-head of Moray was obtained by a convention with Swegn before his death, which took place in 1014. The sword of the Scottish king was now turned against his Northumbrian neighbours, in consequence of a dispute with their earl, Uhtred. In 1018, Malcolm marched to Carham, near Werk, on the southern bank

of the Tweed, where he fought a desperately contested battle with Uhtred. The latter claimed the victory, though it was a doubtful one, and Malcolm kept possession of Lothian. Uhtred was soon after assassinated, and the earldom descended to his brother Eadulf, who entered into a close alliance with the Scottish king, to whom he ceded Lothian for ever. This district henceforward became a part of Scotland, and Malcolm placed over it one of his princes, Eocha the bald.

Malcolm had next to contend with a new and more powerful antagonist. It seems to have been the ambition of Cnut to add Scotland to his already extensive dominions, and he is said to have contemplated an expedition against North Britain at an earlier period of his reign. He now, in the year 1031, undertook, in common with the Danes of Dublin, an expedition against Duncan, Malcolm's nephew, who, as tanist of Scotland, enjoyed the government of the Cumbrian Britons. Malcolm vainly hastened to the assistance of Duncan, and he was compelled by Cnut to renew his engagements with the English crown, upon which the Saxon army was withdrawn. The expedition thus ended in consolidating Malcolm's rule over his new possessions, and he became the first monarch who governed the whole extent of country which has since been included under the name of Scotland.

In spite of his vigour and his successes, the reign of Malcolm was not free from domestic turbulence, which helped to embitter his latter days, and gave rise to feuds the effects of which were felt long after his death. Finlegh, the chieftain of Ross, and the father of Macbeth, was slain in consequence of some sedition, in 1020, by the concurrence or orders of the king, and left his son to revenge his death when the time of vengeance came. In 1032, Maolbride, the chieftain of Moray, was burnt in his rath, or fortress, with fifty of his clan. There are two accounts of the manner of Malcolm's death, the most probable of which seems to be, that he died quietly, at a very advanced age, in the year 1032. Fordun says that he was treacherously assassinated. The numerous benefits he conferred on the church, and the marriage of one of his daughters to the powerful abbot of Dunkeld, secured him the favours of the church, and, therefore, the encomiums of the ecclesiastical writers.

Duncan, the prince of the Britons of Strathelyde, at once succeeded to the throne, apparently without any opposition, although tradition said that his kingdom was disturbed both by some unimportant attacks of the Danes on the coasts of Moray, and by symptoms of internal dissension. The desire of vengeance against the new king for family injuries, lurked in the breasts of two persons who became allied by the closest of ties, that of marriage. Macbeth, who had inherited the territory of Ross from his father, looked forward in secret impatience to the moment when he might avenge his death; while Gruoch, the grand-daughter of Kenneth IV., who was slain at the battle of Monivaird, had to mourn, in addition to the death of her ancestor, that of an only brother, slain by order of Malcolm in 1033, shortly before his death. The first husband of the lady Gruoch was the chieftain of Moray who had been burnt in his castle, and by her second marriage with the celebrated Macbeth, she joined her wrongs to his, and brought her first husband's territorial influence to increase his power. For on this marriage, Macbeth became chieftain of Moray, during the infancy of his wife's son, Lulach. We are assured by some of the historians, that Macbeth himself was the son of Doda, a daughter of Malcolm II., and, therefore, he might well enter into competition with Duncan for the crown. We are told by Fordun, that it was a custom with Duncan to make progresses through his kingdom, in order to hear the complaints of his subjects, and give them redress, and that it was in the course of one of these circuits, that he went to Bothgowanan, near Elgin, in the year 1039. He was there within the territorial government of the lady Gruoch and Macbeth, and the latter attacked him unawares, and left him mortally wounded. His followers carried him to Elgin, where he died.

Macbeth had, according to some accounts, as good a claim to the throne of Scotland as Duncan himself, and he was supported by two of the most powerful clans in Scotland, and by all the partisans of Kenneth IV., who had been slain by Duncan's grandfather. On Duncan's death, he hastily marched to Seone, and was there inaugurated as king of the Scots, apparently to the satisfaction of every one. Duncan had married a sister of Siward, king of Northumberland, by whom he left two infant sons,

Maleolm and Donald, the last of whom fled to the Cumbrian Britons, while the other sought an asylum in the Hebrides.

It appears from all accounts that the administration of Macbeth was vigorous and beneficent. His subjects are said to have enjoyed during his reign the blessings of peace and plenty; justice was administered with an even hand, and the turbulence of the chieftains was restrained by his courage and authority. Duncan's aged father, Crinan, abbot of Dunkeld, headed the friends of the late king in a vain attempt to restore his children, and is said to have been slain in battle. Other feeble attempts of a similar character only contributed to establish Macbeth more firmly on the throne. He was supported by the clergy, whose favour he had gained by his great liberality to the church. But after a while, aware of the plots against him which were forming on every side, he became more rigorous in punishing his enemies, and his wrath was especially turned against the possessions of Maeduff, the ruler of Fife, who had escaped to England, where he joined the exiled Malcolm. The latter had escaped from Scotland to seek a refuge with his kinsman earl Siward, by whose advice he repaired to the court of Edward the Confessor, and was received there with every mark of interest and favour. With Edward's approval, and probably by his command, Siward conducted a numerous army into Scotland in the year 1054, and penetrated far into the country, probably to Dunsinane. He was there encountered by Macbeth, and in the obstinate battle which followed three thousand Scots and fifteen hundred Saxons are said to have been slain. Among the latter was Osbert, the son of earl Siward. Macbeth, defeated, retired into the north, where he had many friends, and earl Siward, having left Malcolm in possession, returned to Northumberland, and died at York in 1055. Macbeth was not discouraged by his misfortune, but he continued the contest with Malcolm, until at last he was slain in a skirmish at Lumphanan, by the hand of his bitter enemy Maeduff, on the 5th of December, 1056.

Such is the veritable history of a chieftain who, from the circumstance of his having been made the hero of one of the best known tragedies of Shakespeare, has become one of the most celebrated of the earlier Scottish kings. It will be seen that most of the incidents of Shakespeare's play have no founda-

tion in history, though some of them are taken from the fables of the later chronicles. Instead of being hated by his subjects, the name of Macbeth was long popular in Scotland as that of one of the best of their kings, and the Scottish people felt the indignity of a foreign intervention in their domestic affairs.

History tells us nothing of the fate of Macbeth's queen, but her son Lulach, on the death of his step-father, assumed the sceptre, and continued the war against Maleolm, whose title to the crown was not so good as his own. For a few months Lulach maintained the struggle against his enterprising competitor, who was supported by foreign mercenaries, but on the 3rd of April, 1057, he was slain in the decisive battle of Essie, in Strathbogie, and his opponent, without further opposition, ascended the throne as Maleolm III.

Malcolm began his reign by rewarding all those who had supported him in his arduous struggle of two years, and by exerting himself to calm the spirit of the nation, which had been so much agitated by it. He appears to have maintained peace with England during the reign of Edward the Confessor, or perhaps rather as long as he found it necessary for his own support; but, when this was no longer the case, it required a slight provocation to drive him to hostilities, and he broke the peace of St. Cuthbert and wasted Northumberland. In 1066, when Tostig, the brother of Harold, fled from the battle of Stanford-bridge, he found an asylum at Malcolm's court; who also, two years afterwards, afforded a refuge to Edgar Atheling, the Saxon pretender to the English throne, and his sister Margaret, whom Malcolm soon afterwards married. The Scottish king now took suddenly a more active part in the troubles of the south, and in 1070 he marched through the district of the Strathclyde Britons into Teesdale, and thence continued his devastating progress through Cleveland and Durham, not even sparing the churches in his fury. He carried back with him so many captives, that for years afterwards English servants or slaves were to be found in every village, and almost in every house in Scotland. Gospatric, earl of Northumberland, meanwhile invaded the Cumbrian kingdom, and committed the same devastations on the Scottish subjects. In 1072, king William, in revenge for this attack, invaded Scotland by sea and land, and advanced as far as

Abernethi in Dumfries-shire, where Malcolm met him to confer on terms of peace. Malcolm agreed to do homage for the territories which he held in England, and gave his son Duncan as a hostage, and it was probable on this occasion that the English monarch deprived Malcolm of the Cumbriran territory, which he gave in fee to Ralph de Meschines. Edgar Atheling left Scotland in the following year, probably in consequence of the treaty. After remaining in peace seven years, Malcolm seized the occasion of king William's absence in Normandy in 1079, for a new invasion of Northumberland, which he ravaged as far as the Tyne, and when, next year, the Anglo-Norman monarch sent an army against him under his son Robert, he remained behind the Forth, and left the invaders to waste their strength in overrunning the district to the south of that river. The Scottish king recommenced hostilities soon after the accession of William Rufus, and he invaded England in the May of 1091, during William's absence in Normandy, but when he had reached Chester-le-Street, he was informed that an English army was advancing rapidly against him, and he thought it prudent to secure his retreat without risking a battle. William marched into Scotland in the year following, and Malcolm came into Lothian to oppose him; but the two kings were reconciled by the intervention of Robert duke of Normandy and Edgar Atheling, and they agreed to a peace, Malcolm promising the same duty which he had yielded to the conqueror, while William Rufus engaged to restore to Malcolm twelve manors which Duncan had held in England, and to pay him twelve marks of gold annually. Each king was still distrustful of the other, and in the year following William offended Malcolm by fortifying the city of Carlisle. Another effort was made to reconcile the two kings, and in the August of 1093 Malcolm came to the court of the English king, at Gloucester, and found a new ground of offence in William's pretensions and insolence. He returned home to raise an army, with which he invaded Northumberland, and attacked the castle of Alnwick. This fortress was bravely defended by Robert

de Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, who, sallying forth on the 13th of November, 1093, attacked the Scots by surprise, and slew Malcolm and his eldest son, Edward. Queen Margaret, who had borne him six sons and two daughters, was so much affected by the untimely fate of her husband, that she survived him but a few days.

Malcolm, who is generally designated by the title of Ceanmore, or the great-headed, was succeeded on the throne by his brother Donal-bane, the children of the late king being all under age. He began his reign with gratifying the Gaelic hatred of foreigners, by expelling all the English who had lived under the protection of his predecessor. But there was a son of Malcolm's still living, named Duncan, who was either, as some imagine, his offspring by a former obscure marriage, or a natural child. This Duncan had been sent as a hostage into England in 1072; he had subsequently married a daughter of earl Gospatrick; and he was now serving as a military commander under William Rufus. Having obtained the king's permission, he entered Scotland in the May of 1094, with a numerous army of English and Norman adventurers, and found no difficulty in wresting the sceptre from the hands of Donal-bane. But the new king had only a feeble hold upon the affections of his people; they compelled him, when he assumed the crown, to promise that he would not again introduce among them English or Normans; and after a reign of six months, Maolpeder, the chieftain of the Mearns, having drawn him on some business or other into the territory of his clan, slew him at Monachedin, on the banks of the Bervie. Donal-bane thus recovered the throne, which he again occupied for two years. Edgar Atheling then assembled an army, with the permission of William Rufus, and marched into Scotland to the relief of the family of Malcolm. Donal was surprised and taken prisoner by the invaders in a sharp conflict in the September of 1097, and they deprived him of his eye-sight, and threw him into prison. He died from the effects of this act of savage barbarity, at Roscobie, in Forfarshire.

CHAPTER V.

CONDITION AND MANNERS OF THE PEOPLE; LAWS; THE CHURCH; LANGUAGE; THE SAXON COLONIZATION.

OUR information on the condition and manners of the ancient inhabitants of North Britain, is very scanty and vague. The slight notices in the classical writers represent them as existing in the lowest grade of barbarism; and, though these statements may be often exaggerated or incorrect, we can have little doubt that the wilds and mountains of Caledonia supported a population which must have made very slight advances towards civilization. The few relics of these early times which the earth from time to time yields to the antiquary, differ so little from the remains of a rude state of society in other countries, that we cannot learn from them any distinguishing characteristic of the people to whom they belonged.* The intercourse with other races must have gradually introduced some of the elements of a higher civilization, but in the remoter districts the Scottish highlanders preserved down to a very late period much of their original barbarism. They owed something of improvement to the Roman, to the Saxon, and to the Irish Scot; from the latter especially the laws and the national customs, at the period when we first know much of their history, were chiefly borrowed, and from them they received the light of the gospel. Among these customs was that of clanship, which existed in Scotland in full force, until its ill effects were felt in the rebellion of 1745, in consequence of which it was finally proscribed. Connected with this was the custom of fostering, which prevailed in Scotland in the same force as in Ireland, and which led to complicated family alliances and divisions that filled the country with perpetual feuds. The natural condition of the people, indeed, seemed to be that of war, for which they were always ready, and which was provoked between clan and clan by the slightest circumstances. The moment the *slogan*, or war-cry of the clan, went forth, every warrior of

the tribe hastened to the known place of rendezvous, where the head of the clan was prepared to lead them. The Scots of the early periods of which we have been treating, appear not to have possessed money as a circulating medium; and they had only two ways of obtaining property, by robbery or by exchange. There is said to be no word for money in Gaelic, and the names for current coins in that language were all derived from the Anglo-Saxon. It is supposed that the modern highland dress represents that of the ancient inhabitants of Caledonia, but this opinion is founded chiefly on conjecture. Some peculiarities of their early paganism may be still traced in the popular superstitions of their descendants, among which one of the most remarkable was their reverence for fish. Formerly, when the people of the north wished to speak of the Saxons of the south with contempt, they applied to them the epithet of fish-eaters; and in the last age the prejudice against catching and eating fish was still strong.

Law, among a rude people, is only custom long established, and generally varies in every class or district. The Pictish kingdom was no doubt ruled by laws or customs of that people, which had been preserved from the more remote age of Celtic independence. The Scottish settlers from Ireland brought over the laws of the latter country, which, as the Scots obtained the superiority, became in a manner the law of the land, and the older Pictish usages became in some measure amalgamated with them. The Irish customs, however, at that period predominated, and that of tansistry was strictly observed. With most people, in the condition in which the Celtic and Teutonic nations were when we first become acquainted with them, royalty was hereditary in the blood, but not strictly in the direct line; on the death of the reigning monarch, a popular assembly was held, and the one of his sons best fitted to govern was chosen to succeed him; and in case none of them were capable, the successor might be taken from a collateral branch of the family. This custom opened a way to personal ambition, and led to per-

* The best book on the primitive antiquities of Scotland, is the recently published work of Mr. Daniel Wilson (the secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Edinburgh), entitled "*The Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*." Royal 8vo, Edinb. 1851.

petual troubles and revolutions; for the death of the reigning monarch would be most commonly the signal for civil war. To avoid this inconvenience, it was usual with the Irish and Scots to choose the successor or heir-apparent of the reigning monarch immediately after the accession of the latter to the throne, and this heir-apparent, or *tanist*, as he was called, became usually the ruler of a subordinate kingdom or district. We have seen plenty of instances of this in the foregoing history. The custom of *tanistry* itself was the cause of a perpetual series of civil commotions, and we have seen instances where, to establish peace between two collateral branches of the royal family, it was arranged that when the reigning monarch belonged to one family, the *tanist*, or heir-apparent, should be taken from the other, so that, instead of son succeeding father, the nephew succeeded the uncle.

The cause, however, of the greatest evils in the constitution of Scotland during the Anglo-Saxon period of the south, was its division into so many separate districts, having all independent laws, and ruled by *maormors*, or chiefs, who were similarly independent. There were ten of these districts, exclusive of Lothian, Galloway, and Strathclyde. Of these, Fife is perhaps the one best known, from the circumstance that one of its *maormors* was the celebrated Macduff. Stratherne, Menteith, and Breadalbane, included the country between the Forth and the Ochil hills on the south, and the Tay on the north. Athol and Stormont, comprehending the central highlands, lay between the Tay and the Badenoch. Angus comprehended the country extending from the Tay and the Isla on the south to the northern Esk. Macrorn, or Merns, comprehended the district between the north Esk and the Dee. Another independent district, that of Aberdeen and Banff, lay between the Dee and the Spey; it was the government of the *maormor* who, in the latter part of the ninth century, usurped the throne and reigned under the name of Grig, or Gregory the Great. The important government of Moray comprehended the extensive country between the Spey and the Farar or Beaul, and extending westward to the limits of northern Argyle. The *maormors* of this district were among the most powerful of the early Scottish chiefs. Argyle extended from the Clyde far into Ross, and comprehended the nume-

rous isles in the surrounding sea. Ross, the government of Macbeth, consisted of the greater part of Ross and of Cromarty. The powerful *maormors* of Argyle and Ross were actively engaged in the struggle against the Danish invaders. The tenth and last of these divisions was Sutherland and Caithness. Each of these districts possessed rights which the whole kingdom could hardly control; they were governed by their own customs, and ruled by their own chieftains, and the former could not be altered, or the latter appointed or displaced, by the king himself.

The apostle of Scotland was the Irish saint Columba, and his foundation in the island of Iona, or, as it is now called, Icolmkill, in the Hebrides, was the centre of religion and learning in the northern parts of Britain. The saint established himself in this spot soon after the middle of the sixth century, and in the century following we find the church of Scotland holding common cause and common sentiments with that of Ireland. His monks, who were known afterwards by the Gaelic appellation of Culdees, or *livers in solitude*, soon spread themselves from this point over the greater part of Scotland; although the southern districts, Lothian, Galloway, and the Cumbrian kingdom, belonged to the Saxon church, at least as to ecclesiastical government, the former to the bishopric of Lindisfarne and to its successor Durham, and the two latter to the ancient bishopric of Whithorne. These districts had probably all been divided into parishes, and they contained many churches, with a considerable number of religious houses, such as those of Mailros, Coldingham, Tynningham, Pefferham, and Abercorn, but these were all more English than Scottish in their character. To the north of the firths the Culdees held the superiority in religious affairs at the time of the union between the Scots and the Picts, and Kenneth, under whom this union took place, signalled his accession by building a church at Dunkeld to receive the relics of their saint, Columba. This church of Dunkeld, built in 849, became for several ages the seat of the primacy of Scotland, until it was supplanted by St. Andrews, when St. Andrew became the patron saint of the kingdom. The abbots of Dunkeld were powerful chieftains, who acted a prominent part in all the political troubles of the north. Kenneth is said also by tradition to have been the founder of the

see of St. Andrews, though it seems to have been in truth founded later in the same century. The relics of St. Andrew the apostle, which were said to have been brought to Scotland by St. Regulus or St. Rule at the beginning of the ninth century, were deposited there.

Both these bishoprics originated in abbeys; and several other religious houses—in fact, most of those of any importance, were, during the early period of which we are treating, gradually erected into episcopal sees. Such was the case at Brechin, Dunblane, Abernethy, Mortlach, and Aberdon. Some of these soon ceased to exist as bishoprics, but others continued after the Norman period. But all matters connected with the history of the early Scottish church are involved in much obscurity; and though we know that the kingdom did contain dioceses and parishes before the period of history on which we are now going to enter, we are very imperfectly acquainted with the extent to which those ecclesiastical divisions were carried.

The early Scottish monks, as we have already intimated, were known by the name of Culdees, a word that signifies in Gaelic persons who live retired from the world, and which has been the subject of much speculation among antiquaries, though it seems merely to have signified a monk, and to have been used in the Celtic church generally. After the Norman period they were gradually reformed according to the notions of the Romish church, and changed for or into canons regular. Chalmers has enumerated thirteen early Scottish monasteries, or houses of Culdees, independent of the primitive establishment at Iona, namely, at Abernethy, Dunkeld, St. Andrews, Dunblane, Brechin, Mortlach, Aberdon, Lochleven, Portmoak, Dunfermline, Scone, and Kirkcaldy. In the monastery of Abernethy, founded during the Pictish period and dedicated to St. Brigid, the Culdees were not suppressed till the thirteenth century. In the powerful abbey of Dunkeld they continued to exist till the reign of Malcolm IV., the middle of the twelfth century. The Culdees were superseded by canons regular at St. Andrews in the year 1140; at Brechin they were not “reformed” till the time of Robert Bruce; those of Dunblane were “reformed” towards the middle of the thirteenth century. The early monastery of Culdees on an island in Lochleven, dedicated to St. Severn, and enriched by

the benefactions of several monarchs, was granted by David I. to the priory of St. Andrews; and from that time the monks of Lochleven were continually at variance with the canons of St. Andrews, until the former were expelled. The religious house at Portmoak, on the shore of Lochleven, founded by the Pictish king Ungus, in the ninth century, became also the prey of the prior and canons of St. Andrews. The other houses of the Culdees were in a similar manner delivered over to the canons regular during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, until the last traces of the old Scottish monks were lost. They had no doubt preserved many customs and traditionary articles of belief of an earlier and less corrupt period of the Romish faith, which were unpalatable to the church as it existed at the period of their reformation or suppression. The churches of the Culdees were almost universally dedicated to the holy trinity.

During the dark period of which we have been speaking, learning was at a very low ebb in North Britain. The clergy appear to have been more generally occupied with the intrigues of state, than with the instruction of the people; the ancient school of Iona, founded by Columba, and which had produced names like that of Adamnan to be respected even by the Saxon princes and ecclesiastics, had disappeared amid the ravages of the Danes, and its place was but ill supplied by the schools which were subsequently established at Abernethy. The few who sought learning went to England, or to France; and learning became so rare, that when in 1074, queen Margaret caused a council to be convened to inquire into the abuses which were said to have crept into the Scottish church, it was found that the clergy could speak no language but Gaelic. A strange difficulty thus presented itself, for Margaret herself, who was to be the chief prolocutor, could speak to them only in Saxon, and her husband, king Malcolm, who happened to know Saxon as well as Gaelic, was obliged to act as interpreter. It was not until David I., the reformer of the Celtic church, introduced foreign scholars, that in Scotland learning assumed a substantial form.

This absence of learning helped to preserve, more than anything else, the old customs and traditions of the people. The Druids had been superseded by the Christian monks, who assumed to themselves

many of their attributes and functions, but the bards still remained to hand down from generation to generation the earliest of all literatures, the popular poetry of the race. This literature was an unwritten one—preserved only in the memory, and therefore modified by a multitude of circumstances from age to age, though in the wilder parts of the country it preserved its original character in an extraordinary degree, and fragments may still be gathered among the Gaelic population of the highlands which are no doubt of great antiquity. Some of these are supposed to have been strung together by Macpherson, and worked up into what he put forth as the poems of Ossian. But the controversy on this subject is too extensive to allow us to enter upon it in a work like the present. Further inquiry, however, seems to prove, that what we call the Gaelic is an Irish Celtic dialect, different from that which was spoken by the Picts, which it had superseded, as the Scots, who brought it in, gradually obtained the superiority. Its poetry, therefore, had probably the same origin, and could contain no allusions to the wars between the Romans and the Caledonians.

Till the twelfth century the Gaelic was the only language spoken to the north of the two firths, or in Scotland proper. To the south, the population and the language they spoke were Saxon, though the Gaelic might even there be heard in some districts, where the Scots had settled. Already, however, a great change in the condition of Scotland had begun. The marriage of Malcolm Ceanmore with the Saxon princess Margaret opened the door to a new Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and Anglo-Belgic colonization. An Anglo-Saxon dynasty, occupied the throne, and the Celtic customs and government were gradually superseded by an Anglo-Norman jurisprudence, accompanied with the civilization of the south. Anglo-Saxon refugees from the north of England, flying before the tyranny of Norman conquerors, were allowed to settle in Scotland, and their example was soon followed by Normans, who found in Scotland a new field for their exertions. This influx of strangers was looked upon with jealousy by the old inhabitants, and, though long protected by the virtues of the Saxon queen, on the death of Malcolm, the English and Norman followers of queen Margaret and her brother Edgar Atheling were driven away. This, however, was but a temporary

check to the stream of emigration which had now set in, and turbulent Norman as well as Saxon families gradually established themselves, and laid the foundations of the great Scottish houses of a subsequent period. Among the greatest of the settlers from Northumbria, was the earl Gospatrick, who, being deprived of his English estates in 1072, obtained from Malcolm extensive landed possessions in the Merse and Lothian, which he left to his son. A Northumbrian chief named Arkel, who likewise fled from the power of the Conqueror, obtained lands in Dumbartonshire, and his descendants became earls of Lennox. Similar settlements at this period brought into Scotland numerous families of southern origin. But the tide of colonization from the south set in when Edgar, the son of Malcolm and Margaret, was established on the throne of Scotland by means of an Anglo-Norman army, and it flowed still more largely in the reign of his brother, the first David, who like his brothers, was educated at the English court, and who signalized himself by the introduction of English laws and church government. Among the immense number of Anglo-Norman settlers who followed the standard of David, Hugh Moreville, of Burg in Cumberland, obtained vast possessions in Lauderdale and Cunningham, and founded the powerful Scottish family of the Morevilles. The Ridels from Yorkshire settled in Roxburghshire, and spread into Mid-Lothian. The Corbets, a Shropshire family, established themselves in Teviotdale. The Lindsays are said to have derived their origin from the county of Essex. Branches of the Percies of Northumberland settled in Roxburghshire; while the Scottish Somervilles came from Staffordshire, the Sulens from Northamptonshire, the Umphravilles, like the Percies, from Northumberland, and the Avenels, the Alifards, the Giffards, the Says, and their descendants the Setons, the Keiths, the de Quincies, the Manles, the Berkeleys, the Cunninghams, the Lockharts, the Hays, and a great number of others, came from different parts of south Britain. The progenitor of the Ruthvens was a Northumbrian of Saxon or Danish blood; and the first of the Ramsays was an Englishman who settled in the Lothians under David I. The Abernethys were descended from a Northumbrian; and other names equally well known in Scottish history, the Grays, Kers, Colvilles, Gordons, Grahams, Sinelairs, Rosses, all came from

Norman or English settlers, chiefly of the reign of king David. Such also was the origin of the great family of Fraser. That of Cumyn is traced back to a Northumbrian house, which furnished David I. with a chancellor and a bishop. The Baliols, who came from Barnard Castle in Durham, were also brought into Scotland by David I. Robert de Bruis, or Bruce, was a Yorkshire baron, who, in the time of the Domesday survey, held large possessions in that county; his son Robert formed an intimacy with earl David at the court of Henry I., and on David's accession to the throne of Scotland, he obtained from him a grant of lands in Annandale, and thus laid the foundation of the great Scottish house of Bruce. Another of David's English barons, Walter fitz Alan, who is believed to have been of the family of the Fitz Alans of Shropshire, and of the kindred of the Fitz Alans, earls of Arundel, was the founder of the royal house of

Stewart, or Stuart, having obtained from that monarch the hereditary office of steward of Scotland. The progenitors of the no less illustrious house of Wallace were an Anglo-Norman family, who settled under the Stewarts in the shires of Ayr and Renfrew. The Douglasses were of Anglo-Flemish descent, their progenitor being one Theobald the Fleming, who, between 1147 and 1160, obtained from the abbot of Kelso a grant of lands on the Douglas water in Lanarkshire, known as Douglasdale. The Hamiltons, the Grants, the Campbells, and many others, are proved to be Normans by their names and genealogies. The Leslies, the Flemings, the Freskins, and others equally numerous, owed their origin to the Flemish colonists, who settled first in England and then migrated to Scotland. Such was the beginning of nearly all the families who now begin to stand prominent in Scottish history.

CHAPTER VI.

THE IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS OF MALCOLM AND MARGARET; BATTLE OF THE STANDARD; BATTLE OF ALNWICK; DISTURBED REIGN OF WILLIAM THE LION.

WE are now entering upon an entirely new era of Scottish history. The southern attachments of Malcolm, the influence which queen Margaret gained by her piety and goodness, the examples of the numerous Normans as well as Saxons who were drawn or driven to their court, all combined to lay the foundation of an extensive reformation in the constitution and manners of North Britain. If he did not, as is by some pretended, establish the feudal system in Scotland, Malcolm at least began to introduce the custom of feudal investitures, which led gradually to the assimilation between the systems in the two countries.* This first attempt naturally led to a reaction; for the new system was looked upon as chiefly represented by the strangers who almost alone received the feudal investitures, and no sooner was Malcolm dead, than a rebel-

lion of the old national party arose, which ended in the elevation of the usurper, Donald Bane, to the throne, and an edict for the banishment of the foreigners. The popular prejudice was so strong, that even when Donald Bane was driven from his usurped power by the illegitimate Duncan, he was obliged to enter into a sort of stipulation with his subjects, binding himself to introduce no more foreigners. After the murder of Duncan, and the restoration of Donald, the anti-improvement policy again prevailed, until Edgar, the third son of Malcolm and Margaret, succeeded in wresting the sceptre from his hands.

Edgar, who became king of Scotland at the Michaelmas of 1097, owed his throne to the favour of William Rufus, who assisted him with an Anglo-Norman army, under the conduct of his Saxon uncle, Edgar

* A legend, but a very improbable one, tells us that Malcolm Ceanmore summoned all the Scottish nobility to meet him at Scone, where each surrendered his lands by the symbolical form of giving the king a handful of earth taken from them, in order

that he might grant them anew by charter, according to the system of feudal investiture. This earth, thrown together, is said to have formed the "Moot-hill" of Scone.

Atheling. Donald Bane was captured, and thrown into prison, where by order of his conqueror he was deprived of his eye-sight; and Edgar's brother Edmund, who had been an accomplice in Donald's second usurpation, was condemned to close confinement. The latter, in token of his sincere penitence for having been accessory to the murder of Duncan, ordered the fetters which he had worn in his prison to be buried with him in his coffin.

Edgar appears to have been a just and cautious ruler, but he was not a strong one; yet he was scarcely on the throne, when his dominions were threatened with an invasion by Magnus, king of Norway. Fortunately, the Norwegians began by a descent in the north of Ireland, where they were defeated, and their king slain. In other respects, as far as we can judge, this reign was a peaceable one, and some writers have imagined that the government was paralyzed by the insubordination of the old clans, and that through a great extent of Scotland, the authority of this monarch was scarcely recognised. Edgar cherished friendship with the king of England, which was strengthened by the marriage of Henry I. with his sister. Thus encouraged, the Normans began again to resort to his court, and the customs of the south once more prevailed. It was the love for these customs that now caused the Scottish monarchs frequently to make their residence to the south of the firths, in the fortress or town of Dunedin, or Edinburgh, which subsequently was made the capital of the kingdom. It was here that Edgar died, on the 8th of January, 1107, leaving no children. He was considered as a lover and benefactor of the church, though no great ecclesiastical endowment gave lustre to his reign. By his will, the kingdom was to be divided between his two brothers, Alexander and David, the former of whom was to enjoy as king the country to the north of the firths, while all the southern districts, except Lothian, were resigned to David.

Alexander, who appears not to have been of a warlike disposition, acquiesced at once in this arrangement; yet in his disputes with the two English archbishops, he shewed that he was not deficient in courage and firmness. At the conclusion of the preceding reign, the see of St. Andrews had remained vacant, as the disputes between the emperor and the pope had prevented the consecration of Godric, the bishop

elect. The English archbishops of Canterbury stepped in and claimed the right of consecration with a general spiritual superiority over the church of Scotland. Alexander resolutely withstood this claim, and he adroitly took advantage of the conflicting pretensions of the two archbishops to evade their demand. This prince was once called into the field to suppress a rebellion, which was excited in Angus with the object of overthrowing his authority, and he proceeded against the rebels with so much vigour, that he is said to have obtained on this occasion his popular title of Alexander the fierce. Alexander cultivated a friendly understanding with Henry I. of England, whose natural daughter, Sibilla, he married. He died at Stirling, on the 27th of April, 1124, leaving the throne to his younger brother, who assumed the sceptre as David I.

Under this monarch, who was distinguished by great talents, and who had been educated at the court of the wisest king of his age, Henry I. of England, the reformation in government and manners in Scotland took a more substantial form. To him the Scottish burghs are said to owe their municipal existence, and it was he who first succeeded in establishing in almost every district of his kingdom feudal barons from the south, who formed the great support of his throne, and who soon superseded the ancient Celtic aristocracy. Nevertheless, David had again to contend with the rebels, who had only been temporarily suppressed by his predecessor. The earl of Moray, who laid claim to the throne as the grandson of Zulach, and who thought to make his way to it by proclaiming himself the champion of the Celtic race against the foreign intruders, raised an army in 1130, and marched to the south. On this occasion David was supported by the barons of Northumberland, under their able leader, Walter L'Espee, and marching with the whole force of his southern dominions, he encountered the northern insurgents at Stracathrow, a pass in Forfarshire, and entirely defeated them.

David I., like his predecessors on the throne, had espoused an English wife, Mande, the widow of Simon de St. Liz, who brought him the earldom of Northampton, and by whom he had a son named Henry. This connection, joined with his partiality for Henry I., carried him frequently to England, where he passed a good

part of the years 1126 and 1127, on which occasion he entered so far into Henry's views with regard to his succession, as to take a solemn oath to sustain the rights of his daughter, the empress Matilda or Maude, to the English throne. When Henry died, in 1135, and Stephen was crowned king of England, David of Scotland took up arms to support the known intentions of king Henry in favour of Maude, seized upon Carlisle and Newcastle, and overran and ravaged the country as far as Durham, with a tumultuary army, which the monkish chroniclers tell us consisted of "Normans, Germans, and English, Cumbrian Britons, Northumbrians, men of Teviotdale and Lothian, Piets, commonly called men of Galloway, and Scots." Stephen marched to the north to put a stop to the atrocities committed everywhere by these barbarous invaders, but the war was carried on without decision, for while Stephen was embarrassed in his movements by the treachery and insubordination of his barons, David found it difficult to manage the miscellaneous and ill-assorted host he had brought together, and which disgusted him by the savage cruelties which were exercised on the unfortunate population of the invaded districts. A treaty was entered into at Newcastle, by which the Scottish king relinquished the country on which he had seized, and Stephen engaged to confer upon prince Henry, the son of David, the honours of Huntingdon, Doncaster, and the territory of Carlisle, for which the prince did homage to the king of England. David had refused to perform this ceremony for his English possessions. Next year king Stephen passed over into Normandy, upon which David broke the truce, and his army again overran the English borders, committing, if possible, greater barbarities than before. When Stephen returned to defend his insulted territory, the Scotch retired before him, and left their southern provinces to cruel retaliation. From defending his country against foreign enemies, Stephen was suddenly called to the south by the outbreaking of those dreadful civil wars which now began to devastate his kingdom. David again seized the moment of his embarrassment to invade Northumberland, in 1138, with a greater army than ever, when he knew that the northern barons were left to protect themselves. These, however, showed themselves equal to the emergency, and hastened to the field without pleading the

excuses either of age or infaney. Roger de Mowbray was hardly more than a child, yet he was placed in person at the head of his vassals. Thurstan, archbishop of York, a prelate remarkable equally for his courage and prudence, called the northern barons together in council, and fortified them with his exhortations, and they chose for their leader the aged and experienced warrior, Walter l'Espee.

The English barons assembled on Cuton Moor, near Northallerton, in Yorkshire, confident in the skill of their leader, and in the sanctity which the blessings of their archbishop had given to the cause; and in addition to these incentives another and more extraordinary step had been taken to inspire the combatants with courage. A sacred standard, composed of the mast of a ship fixed on a four-wheeled carriage, displaying the banners of St. Peter of York, St. John of Beverley, and St. Wilfred of Ripon, surmounted by a pix containing the consecrated host, was wheeled into the field and displayed in the midst of the English army. While the barons were rallying round this holy ensign, the Scots were gradually approaching them. The commander of the Galwegians, William mac Duncan, the son of David's illegitimate brother, was detached with a large body of his savage followers, into Lancashire, where he defeated a considerable English army at Clitheroe. After this exploit, he joined the main body, and then David marched forwards towards Northallerton with so much rapidity, that he nearly took the English army by surprise.

Among the English barons, there were several who held lands in both kingdoms, and who therefore owed allegiance to both kings. Some were even David's personal friends, such as the aged Norman baron Robert de Brus, the lord of Annandale, who was selected by Walter l'Espee to be sent on an embassy of peace to the Scottish king. He represented to David the ungenerous policy he was pursuing in thus oppressing the English and Normans, who had so often supported the Scottish throne with their arms, and he reproached him with the atrocities committed by his soldiers, which were neither befitting a Christian nor a knight. Finding that his expostulations were in vain, Bruce formally surrendered all the lands he held of David, renounced his homage, and declared himself his enemy. The king was moved, and both

he and Bruce shed tears on parting; but the defiance of an old man produced little impression on the Scottish warriors, and William mac Duncan openly called him a false traitor. The intractable character of the Scottish army was shown in the council of war the same evening, when the Galwegians put forward their claim to lead the van, in contradiction to the king's determination to begin the battle with the archers and men-at-arms, who composed the regular strength of his army. The Galwegians, who were rendered presumptuous by their recent success, urged their demand clamorously. One of the old Celtic chiefs, Malise, earl of Stratherne, exclaimed, "why this confidence in these men who are cased in mail? I wear none, yet will I advance further to-morrow than those who are thus clad in steel." One of David's knights, Alan de Percy, a natural brother of the great Northumbrian baron, retorted on Malise, saying that he had boasted more than he dared to make good. The dispute was put an end to by the interference of the king, who unwillingly yielded the van of the battle to the Galwegians.

On the morning of the 22nd of August, 1138, the two armies were drawn up in order of battle. The Scots formed in three lines, the first containing the Galwegians, under their leaders Ulrick and Dovenald. The second line consisted of the men-at-arms and the archers, with the Britons of Cumberland and Teviotdale: it was commanded by prince Henry. The third line was composed of the men of Lothian and the Hebrides. A select body of English and Normans, with the Scots, properly so called, and the men of Moray, formed a body of reserve, which king David commanded in person. The English were formed in one compact body round their holy banner, with their cavalry in the rear. While the Scots were arranging their order of battle, they were occupied in receiving the blessing of their aged archbishop, who, unable to give it in person, had sent as his delegate the titular bishop of the Orkneys. As it had been agreed, the battle was commenced by the men of Galloway, who rushed on the English line with their war-ery, "Albanich! Albanich!" and threw themselves on the spearmen opposed to them with such fury, that the latter were for a moment staggered. But the English archers galled the Galwegians so dreadfully with their well-directed shower of arrows,

that they broke, and would have quitted the field, had not prince Henry arrived with the Scottish men-at-arms to rally and support them. The tide of war seemed now to turn against the English, who were hard pressed and thrown into some confusion, but the battle was still obstinately disputed, when a report suddenly spread over the field that king David was slain. The king himself, who saw at once the disastrous effects which this report was producing, rode with his head uncovered through the ranks, to convince them of its falseness; but it was too late, for the whole Scottish army was by this time thrown into the utmost confusion, and the king himself was at length forced from the field of battle to secure his personal safety. The English fell upon their flying enemies, and slaughtered them without mercy.

Such was the event of the famous battle of the Standard, as it was named from the consecrated banner around which the English army fought. David made his retreat with some difficulty to Carlisle, where he took advantage of the humiliation of the Galwegians to attempt to impress them with the necessity of humanity and discipline. A council of the Scottish prelates and nobles having been held under the presidency of Alberic, the pope's legate, many abuses were corrected, and the various races who composed David's army, were induced to promise the legate that in future they would neither violate churches, nor murder old men, women, and children. David continued for a while in arms, and we find him soon after reducing the castle of Werk; but the war had become disastrous to him, and, while he on one side was anxious for peace, Stephen himself was not so much elated by his victory, as to be unwilling to listen to the dictates of moderation. After a short truce, a treaty was concluded at Durham on the 9th of April, 1139, by which Stephen agreed to surrender to prince Henry of Scotland the whole earldom of Northumberland, with the exception of the castles of Bamborough and Newcastle; the barons who held lands of the earls of Northumberland, were now to hold them of prince Henry, saving their allegiance to king Stephen; and the laws which had been established in Northumberland by Henry I. were enforced. David, on his part, engaged to maintain perfect amity with Stephen, and to give hostages for his faithful performance of the treaty.

In 1141, David repaired to London to witness the short-lived triumph of his niece, the empress Matilda; and he attended her in her sudden flight to Winchester. Finding the imperial lady unwilling to give an ear to the councils of moderation which he suggested, he soon left her in disgust, and returned to his own dominions. It is not quite clear how he reconciled his behaviour on this occasion, with his recent obligations by the treaty of Durham; but a few years afterwards his disregard for his royal promises was shown in a transaction of a still more remarkable character. During the Whitsuntide of 1149—this was one of the great mediæval festivals—Henry of Anjou, Maude's son, visited David at Carlisle, and received from him the honour of knighthood; in return for which, Henry promised on his oath that, in case of his accession to the crown of England, he would restore Newcastle to king David, and cede to him for ever the whole country between the Tyne and the Tweed. By another part of this secret treaty, David entered into a conspiracy for dethroning Stephen, in order that Henry might the sooner arrive at the crown.

After the disastrous battle of the Standard, David occupied himself chiefly in plans for the internal improvement of his kingdom. But his reforms were not palatable to the Celtic portion of his subjects, and these were always ready to rebel against innovations which they did not understand, but which were odious to them because they were identified with foreign influence. In 1134 an adventurer named Wymund presented himself to the people of the northern parts of Scotland under the name of Malcolm, as a son of the earl of Moray, then dead, and declared his claim to the throne. The turbulent Gaels arose at once and rallied round his standard, and it occupied the force and wisdom of David during twelve years to reduce this rebellion, and bring the pretended earl of Moray to a sort of compromise.

Sorrows of another kind awaited the declining years of the Scottish king. His only son Henry, a youth of great promise, died on the 12th of June, 1152, leaving three sons and as many daughters. Malcolm, the eldest of David's grandsons, was at this time in his eleventh year, and the king's mind was troubled with the anticipation of evils which his kingdom might experience under the disadvantages of a

minority. To guard as much as possible against the still greater calamity of a disputed succession, he caused young Malcolm to be led through every district of Scotland in a solemn progress, under the guardianship of Duncan earl of Fife, to be proclaimed and acknowledged as the rightful heir of the crown; and he presented his second grandson, William, to the Northumbrian barons, to be invested with the border territories, and receive their promises of allegiance. The king's anticipations with regard to himself were soon realized, for in the following year (1153), on the 24th of May, he died at Carlisle, at the advanced age of seventy-three. David's extraordinary liberality to the church was signalized in the munificent foundations of Kelso, Melrose, Holyrood, Jedburgh, Newbattle, Kinloss, Dryburgh, and some other religious houses, and merited for him from Rome a place in the long calendar of popish saints. He is looked upon as the author of all those great improvements which laid the foundation of Scottish civilization, and he certainly deserves to be considered as one of the greatest and wisest of the Scottish kings. To him we owe, in a great measure, the introduction of the English language at the Scottish court, which gradually led to its adoption as the spoken language of the kingdom; and his attachment to Edinburgh, where he frequently resided, and where he founded the abbey of Holyrood, gave that city first an importance which ultimately made it the metropolis of Scotland.

At this time a king under age was an anomaly in the government of Scotland, and it required some solemnity more than usual to make such a government palatable to a large mass of the people. Malcolm IV. was only twelve years of age when he succeeded his grandfather on the throne in 1153. He was inaugurated at Scone, with the ancient ceremonies observed from time immemorial by the Hiberno-Celtic race in the appointment of their kings, being placed on the fated stone brought by the Dalriadic colony from Ireland, while one of the chief bards stood forward and chanted to the people a Gaelic poem, setting forth Malcolm's descent from Fergus, the son of Ere, who led the Irish colony into Scotland. This poem, which is really a catalogue of the Scottish kings previous to the reign of Malcolm, has been preserved, and it has become one of the chief authorities

of early Scottish history. All these precautions, however, did not ensure the young monarch against the discontent of his subjects. The impostor, Wymund, who had assumed the name of Malcolm, married a daughter of Somerled, the "lord of the isles." The independent lords of the Hebridean islands had recently infested the western coasts of Scotland with their piracies, which were committed almost with impunity by means of their "birlies," or light galleys. Wymund was dead, and Somerled now espoused the pretended rights of his children, which he made the excuse for a hostile invasion of Scotland in the November of 1153. After several conflicts the Hebrideans were repulsed, but Somerled's power was, at this moment, so formidable, that the young Scottish king was glad to conclude a peace with him before the end of the year.

In 1154, the death of king Stephen of England opened a new field for action and intrigue. It had long been the ambition of the Scottish monarchs to add the whole of Northumberland to their crown, a pretension which showed an imperfect understanding of the real interests of the country, and which was the cause of much hostility and bloodshed. We have seen how, in 1149, Henry of Anjou had sworn, that if he ever obtained the English crown, he would put the king of Scotland in possession of Carlisle, and all the country between the Tyne and the Tweed. Now, however, that he had gained his wish, Henry II. was so far from fulfilling his promise, that he actually demanded of Malcolm the surrender of all that the Scottish kings still held in the northern counties. Malcolm appears to have shared in the attachment of his family for the Anglo-Normans, and Henry II. is said to have exercised a personal influence over him, so that it was no difficult thing to persuade him to relinquish claims which, with a powerful monarch like the one who then ruled England, it would have been impossible for him to enforce. In 1157 Malcolm yielded up all his possessions in Cumberland and Northumberland, and he even did homage to the English king for Lothian.* Nevertheless, king Henry was not so far satisfied

with the Scottish king, as at once to grant his earnest desire of receiving knighthood at his hands, and although the latter went so far as to quit his kingdom to serve in Henry's army during his campaign in France, it was only on their return that the English king knighted him at Rouen. Malcolm's absence on this occasion gave so much dissatisfaction to his nobles at home, that they were only restrained from open rebellion by the influence of the clergy and by the return of their king. But soon afterwards, the old jealousy of foreign influence drove two districts of the kingdom into open rebellion. The Celtic population of the mountains of Galloway, who had always maintained a turbulent independence, were indignant at the attempt to introduce among them the Anglo-Norman laws, and Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Norman settlers, and they raised the standard of revolt. Malcolm marched against them, but his own army appears to have been partly paralysed by discontent, and he was twice repulsed. In a third attempt he was more successful; the insurgents were defeated in battle, and Fergus, their lord, submitted, gave his son Uehtred as a hostage, and retired himself to the abbey of Holyrood, where he died soon after, in 1161. The insurrection in Galloway was hardly quelled, when the men of Moray followed the example of the Galwegians, in rebelling against foreign laws and foreign settlers, but they also, after a violent struggle, were reduced to obedience.

The insurrection of the Moray men occurred in the year 1161, and three years after the Hebrideans, under Somerled, made a new attempt on the Scottish coast. This restless chieftain entered the Clyde with a formidable armament in 1164, and landed near Renfrew, but being boldly encountered by the inhabitants, the invaders were entirely defeated, and Somerled and his son, Gillecolane, were among the slain. Malcolm was not spared to enjoy long the tranquillity which these successes seemed to promise; for on the 9th of December, 1165, he died at Jedburgh, of a lingering disease. This king was known popularly as Malcolm the Maiden, probably from the gentleness and flexibility of his character; for the fact

* The Scottish historians of the last century, scandalised at this latter concession of the young king, attempted to make out another Lothian in the north of England, which they supposed to have been the one relinquished by Malcolm; but they were evi-

dently wrong. It must be remembered that Lothian, at that time, was not considered as an integral part of Scotland; it had been ceded to Malcolm II. by a Saxon earl of Northumberland, Eadulf Cudel, having been part of the Northumbrian kingdom.

that he is known to have had at least one natural son, forbids our supposing that this title was given to him for his continence.

Malcolm's brother William received the crown on the 24th of December, 1165. Following a line of policy different from that of his predecessor, he no sooner felt himself secure on the Scottish throne, than he repaired to the court of Henry II., to obtain the restitution of Northumberland. William's claim was personal as well as national, for he had been formally invested with the earldom of Northumberland by his grandfather David, and in order to conciliate the English monarch, he, like his brother, passed over into France to serve under his banner. He soon found that all his attentions were in vain, and, disgusted with the little success that attended his demand, he formed an alliance with the king of France against king Henry, hoping thus to force the latter to compliance. But a few years after this, William's eagerness to secure possession of Northumberland led him into a more disastrous engagement. In 1173, the sons of Henry II., supported by the French king, planned a rebellion against their father in Normandy. Among those who had joined in this conspiracy were several of the English nobles, especially the earl of Leicester, with king William of Scotland (popularly known as William the Lion) and his brother David, who were to be paid for their services by the concession of the northern counties. The events of the war in which the Scottish king thus engaged have been told in detail by a writer who was present, and whose narrative has come down to us written in Anglo-Norman verse.* The preparations of the conspirators having been completed during the winter, the Scottish king, who had made several petty inroads into the English territory during the preceding year, crossed the border in the summer of 1174 with a numerous army of Scots, Galwegians, and Flemings, committing everywhere the same horrible havoc which had characterized all the invasions of the savage warriors who then composed the mass of a Scottish army. We are told that king William was drawn into hostilities on this occasion by an urgent message from the king of France, who, alarmed at king Henry's successes against the rebels in Brittany, wrote

to him in the name of the king's sons, reproaching him for his inactivity, and promising that if he would immediately invade England from the north, the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, should be delivered up to him. William is represented as entering into the war with reluctance, and as acting only by the advice of his council. At the suggestion of Duncan, earl of Fife, who represented that by the rules of chivalry he should not break his allegiance to king Henry till he had first demanded his rights, and on their refusal sent him his defiance, messengers were sent to the king of England in Normandy, under the direction of a monk, who is named by the old writer, William Dolepene, and who is said to have addressed the monarch in the following terms:—"The king of Scotland, who sends me to you, charges me to tell you, that as an affectionate and faithful relative, he is fully inclined to aid you in the difficult circumstances in which you are placed; that within a month he can come to your assistance at the head of a thousand armed knights and thirty thousand men not mounted; and for this he demands no remuneration from you, further than that he claims from you what is lawfully due to him, that is to say, first of all, Northumberland, to which no one has so good right as himself, as he offers to maintain and prove immediately by a single knight in combat against whoever ventures to affirm the contrary. If you determine to keep back his inheritance from him, and refuse to grant him his demand, I am to return you his homage, which he renounces."

King Henry met the demands of William the Lion with a direct refusal, and the latter immediately sent a messenger to the king's son, declaring his readiness to assist him against his father on the conditions promised. The king of France undertook to see these promises fulfilled, and assured king William's messengers that their master should have all the territory he demanded, and the count of Flanders promised to send to his assistance a powerful body of Flemings. The Scottish king needed no further incitement, but, encouraged by the warlike tone of his chiefs, he assembled his army at Caldenle in Selkirkshire, and marched to the border to attack the castle of Wark. This fortress was weakly garrisoned under a brave and loyal baron, Roger d'Estuteville, who, convinced of his inability to support a

* His name was Jordan Fantosme, and his rhyming history was printed by the Surtees Society, with an English translation, in 1840.

siege without a considerable reinforcement, demanded a truce of forty days, that he might proceed to Normandy to consult king Henry, promising that if he were not succoured within that time, he would surrender Wark castle without further delay. The Scots appear not to have been well furnished for sieges, and William, anxious to obtain possession of the castle of Wark on any terms, yielded to Roger d'Estuteville's demand. The latter sent a messenger to the king in Normandy, to acquaint him with the invasion of the Scots, and went himself into England to obtain immediate assistance, so that before the expiration of the forty days he had collected so many stout combatants in Wark castle that he might set king William at defiance.

Despairing of success against Roger d'Estuteville, William relinquished his design upon Wark, and proceeded to Alnwick, which was commanded by the young and brave William de Vesci, and on which he made as little impression as upon Wark. He was more successful at Warkworth, which was so much out of repair and so ill-garrisoned, that it could not be defended. The siege of Newcastle was too bold an undertaking under present circumstances, and the king, at the suggestion of his chiefs, determined to try his fortunes at Carlisle, and so anxious were they to arrive there, that they would not agree to halt on the way, even to attack the castle of Prudhoe. The march of this wild army was attended with ravages and atrocities of the most horrible description, in which the Flemings far exceeded their Scottish allies.

William pressed the siege of Carlisle vigorously, but it was only to meet with a new disappointment. The grand justiciary of England, Richard de Lucy, having received intelligence of the devastation which the Scots were perpetrating in the north, hastened against them with an army which had just been engaged in wresting the town of Leicester from the partizans of the princes, and was joined on his way by the grand constable, Humphrey de Bohun. On his approach, the Scots drew off in great haste, and made their retreat to Roxburgh, leaving the English army to ravage the Lothians unopposed. They were called off from their work of destruction by the insurrection in Suffolk and Norfolk, and hostilities between the two countries were for a while suspended. Soon after, however, the king of Scotland having invested his brother

David with the earldoms of Lennox in Scotland, and Huntingdon in England, David went at the head of a numerous suite to take possession of his English honours. Huntingdon lay near the seat of the recent half-suppressed outbreak, and the vassals of the earl of Leicester, who had himself been made a prisoner in the battle near Bury St. Edmunds, persuaded him to make himself their leader. The rebellion took new life, and at the head of an army raised hastily, David ravaged the towns around, including those of Nottingham and Northampton.

After Easter, the Scottish king again crossed the border, with a numerous army of Scots and Flemings, and began with a new but equally unsuccessful attempt on the castle of Wark. The Scots had fixed their head-quarters at Berwick, from whence they proceeded to Wark with the intention of besieging it, but they were almost immediately withdrawn to march against Bamborough, which was delivered up to them by treachery, and they entered it by night and slew the garrison in their beds. In the morning they destroyed the small town of Belford, and spread themselves over the country, plundering and devastating in the most horrible manner, and when nothing was left to carry off or destroy, they marched away with their spoils to their camp at Berwick. From thence they returned to Wark castle, which king William was determined to take. In the first assault, which was carried on for a long time with great obstinacy, the Flemings, who, as more skilled in sieges, were entrusted with the conduct of it, were defeated with great loss, and several other attempts were equally fruitless. King William saw himself again under the necessity of retreating to Roxburgh. Here he was joined by Roger de Mowbray, and others of the English barons who had joined in the rebellion against the king of England, and on whose arrival the Scots determined to enter England again. This time they marched direct to Carlisle, and, confident in the power of his English allies, William summoned the governor of that important fortress, Robert de Vaux, to surrender it into his hands, threatening with destruction himself and family if he refused. The interview between the messengers and Robert de Vaux is graphically described by Jordan Fantosme. They found the sturdy baron clad in his hauberk, leaning on one of the battlements of his

castle, and fondling his sword, which he held unsheathed in his hand. As the messenger approached Robert asked him his business, and urged him to tell it briefly, and without ceremony. This was said in rough manner and phrase, so that the messenger conceived that he was insulted. "That," said he, "is not courteous; a messenger carrying his message should not be insulted or ill-treated; he may say what he likes." In reply, Robert de Vaux invited him to approach, and speak without fear. The envoy then delivered his message as follows:—"Sir Robert de Vaux, you are valiant and wise; I am the king's messenger, he is my protector; he sends you, by me, salutation and friendship. Restore him the castle, which is his inheritance; his ancestors held it long in peace, but the king of England has disinherited him of it wrongfully and sinfully, thus he sends you by me. You yourself know that this is the truth; you were not a child of tender years, that you and all the kingdom were not witnesses of it. Now show our king love before his baronage; surrender him the castle and its dependencies, and he will reward you with sure coined money. Surrender the castle, and become his liegeman on these conditions, and he will give you more money than I can reckon. If you refuse, and persist in disinheriting him, you must expect no mercy from him. He will besiege your castle with his people, so that you will not be able to quit it with impunity. And if he gain the castle by force, you will not be protected from his vengeance by the king of England or all his gold." Robert's answer was simple and direct. "We care little," he said, "for your threats, for we have brave men within to defend our trust; shame to him who talks of surrender as long as we have provisions. Go, messenger, to the king of Scotland, who is your lord; say from me that I hold of him neither honour, nor fee, nor inheritance, nor will I ever hold any of him; but let him go to king Henry, and let him make his complaint that I hold the castle and tower of Carlisle by force against him as a true warrior; and if my lord the king be angry with me for it, let him send me his messenger, but no traitor, who may tell me from him to give up this honour willingly and cheerfully, without hesitation. Then I will do it; or let him make a covenant with me; give me a truce till I pass the sea, and state the case to my lord king Henry; then, if he order me to surrender

it, I will do so loyally; but if his will be otherwise, I will not surrender the king's castle as long as I have life to defend it."

These details are interesting, because they are characteristic of the times, and are told by one who witnessed the events he describes. When king William received this bold message from Robert de Vaux he did not continue the siege of Carlisle, but hurried to Appleby, which was surrendered without resistance by its keeper, Gospatric, the son of Orm, "an old grey-headed Englishman," who had no efficient garrison. Brough castle was next taken, but not till after a very obstinate defence, in revenge for which the fortress was dismantled. These successes of the Scots alarmed the loyal barons in the north, especially as the siege of Carlisle was now turned into a blockade, and the place was so surrounded with enemies that Robert de Vaux could no longer communicate with his friends without. In this extremity messengers were sent to king Henry in Normandy, telling him of the danger of his barons in the north, and urging him to give them speedy assistance. Henry hastened back to England, to disconcert his domestic enemies by his presence, but he had hardly reached his capital when the fortunes of war turned strangely to his advantage.

After again summoning the garrison of Carlisle, with as little effect as before, the Scottish king laid siege to Prudhoe, which was also bravely and successfully defended. Obligated, after persevering three days, to relinquish this object also, William proceeded to attempt Alnwick, and his army spread itself over the country, plundering and massacring. Meanwhile Odel de Umfraville, the lord of Prudhoe, had ridden south in search of assistance, and being joined by William d'Estuteville, the celebrated lawyer Ranulph de Glanville, Bernard de Baliol, and William de Vesci, he returned with them to the succour of his castle. On their arrival at Newcastle they learnt that the king of Scotland had gone with a small party of knights, accompanied chiefly by his Flemings and Frenchmen, towards Alnwick. It was determined to follow him and watch his movements, and they proceeded towards Alnwick in the night, sending a spy to observe the numbers and position of the Scots, who reported that the king lay carelessly with about five hundred knights and his Flemish auxiliaries, waiting for the reunion of his army, that he might assault the castle. He

was aroused from his security by hearing the war-cries of Baliol, Glanville, and the other English barons, close to his camp, and he boldly rushed forth to meet them. Not only had he to contend with some of the brightest names in the English chivalry of that day, but the advantage of numbers was against him; yet William the Lion fought bravely, until his horse was slain under him, and he fell helpless to the ground, where he was unable to stir till the horse was dragged away by his enemies. The Scottish king surrendered to Ranulf de Glanville, most of his barons were captured by the other English leaders, and his Flemish allies were slaughtered without mercy. King William was carried by his captor first to Newcastle, and thence to Richmond in Yorkshire, both strong fortresses, and thence he was soon afterwards carried south, to be presented to the English monarch. Henry was overjoyed at the news of this occurrence, but almost at the same time he received intelligence that his city of Rouen was threatened by his continental enemies, and he found it necessary to hurry back to Normandy to resist them. He sent pressing orders to Ranulf de Glanville that he should bring his royal prisoner to Southampton, to be presented to him before he embarked, but when Ranulf and his captive arrived at that town, king Henry was already departed for Normandy, whither he was followed, without loss of time, by Glanville and the king of Scots. Jordan Fantosme's narrative shows us the inaccuracy of the ordinary statement, that the Scottish king was presented to king Henry at Northampton, and that he was taken over with him to Normandy as a spectacle of triumph; and it certainly is remarkable, that one who was a witness of what he relates, and has descended to such minute particulars, says nothing to confirm the popular story that the captive was led along in an ignominious manner, with his legs tied under the belly of his horse.

On the capture of their king, the Scottish army dispersed in the utmost haste, every one anxious to reach his own home with his plunder. The government of Scotland was thrown into so embarrassing a condition, that the great barons were all eager for the liberation of their king, but Henry II. was not inclined to release him on easy terms. After some negotiation, the Scottish nobility and clergy were induced to accept the humiliating condition, that William should be-

come the liegeman of king Henry, and that he should do homage for Scotland and all his other territories. By a treaty concluded at Falaise, in Normandy, in the December of 1174, the king of England was declared lord paramount of Scotland; and homage for the latter was duly rendered to king Henry at York, before his prisoner was liberated. The principal castles in Scotland, Roxburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling, were delivered up to the English as pledges, and the king's brother, David, with many Scottish nobles, were sent as hostages, for the full and due performance of this treaty. The freedom of the Scottish church was better preserved, for the clergy contrived to evade a clause in the treaty which was intended to place their church in subjection to that of England; and in a disputed election for the archbishopric of St. Andrews, in 1181, king William, with their support, opposed firmly the pretensions of pope Alexander III., who attempted to impose upon them for primate a man of the name of John the Scot. The kingdom of Scotland was immediately laid under an interdict, and remained so until 1188, when a new pope, Clement III., willing to compromise the matter, recalled the excommunication, and formally ratified the privileges of the church of Scotland as subject immediately to Rome, declaring that no sentence of excommunication should be pronounced there except by the pope himself, or his legate *a latere*, such legate to be a Scottish subject, or one specially deputed out of the sacred college.

Whatever we may think of the terms on which it was bought, we must acknowledge that the liberation of the king was absolutely necessary for the quiet of his people, for his captivity had been the signal of insurrection in most parts of his kingdom. Galloway, especially, was the scene of savage strife. Fergus, the lord of this district, who died in 1161, left two sons, Ueltred and Gilbert, between whom, according to the custom of Galloway, the lands of their father were divided. Both attended king William with their fighting men in the invasion of Northumberland, but, no sooner was the capture of William known, than the men of Galloway hurried back to their native wilds, where they slew the English and Norman settlers, expelled the king's officers, and threw down his castles. From rebellion against the crown, they next proceeded to mutual hostilities.

On the 22nd of September, 1174, Gilbert assassinated his brother Uchtred with circumstances of great barbarity. When king William had obtained his liberty, he marched into Galloway to chastise the murderer, but, according to the ancient custom, the only penalty he exacted was a pecuniary fine. As a further security for his person, Gilbert went to king Henry at York, in 1176, where he did him homage, and received his favour and protection, which he is said to have purchased for a thousand marks. Gilbert now, confident in the support of the English monarch, set no bounds to his pride and arrogance. In 1184, he carried devastation into Scotland, and king William was only relieved from his turbulence by his death, which occurred in the following year. Gilbert's brother, Uchtred, had left a son named Roland, who, immediately on his uncle's death, took up arms to recover the rights bequeathed to him by his father. On the 4th of July, 1185, he totally defeated the vassals of the late lord, and slew their leader, Gilpatrick, and soon succeeded in making himself master of Galloway. The English king was incensed at these enterprises of Roland, and assembled an army at Carlisle, in 1186, to invade Galloway. Yet the dispute ended in a compromise; for Roland, who had prepared for an obstinate resistance, offered to submit his cause to the decision of an English judicature, upon which king Henry, satisfied that the authority paramount of England was thus acknowledged, gave him his peace, and king William satisfied the claims of Duncan, the son of Gilbert, by granting him the district of Carrick.

In other parts of Scotland also, the Gaelic race rose up against the Saxon and Norman settlers, and compelled them to seek refuge in towns and castles. In 1179, William was obliged to march with an army into the shire of Ross, where he built two fortresses, which, however, did not ensure the tranquillity of the district. In 1187, Donald Mac William, pretending to be the grandson of the bastard king Duncan, took advantage of the discontent that still prevailed in these parts, to assert his claim to the throne; and he seized upon Ross, and ravaged Moray. William marched against him with an army; but the fate of the pretender was decided by the hand of Roland, the new lord of Galloway, who slew him in an accidental encounter of foraging parties. The year after this event king

Henry of England attempted, with very partial success, to enforce on the Scottish clergy a contribution towards the crusades. On the 6th of July, 1189, Scotland was relieved of a powerful enemy by Henry's death.

The new reign in England brought with it a sudden change of policy towards Scotland. Richard Cœur-de-Lion signalized his accession by an act of generosity towards that country, which seemed to have sealed a lasting friendship between the two governments. After a personal interview with the Scottish monarch at Canterbury, Richard voluntarily renounced all the advantages which his father had extorted from William the Lion during his captivity, and by a treaty which was then entered into between the two kings, he re-established the borders of the two kingdoms as they had been at the time of William's disastrous invasion of Northumberland, giving up the frontier castles of Roxburgh and Berwick, which remained in the hands of the English at the time of Henry's death, and reserving to England only such homage as had been required in the time of Malcolm IV. Scotland was thus placed fully in the situation of national independence which it had lost by the treaty of Falaise, and William was still the liegeman of the king of England for Lothian, for the town of Berwick, and for whatever lands he possessed in the realm of England. Scotland was to pay for this ample restitution the sum of ten thousand marks sterling, a large sum at that time, and which could only be raised by an aid granted to the king by the nobles and the clergy, and a part of the burden is said to have fallen on the people in the form of a capitation tax. When the lion-hearted Richard was himself in captivity in Germany, two thousand marks still remained unpaid, at least that sum was then paid by king William, but it is believed by some to have been a voluntary contribution towards the ransom of the English king.

The friendly terms on which William now stood with the English king, enabled him to give all his cares to the internal troubles of his kingdom, which was seldom free from insurrection in some district or other. In 1196, Harald earl of Caithness headed an insurrection in the north, but the insurgents were immediately dispersed. Next year the rebellion was renewed in the neighbourhood of Inverness by Harald's son Torphin, but with no better success

After having defeated this attempt against his authority, the king marched through Ross, and through the earldom of Caithness, and seizing Harald he compelled him to deliver up his son Torphin as a hostage, and deprived him of a part of his territory, which was given to Hugh Freskin. After Harald's death, which occurred in 1206, Torphin rebelled again, and was eventually punished with a cruel death in the castle of Roxburgh.

The accession of king John to the throne of England led to new misunderstandings between the two monarchs. In 1204 the English king built a castle at Tweedmouth, to overawe Berwick; but William immediately caused it to be demolished, and hindered every attempt to re-erect it. At length, in 1209, John assembled an army at Norham, and William collected his warriors at Berwick; but peace was secured by the mediation of the barons on both sides; a treaty was entered into by which the causes of complaint were removed; and William agreed to pay to the king of England the large sum of fifteen thousand marks for his good-will, and for certain favourable conditions. The Scottish king gave hostages for the payment of this money by periodical instalments, and he sent John his two daughters, Margaret and Isabella, as wards. In 1211 William called a great council at Stirling, to ask assistance to complete the

payment of the sum stipulated in this treaty, and, with the understanding that it was for the marriage of his daughters, the barons are said to have given him ten thousand marks, and the boroughs six. The same year, Guthred, who professed to be the son of the pretender Mac William, landed from Ireland, and disturbed some of the mountainous districts, but he was eventually defeated, captured, and executed. This is one of the last events of any importance recorded in William's reign. He died at Stirling, on the 4th of December, 1214, at the advanced age of seventy-two, having reigned forty-eight years. With the exception of his rash conduct at Alnwick, and the eagerness with which he sold the freedom of his country to obtain his own liberty, William's reign may be considered a flourishing one, and his kingdom appears to have been advancing in prosperity and strength. He was severe in the exaction of justice, an active and chivalrous warrior, and repressed the turbulence of his subjects with energy, and consequently with success; but his popular title of William the Lion is said to have been given him, not from this circumstance, but because he was the first who assumed that animal as the armorial bearing of Scotland. By his wife, Ermengarde de Beaumont, he had a son, Alexander, who succeeded him, and two daughters. He left also a numerous progeny of natural children.

CHAPTER VII.

REIGNS OF ALEXANDER II. AND ALEXANDER III.; CONTINUED TURBULENCE OF THE CELTIC POPULATION;
INTRIGUES OF HENRY III. OF ENGLAND.

ALEXANDER II. was only in his seventeenth year when he was called to the throne of Scotland, and placed in circumstances which required the prudence and experience of more advanced years. He was crowned at Scone on the 5th of December, 1214. His reign was first disturbed by an attack from another Mac William, named Donald, who also came from Ireland, and who landed in Moray; but he was defeated and slain by Mae Intagart, earl of Ross, and the head of this traitor was one of the earliest offerings to the youthful monarch.

Alexander was soon afterwards involved in hostilities of a more serious character. The desire of regaining the northern shires, assured to him by the promises of the English barons, engaged him to join them in their confederacy against king John, and he crossed the Tweed, and laid siege, without success, to the castle of Norham. In retaliation for this attack, king John marched to the north in 1216, and after wasting Yorkshire and Northumberland, crossed the Tweed with his army of mercenaries, ravaged the country in a manner more terrible even

than the ancient Scottish inroads into England, and burnt the towns of Dunbar and Haddington. But his armies thus soon destroyed the resources of the country, and were compelled by want of provisions to retreat; in their way back they burnt the priory of Coldingham and the town of Berwick. Alexander, in revenge, entered England by the western marches, and carried fire and sword through the English provinces. The savage Galwegians burnt the monastery of Holmcultram, in Cumberland, and when they had loaded themselves with plunder, they hurried home to secure it; the chroniclers tell us that a thousand of these "wild Scots of Galloway" were swallowed up by the river Eden (more probably, it is conjectured, by the sands of the Solway) on their way back. The king was weary of their turbulence and want of discipline, and having dismissed them entirely from his army, he continued his march southward, to join the French prince Louis and the barons who were in confederation with him. But as he proceeded he received successive intelligence of the death of king John, of the accession of Henry III., and of the defeat of the French prince at Lincoln. Louis made hurried terms of peace, without including the Scots, so that Alexander was left to obtain peace for himself, or to bear alone the consequences of the war into which he had been dragged. But those who now ruled England were willing to avoid the latter alternative, and a treaty was concluded in 1217, by which Alexander gave up the city of Carlisle, and he at the same time did homage for the earldom of Huntingdon, and for the territories which his predecessors had held of the English crown.

The friendship between the two crowns seemed now to be restored, and it was further cemented in 1221 by the marriage of the Scottish king to the English princess Joan. He was thus left at liberty to attend to the turbulence of his own Gaelic subjects, whose hostility to the new principles of justice and order continued unabated. Immediately after his marriage, a rebellion broke out in the wilds of Argyle, which it required all his patience and perseverance to overcome. He confiscated the property of the chiefs, and distributed it among some of his own officers, who, settling there with their followers, enforced obedience to the laws, and gradually spread a taste for civilization. The same year (1222) Alexander was called into the extreme north by a tumult in Caith-

ness, originating in some exactions on the part of the church in the taking of tithes. Adam, the bishop, had been burnt in his palace of Halkirk, and this outrage was said to have been committed with the connivance of the earl. The king was on his way to England when he received intelligence of this tumult, but he immediately returned, and having taken cognizance of the facts, punished with great severity all who were concerned in it, and deprived the earl of Caithness of his estates, which, however, he was allowed afterwards to redeem. In 1228, one Gillascop mac Scolane raised a serious rebellion in Moray, where he burnt some castles, set fire to the town of Inverness, and committed great havoc in the neighbourhood; and the king, who had marched against him with a small force, met with a repulse, for the people refused to obey the summons to attend the royal banner. But the year following, the justiciary of Scotland, William Comyn, earl of Buchan, marched against the insurgents with his own vassals, and having defeated them, he caused Gillescop and his two sons to be executed. In 1231, the turbulence of the inhabitants of Caithness led to another disgraceful outrage. It was the earl who was now the victim, and, it is said, by the bishop and his followers, assisted by the earl's own servants, the latter was murdered, and his castle burnt. This tragedy called again for chastisement on the perpetrators, in the course of which the Freskins are supposed to have been established here, and raised to the earldom of Sutherland, as a check upon the turbulence of the earls of Caithness.

Such were the provocations which the Scottish crown was continually subjected to from its Gaelic subjects, and which led gradually to the destruction of the old native aristocracy of the kingdom. Tumults of a more extensive character took place in Galloway in 1234, arising from the jealousy of foreign settlers. Alan, lord of Galloway, dying in that year, left three daughters by different marriages, and an illegitimate son. The three daughters, by the Norman law, were coheiresses, and Alexander wished to break the turbulence of the Galwegian chiefs by dividing the lordship, and marrying the three coheiresses to foreign settlers. The men of Galloway withstood the partition of their territory, and insisted that it should remain a single fief. They began by petitioning the king to take the lordship of Galloway himself; and then, on his refusal,

they asked for their lord Alan's illegitimate son, Thomas, who had married a daughter of the king of Man. When this petition also was refused, the Galwegians called in the bastard Thomas, who brought with him an Irish chief named Gilroth, and they raised a formidable rebellion. The king of Scotland marched against these insurgents, and, in consequence of the natural strength of the country they held, he overcame them with difficulty; but his victory was decisive, the people submitted, and the lordship was divided according to the king's wishes. Next year the bastard returned with Gilroth from Ireland, but the rebels were soon reduced to the necessity of soliciting the royal pardon, which was granted to them; and thus ended the old race of the Galwegian chieftains, whose turbulence had so often disturbed the peace of the kingdom. But the wild Scots of Galloway did not so soon lay aside their rude independence of character. One of their new lords, Roger de Quinci, was proud and harsh in the enforcement of feudal services, and in 1247 they rose against him, and besieged him in his castle. De Quinci sallied out with his adherents, and cutting his way through the besiegers, carried his complaints to the Scottish king, who immediately proceeded into the disturbed district, and reinstated earl Roger in his rights. De Quinci died in 1264, leaving three daughters, which led to a further division of this territory.

Scotland began now to be threatened also by the intrigues of the English monarch, Henry III., who, in the year 1233, attempted by his agents at Rome to have the validity of Alexander's coronation questioned, and to procure a papal acknowledgment of the dependence of that kingdom on the English crown. After some disputes and negotiations, the two kings agreed in 1237 to an adjustment of their mutual pretensions, and it was settled that in compensation for all Alexander's claims, he should receive lands to the amount of two hundred pounds a-year in Northumberland and Cumberland, and thereupon he swore fealty to king Henry for the lands he held in England, according to the ancient practice. A new subject of distrust between the two kings arose in 1284, from suspicions entertained by Henry that his Scottish neighbours were intriguing with France against him. The king of England conducted an army to Newcastle, and the Scots assembled in hostile array on the other side of the border amounting in number, if

we believe the statement of the chroniclers, to a hundred thousand men; but any such number must have been made up of wild clans, plunderers, and camp followers, in whom little trust could be placed. However, a collision was prevented by the interference of the English barons, and a hollow appearance of friendship was again made up. It was not till the second Alexander's death that king Henry's designs against Scotland were carried on more openly.

The last act of the life of Alexander II. was, like his first, an expedition against a refractory chieftain. Some of the chiefs of the Hebrides had contrived to keep up a turbulent independence, by transferring their homage from the king of Scotland to the king of Norway, or the contrary, at pleasure; and one of these, Angus, lord of Argyle, now set the former at defiance, pretending that his homage belonged to the Norwegian, as lord paramount of the isles. While engaged in reducing this chief to obedience, king Alexander died, at the remote island of Kerrera, on the coast of Argyle, on the 8th of July, 1249. He was buried in the abbey of Mailros. By his first wife, Joan, the daughter of king John of England, Alexander left no issue; but by his second wife, Mary de Couci, whom he married in 1239, he left a son, named after himself, who was born at Roxburgh on the 4th of September, 1241, and was therefore now in his eighth year.

Thus was Scotland a second time to be governed by an infant king. It was now that the king of England attempted more openly to enforce his claim to feudal superiority over Scotland, and no sooner was he informed of the death of Alexander II., than he made his application to the pope that the coronation of Alexander III. might be interdicted until Henry III. of England should have given his consent. The opposition of the pope was anticipated and counteracted, by hurrying the coronation; but objections were raised even at home. The day fixed for the ceremony, the 13th of July, 1249, was considered, according to the superstitious calendar of the age, an unlucky day, and according to the practice of chivalry, one who, like the young king of Scotland, had not been knighted, was incapable of ascending the throne before that ceremony had been performed. It was usual for a prince to be knighted only by a king, but the difficulty in this case was overcome by the boldness of Walter Comyn, earl of

Menteith, who insisted that the archbishop of St. Andrews should first knight and then crown the heir to the throne; and the primate, calling to mind the example of archbishop Anselm, who had knighted William Rufus, acted on the earl's suggestion. The coronation oath was explained to the young king in Latin and French; and to give the ceremony still greater solemnity, when he was placed on the fated stone, a Gaelic *seanachie*, or highland bard, with a venerable beard and hoary locks, and covered with a scarlet robe, knelt before him and recited the royal genealogy in the language of his Celtic subjects.

Thus every precaution was taken to strengthen the claims of the young monarch to the allegiance of his subjects; yet his reign was one continued scene of intrigue abroad and faction at home, which eventually brought great calamities on his unfortunate country. In 1251, Alexander III. married Margaret, the daughter of Henry III. of England; and on that occasion, while resident at the English court, he did homage to Henry for his English lands; yet, when pressed to do homage for the kingdom of Scotland, he contrived to evade the demand, by representing that he came there to be married, and not to treat of affairs of state, and that he could not take such an important step as that now proposed to him without the approbation of his great council. Nevertheless, Alexander allowed himself to be influenced by his father-in-law, who from this time took an officious interest in Scottish affairs, which gave great offence to the inhabitants of that kingdom, and raised up divisions and factions which continued long to distract it. By these intrigues, the Comyns and the great nobles who had hitherto ruled the kingdom were removed in 1255, and an English faction was raised and entrusted with the government. The discontented nobles, headed by the Comyns, confederated together, and taking up arms, seized the persons of the king and queen, that they might rule in their names. The faction of the Comyns, which included most of the greatest families in Scotland, endeavoured to strengthen themselves by forming an alliance with the Welsh, who were then in arms against their English neighbours; and Henry, believing that his best policy was to yield, agreed, in 1258, to the formation of a regency in Scotland, which, by comprehending the chiefs of the several factions, satisfied them all, and produced a temporary

pacification. Alexander and his queen paid not unfrequent visits to the English court, at which the question of homage for Scotland was often pressed, but always steadily refused. The object of some of these visits was to obtain portions of Margaret's dowry, which Henry, pressed by his necessities, was slow in paying. A proof of the little faith which the Scottish government placed in king Henry's honourable intentions is furnished by the conditions of the safe-conduits given on these occasions. When Alexander and his queen went to London in 1260, it was stipulated in the safe-conduct that neither the king nor his attendants should be required to treat of state affairs during this visit; and Henry swore that he would detain neither the queen of Scotland nor her child, if she should be delivered in England. There was a formal agreement allowing the queen to be delivered at her father's court, and binding the king to restore the mother and child. He further engaged, in case of the death of the Scottish king, to deliver the infant prince to the regency of Scotland. As appears to have been expected, the queen was delivered in England, but her offspring was a daughter, which was named after the mother, Margaret.

Next year (A.D. 1262) Scotland was threatened with a formidable invasion by Haco, king of Norway, which was averted for the moment by the interference of the king of England. The pretence was to support the interests of the northerners in the Scottish islands, which it had been the continued policy of the Scottish kings for some years to undermine. In 1263 Haco appeared on the Scottish coast with one of the most formidable fleets that had ever left the shores of Norway, and proceeding to the mouth of the Clyde, attempted to effect a landing in the bay of Largs on the 2nd of October, 1263. The weather was very tempestuous, which rendered it impossible for the Norwegian army to land in a body, and made the disembarkation exceedingly difficult and dangerous under any circumstances; while on the present occasion the Scottish army, encouraged by the providential state of the weather, opposed them with resolute bravery. The Norwegians renewed the attempt to land day after day, till, discouraged by repeated defeats, and the loss of great numbers of their warriors, they found themselves obliged to relinquish their design, and to put to sea again with their shattered navy. Haco led his fleet through the strait between the

isle of Skye and the mainland, which has since been called after him Kyle Haken, and after a disastrous voyage reached the Orkney islands, where, soon afterwards, sinking beneath the disappointment and mortification of his defeat, he died. His successor, Magnus, in 1266, relinquished his claims to the islands on the Scottish coast, except those of Orkney and Shetland, in consideration of the payment of four thousand marks, and a quit-rent of a hundred marks a-year.

Alexander was twenty-four years of age when he was thus compelled to place himself at the head of his army to withstand a foreign invasion. His attention was soon called off to other scenes of warfare; for when the barons of England rose in arms against king Henry, his son-in-law of Scotland sent to his aid a considerable body of Scottish troops, under the command of John Comyn, John Baliol, and Robert Bruce; but so distrustful were the Scots of the designs of the monarch they were going thus to assist, that they expressly stipulated that they joined his standard as auxiliaries, and not as feudal vassals, fearing that he might afterwards construe this act into an acknowledgment of his feudal superiority. The three nobles just named, who were at that time the most illustrious barons of Scotland, with many others, were made prisoners at the battle of Lewes, and they only regained their liberty after the battle of Evesham, in the subsequent year. After their return, Scotland enjoyed some years of peace, and Alexander, now arrived at full manhood, was occupied chiefly in resisting the encroachments of the clergy, in which his firmness and prudence were rewarded with success. On the accession of Edward I. to the English throne in 1278, Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, was commissioned by Alexander to perform the homage which was due to the English monarch, for the rather extensive possessions held by the Scottish kings in England, and he was drawn by the crafty monarch into declaring his fealty in such general terms

as were afterwards interpreted as an acknowledgment of the subjection of Scotland.

After the disastrous expedition of king Haco, the hostilities between Norway and Scotland disappeared, to make way for a friendly alliance, which was cemented in 1281 by the marriage of Eric, king of Norway, with Alexander's daughter, the princess Margaret. The latter died in 1283, leaving only a daughter, called after herself Margaret, and known popularly in Scotland by the title of "the maiden of Norway." Family misfortunes now began to crowd upon the Scottish monarch; he had lost his wife, Margaret of England, and in the beginning of 1284 he lost his only surviving son, named after himself Alexander, who a little more than a year before had married a daughter of Guy, Earl of Flanders, but he had no child by her. The only descendant that remained to Alexander was his granddaughter, Margaret of Norway. He called his great council, which assembled at Seone, to settle the succession of the crown, and the nobles bound themselves to acknowledge the maiden of Norway as their sovereign, if he left no male issue on his demise. But still wishing to leave a son as his successor, he married, in 1285, Joletta, the daughter of the count de Dreux. Superstitious people observed omens attendant on the marriage festivities which they believed to bode fatal misfortune to the king and to the kingdom, and popular prophecies were supposed to be fulfilled, when, on the 16th of March, 1286, as he was hurrying homewards in the dusk of the evening by a precipitous road along the sea-coast, between Burnt-island and Kinghorn, in the county of Fife, his horse missed his footing and fell with his rider down the cliff, and both were killed. Scotland was filled with mourning at this unhappy event, and, in the midst of melancholy anticipations, the maiden of Norway was called to the throne. Scotland was thus left to the rule not only of an infant (for Margaret was only three years of age), but to a female.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MAIDEN OF NORWAY; INTRIGUES IN SCOTLAND; THE INTERREGNUM; ELECTION OF JOHN BALIOL TO THE THRONE.

MARGARET was at this time in Norway, and it was necessary to appoint some form of government for Scotland during her absence. The parliament assembled for this purpose in the April of 1286, appointed a regency, consisting of six guardians of the kingdom, of whom three, Fraser, bishop of St. Andrews, Duncan, earl of Fife, and Alexander, earl of Buchan, were to administer the northern division of Scotland beyond the firth of Forth, while the southern division was entrusted to the care of the other three, Wishart, bishop of Glasgow, John Comyn, lord of Badenoch, and James the high steward.

The position in which the crown of Scotland was now placed, opened a prospect that excited the ambition of various individuals who claimed relationship to the royal family. Foremost stood the two great names of Bruce and Baliol, and in this first parliament there was a warm debate on the succession to the crown between the partisans of these two nobles. Their disputes were viewed with interest by the king of England (Edward I.), who had already aims of ambition and aggrandizement, to which nothing promised to lead him more directly and surely than Scottish faction. He was at this time absent in France, but not the less eagerly watching the course of events on the other side the Tweed, and waiting for the moment when his interference would necessarily be called for. He, however, entered into closer alliance with the father of the young queen, Eric of Norway, who, himself only eighteen years of age, seemed to cling to king Edward as an adviser, and as the natural protector of his infant child, and who was unwilling to expose her tender years to the fierce turbulence which then awaited her in Scotland. A strong party against her had already been formed, comprising some of the most powerful of the Scottish barons, who met at Turnberry, the castle of Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, on the 20th of September, 1286. Robert Bruce claimed the crown as the descendant of David, earl of Huntingdon, the brother of king William the Lion, and his cause was supported by

some of the first of the Scottish nobility. There appeared at Turnberry, on this occasion, Patrick, earl of Dunbar, and his three sons; Walter Stewart, earl of Menteith; James, the high steward of Scotland, and his brother John; Angus, the son of Donald, the lord of the isles, and his son Alexander, with one or two other chieftains of the family of Bruce. They were joined by two English barons, Thomas de Clare, brother of Gilbert, earl of Gloucester, and nephew of Bruce's wife, and Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster. These barons entered into an alliance, the real object of which was to support Robert Bruce's title to the throne. In the midst of these intrigues, one of the regents, Duncan, earl of Fife, was assassinated by sir Patrick Abernethy, and another, Alexander, earl of Buchan, died, reducing to four the number of persons in whom the government of the kingdom was lodged. Of these, the steward, as we have just seen, had joined the party of Bruce. Rival claimants were not inactive, and the jealousy of Bruce and Baliol broke out into open war, which disturbed the country during two years.

These commotions were rapidly working out the designs of king Edward of England. On one side they increased, and justified the reluctance of king Eric to send his daughter to Scotland, while on the other, they made the states of that kingdom urgent to obtain some settlement of the government, which might restore tranquillity to the country. With this object, they sent a deputation to the king of England, consisting of the bishop of Brechin, the abbot of Jedburgh, and Geoffrey de Mowbray, who were to ask for his direct mediation in composing the Scottish troubles. The king of Norway also sent an embassy to Edward, urging him to interfere in behalf of his daughter Margaret. Edward, who had remained in France, affecting to pay little attention to Scottish affairs, now returned to England, declaring privately to his council, that the time was arrived for reducing Scotland under his power, but proceeding outwardly with the same slow caution which had hitherto characterized

his conduct. These occurrences took place in the spring of 1289. The Scottish regents, at Edward's request, appointed the bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, with Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale (the father of the earl of Carrick), and John Comyn, to treat with the Norwegian ambassadors in the presence of the king of England, and gave them power to ratify whatever might be agreed upon, saving always the liberty and honour of Scotland, and provided that nothing was proposed injurious to the welfare of that country. The city of Salisbury was chosen as the place of meeting, and king Edward sent as his own agents, to join with the Scottish and Norwegian commissioners in this conference, the bishops of Worcester and Durham, and the earls of Pembroke and Warrenne.

The king of England appears from the moment of Alexander's death to have entertained a project equally wise and salutary, which was calculated to bring about the union of the two kingdoms by a more natural way than that of violence and conquest, which he afterwards attempted. This project was the marriage of his son, prince Edward of Wales, with the princess Margaret. Not a hint of this intention had, however, yet been allowed to transpire; though, as the prince and princess were within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, Edward had taken the precaution before the assembly at Salisbury to procure secretly from the pope a dispensation for the marriage. The commissioners met in that city at the time appointed, and agreed without difficulty to a convention, of which three copies were made, one in Latin for the king of Norway, and the others in Anglo-Norman for the king of England and the states of Scotland. It was stipulated on the part of the king of Norway, that the princess should be sent into Scotland or England before the feast of All Saints in the following year, and that she should be untrammelled by any matrimonial engagement; and that, if she came to England, king Edward should send her into Scotland, equally free with regard to marriage, as soon as he felt satisfied that that kingdom was reduced to a proper state of tranquillity. The states of Scotland bound themselves to give security to the king of England, before they received their queen, that she should not marry without his consent and that of her father, the king of Norway; and they further engaged that the quiet of the kingdom of Scotland should be

established before the arrival of the queen, that she might live in it in freedom and safety. The guardians of Scotland, if they became obnoxious to the king of Norway, were to be removed and replaced by others by the advice of the "good men" of Scotland and Norway, and of English commissioners to be named by Edward, and the latter were ultimately to decide all disputes regarding public measures which might occur between the ministers of Scotland and Norway, as well as differences arising among the Scottish ministers themselves. Lastly, it was agreed that a meeting of the estates of Scotland should be held at Roxburgh in the middle of the ensuing Lent, before which time all the articles of this convention were to be duly fulfilled and ratified in the presence of the English commissioners.

A treaty giving such extensive power to the king of England cannot fail to strike us with surprise, when we consider that the name of Robert Bruce was attached to it on the part of Scotland. Edward had manifestly the authority to keep the princess Margaret in England as long as he thought convenient, under the pretext that Scotland was not sufficiently tranquil for her safe residence, and the cautious stipulations relating to marriage could leave no doubt of the matter which was then uppermost in the king's mind. We accordingly find that from this moment the marriage of Margaret to the prince of Wales was openly canvassed, and the Scottish commissioners are supposed to have received directions from the king to sound the nobility on the subject. The immediate result was a meeting of the estates of Scotland at Brigham, a village near Roxburgh, which, situated on the bank of the river Tweed, was conveniently placed for carrying on the negotiations with England. Hence, in the month of March in the year 1290, they directed a letter to the king of England, signed by the clergy and nobles of the realm, in which they expressed their joy at the intelligence that he had obtained a dispensation from the pope for the marriage of their queen with the prince of Wales, desired to be informed of the progress of this important measure, and assured him of their full concurrence, provided certain conditions were agreed to, of which they would inform him by delegates sent to his next parliament, to be held in London the following Easter. Another letter was sent to the king of Norway, informing him likewise of their ready consent to the proposed measure, and re-

questing that the young queen might immediately be sent over. Eric still seemed reluctant to send his daughter, and his delay added to the impatience of the Scottish states and the English king. The latter sent an able negotiator, Anthony Beck, bishop of Durham, to Norway, who at length, by a liberal distribution of money among the nobles, obtained a promise that the child should be sent immediately to England.

Meanwhile the treaty of marriage proceeded rapidly. After the return of the bishop of Durham, that prelate was appointed with five other plenipotentiaries to attend a meeting of the Scottish estates at Brigham, on the 18th of July, 1290, and the treaty was then concluded, which showed the patriotic care of the states to protect the liberties of their country. The principal articles of this treaty stipulated that the rights, laws, liberties, and customs of Scotland were to be universally observed in all future times, throughout the whole kingdom and its marches, saving always the rights of the king of England or any other person, which existed before that time, and might come to them subsequently; that, if Margaret or Edward, or either of them, died without issue, the kingdom should return freely and absolutely to the nearest heirs; that the queen, if she survived her husband, should be given up to the Scottish nation, free from all matrimonial engagement. It was stipulated expressly that Scotland should remain for ever separate from England, free in itself, and without subjection, according to its ancient boundaries. Other articles required that the government should be carried on within the kingdom, according to the established laws and customs.

King Edward lost no time in ratifying this convention, but the impatient haste with which he proceeded to exercise his authority spread alarm and dissatisfaction through Scotland. Under the pretext that he could not fulfil the terms of his oath to maintain the ancient laws of Scotland without the presence of an English governor, he proceeded to assume a power which the treaty had not given to him, by appointing the bishop of Durham to the office of governor of Scotland, which he conferred upon him in the name of Margaret and Edward, although they were not yet married. Overconfident in the success of his own schemes, or, as it has been supposed, willing to try how far the patience of the Scots would go

at this conjuncture, Edward next took a step still more unwarrantable. Under the pretext that he had been warned of conspiracies and dangers which threatened the state of Scotland, he demanded that all the castles and other fortresses of the kingdom should be delivered immediately into his hands. The spirit of the Scottish nobility was roused by this bold attack, and they refused to comply. Three knights who had stood high in the favour of Alexander III., sir William Sinclair, sir Patrick Graham, and sir John Soules, set the example of disobedience, and were followed by all the other keepers of castles, and the king of England found it advisable to relinquish his demand and to use conciliatory language towards the regency.

All eyes were now turned towards Norway, and every rumour relating to the movements of the young queen was listened to with eagerness. When it was known that the ship which was to bring her over had sailed, preparations were made for her reception by the guardians of Scotland, and English commissioners. But at length, when all was joyful expectation, the melancholy intelligence arrived that she had been attacked with a mortal disease while at sea, and that she had landed in Orkney, only to die there. This event occurred in the September of the year 1290. The whole kingdom was filled with dismay; the crown was left to be disputed by several competitors; and Edward, foiled in his hopes of compassing his grand design by the marriage, had to commence a new series of intrigues in order to effect his object in a different way.

Although the competitors for the crown of Scotland were numerous, the public only acknowledged as legal claimants the descendants of David, earl of Huntingdon, who was himself grandson of David I. John Baliol, lord of Galloway, now in his forty-second year, was the great-grandson of earl David, by his eldest daughter, while old Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale, was the son of his second daughter. Before Margaret's death was known, a convention of the states of Scotland had been called at Perth, to receive and deliberate upon king Edward's reply to the refusal to deliver up the castles. Among the great nobles who refused to attend this meeting, was old Robert Bruce; but no sooner had he learnt the melancholy fate of the young princess, than he assembled his followers in arms, and suddenly came to Perth with

a powerful force, which could leave no doubt of his intention to enforce his own claims. Many of the nobility at once joined his standard, and the earls of Marr and Athol raised their numerous vassals and came to increase his army. Baliol was in England, nearer to Edward, and, therefore, more likely to be influenced by his councils; but he also had his adherents in Scotland, who were hard working for him by intrigues, while his only formidable rival was thus creating respect by show of physical strength. Among those who embraced Baliol's party in Scotland, was one of the guardians of the kingdom, William Frazer, bishop of St. Andrews, who, on the first rumour of the queen's death, wrote a deceitful letter to king Edward, informing him of the troubled state of the country, recommending Baliol to his attention, and advising him to approach the borders with an army, in order, as he pretended, to awe the Scots into peaceful behaviour during the discussion of the claims of the rival competitors. This recommendation agreed exactly with Edward's designs; for he had already assumed the title and character of lord superior of the kingdom of Scotland, as it appears, without any serious opposition. Even Bruce and his adherents, aware of the power of the English monarch, had so far sacrificed their patriotism to their interests, as to make a secret offer of recognising his superiority, if he would support their claims to the throne.

Edward now made no secret of his pretensions. We are told that he assembled his privy-council and the principal nobles of England, and assured them that he intended to reduce Scotland to the same position and dependence as that to which he had brought Wales. He summoned his army to meet him at Norham on the 3rd of June, 1291, and he requested the clergy and nobility of Scotland to meet and confer with him at the same place on the 10th of May, to which they consented. The English king came on the day appointed, accompanied by his justiciary, Roger Brabazon, who had collected together a mass of pretended documentary evidence to support his claim to act as lord paramount of Scotland. The justiciary opened the proceedings with a learned speech, in which he spoke of the qualities and attributes of justice, described the grief of the king, his master, at the troubled state of Scotland, and his wish to remedy it for

which purpose he had invited the Scottish nobles to meet him, that he might give judgment, in his character of lord paramount, and without encroaching on the rights of any man. He concluded by stating that, for the accomplishment of this design, the king required their full recognition of his title of lord paramount. The Scots were taken by surprise, and, merely declaring their ignorance that such a right of superiority had ever belonged to the English monarchs, they expressed their inability in present circumstances, without a king of their own to guide them, to give any answer. Edward exclaimed in anger, that he would risk his life in defence of his rights; upon which the assembly, aware that his claims would be backed by a powerful army, which was to assemble there in a few days, asked for time to deliberate with their absent members. At first, Edward refused to give them more than a day for deliberation, but he finally agreed that they should have three weeks to prepare what they had to say against his pretensions, knowing that before the expiration of that term his army would be assembled on the border.

On the 2nd of June, 1291, king Edward again met the Scottish great council, at Upsetlington, on the northern bank of the Tweed; for he seems to have suddenly thought that there was some irregularity in calling such a meeting on the English side of the border. English promises and English gold had meanwhile not been spared, and had been backed by the insidious advocacy of the bishop of St. Andrews. The claimants to the crown, eager to secure the prize, were ready to sacrifice the independence of their country rather than fail in the attempt. On the first day, eight claimants presented themselves—Robert Bruce; Florence, earl of Holland; John Hastings; Patrick Dunbar, earl of March; William de Ross; William de Vesey; Robert de Pynkeny; and Nicholas de Soulis. The proceedings were on this occasion opened, not as before by the justiciary, but by the lord chancellor, the bishop of Bath and Wells. Edward seems now to have considered it politic not to insist on the recognition of his character of lord paramount by the Scottish parliament, but to rest satisfied with the acknowledgment of that title by those on whose claims he was going to sit in judgment. The chancellor accordingly, after having stated that

the king had given them three weeks for deliberation, and finding that they had brought forward no evidence to invalidate his title, it was now his intention, in virtue of this acknowledged right, to sit as judge over the dispute regarding the succession, turned to Robert Bruce, who stood at the head of the claimants, and asked him if he acknowledged the king of England as lord paramount of Scotland, and if he were willing to abide by the judgment which in that character he should give on his claim. Robert Bruce answered, unhesitatingly and explicitly, that he recognised the king's title, and would abide by his decision. The same question was put successively to the other competitors, and received the same answer from each.

The other principal competitor, Baliol, was not present at this meeting, but when the ceremony of acknowledging the superiority of king Edward had been performed by each claimant, sir Thomas Randolph stood up, and stated that John de Baliol, lord of Galloway, had mistaken the day of meeting, but that he would come on the morrow. Next day, accordingly, Baliol appeared, and he recognised in the same solemn manner the character assumed by the English monarch. The chancellor then again addressed the assembly, to inform them that the king claimed a hereditary right of property in the kingdom of Scotland, as well as the right of superiority, and that though on the present case he had only demanded a recognition of the latter, it was by no means to be understood that he waived the other; on the contrary, that he reserved to himself the prosecution of this claim when and how he should judge expedient. The king then addressed the assembly in Anglo-Norman, recapitulating the whole proceedings, and declaring his intention of giving speedy judgment, and of maintaining the laws of Scotland, and restoring that unhappy country to peace. A new claimant to the throne now appeared in the person of John Comyn, lord of Badenoch, known popularly as the Black Comyn, who had married a sister of Baliol, and whose name was added to the list of competitors. They all now put their signatures to an instrument which declared that, "forasmuch as the king of England has shown evidently to us that the sovereign seigniorship of Scotland, and the right of hearing, trying, and determining our respective claims, belong to him, we agree to receive

judgment from him as our lord paramount; and we are willing to abide by his decision, and consent that he shall possess the kingdom to whom the king shall award it." Commissioners, amounting in number to a hundred and four, were then appointed to report on their various claims.

At the meeting of the 4th of June a second document was signed by the competitors. It was represented that judgment ought to be accompanied with execution, and that execution could not be awarded without previous possession; and, in accordance with this sentiment, the claimants signed a deed, by which the kingdom of Scotland, with all its castles and fortresses, was to be delivered into king Edward's hands, on condition that he should give security to make a full restitution within two months after the date of his award, and that the revenues of the kingdom should be preserved for the future sovereign. On the 11th of June the four regents accordingly delivered the kingdom into the king's hands, and the castles were surrendered to him, with two exceptions, those of the castles of Dundee and Forfar, which were in the keeping of Gilbert de Umfraville, earl of Angus, who declared that he had received the custody of those fortresses from the estates of Scotland, and that he would not deliver them up but by their command. His objection was removed by a letter of indemnity, signed by the guardians and by the competitors for the crown; and these castles also having been delivered to king Edward, he was satisfied with this practical acknowledgment of his feudal superiority, and restored the custody of the kingdom to the regents, but not without another exercise of his authority; for he caused the regents to name one of his creatures, Alan, bishop of Caithness (an Englishman) chancellor of Scotland, and another Englishman named Walter Agmondesham, to be his assistant. He also, of his own authority, appointed an English baron, Brian Fitz-Alan, to be a fifth guardian or regent.

Edward's tone was now moderate and conciliating. He promised to do justice to the competitors within the kingdom of Scotland, and to deliver immediate possession to the successful claimant; he engaged to waive his claim to feudal services on the deaths of the kings, with the exception of the homage due to him as lord paramount; stipulating that, whenever there should be a disputed succession, the kingdom and its

castles were to be again delivered into his hands, that he might be in a position to sit in judgment on the question. The great seal was now brought from Scotland and delivered to the new English chancellor and his assistant, while the four guardians, and after them, John Bruce lord of Annandale, his son the earl of Carrick, John de Baliol, the earls of March, Mar, Buchan, Athol, Angus, Lennox, and Menteith, Comyn lord of Badenoch, and many other barons and knights, took the oath of fealty to king Edward as lord paramount, in the presence of a great concourse of the English and Scottish nobility. The peace of king Edward was then proclaimed by a herald; and the assembly adjourned to the 2nd of August, when it was agreed that it should meet at Berwick to hear the king's judgment on the succession to the Scottish throne. In the interval, the king made a progress through Scotland, visiting its principal cities and towns in person, calling upon persons of all ranks to do their homage of vassals to the crown of England, and appointing officers to receive the oaths of allegiance in the districts which he did not visit.

There were now twelve rival claimants to the crown of Scotland:—1. Florence, count of Holland, who claimed as the descendant from Ada, the sister of king William the Lion. 2. Patrick Dunbar, earl of March, descended from Ilda, or Ada, daughter of king William. 3. William de Vesey, claiming as grandson of Marjory, another daughter of the same monarch. 4. William de Ross, who traced his descent from Isabella, a third daughter of king William. 5. Robert de Pynkeny, descended from Marjory, a sister of William the Lion. 6. Nicholas de Soulis, descended from Marjory, a daughter of Alexander II. 7. Patrick Galythly, who claimed as the son of Henry Galythly, who, he asserted, was the legitimate son of William the Lion. 8. Roger de Mandeville, descended from Africa, who, he pretended, was a daughter of William the Lion. 9. John Comyn, lord of Badenoch, who claimed as a descendant of king Donald. 10. John de Hastings, who was the son of Ada, the third daughter of David, earl of Huntingdon, brother of king William the Lion. 11. Robert de Bruce, the son of Isabel, second daughter of David, earl of Huntingdon. 12. John de Baliol, the grandson of Margaret, eldest daughter of David, earl of Huntingdon.

Most of these claims were easily disposed of, for the pretended daughters of William the Lion were notoriously illegitimate, and and when there were direct representatives of that monarch's brother, the descendants of his sister could put forward no legal title before them. In fact, it was clear that these numerous claimants were raised only by king Edward's intrigues, to give an apparent difficulty to the question, and to be thrown aside the moment they were no longer useful to him.

On the third of August the prelates and nobles of both countries assembled in the castle of the chapel of Berwick, and king Edward opened the proceedings himself. The commissioners then received the petitions of the various claimants, and after they had been severally read, the king recommended them to make a careful investigation of the claims of each, and to prepare a report to be given in at his next parliament, to be held at Berwick on the 2nd of June in the following year (1292). When the parliament met, a new competitor, Erie, king of Norway, put forward his claim as the heir of his daughter Margaret. His title and those of most of the other claimants were, however, soon set aside, and the king commanded the commissioners to consider only the claims of Baliol and Bruce. The whole matter now resolved itself into the question whether the grandson of the eldest daughter, or the son of the second daughter, had the preferable title, and according to the general practice of the day, Baliol's title was best. But from the beginning, Edward's policy had been to delay giving judgment as long as possible, probably for the purpose of accustoming the Scottish people to regard him as their lord paramount. The commissioners were evidently little better than tools in his hands, and we can hardly doubt that their proceedings on the present occasion were prompted by him. The number of claimants having been thus reduced to two, the king required an oath from the Scottish commissioners that they would faithfully advise him by what laws and usages the question should be determined. In reply to this question, they replied with affected diffidence, that they were not agreed as to the application of the laws and usages of Scotland to this question, and that they required the assistance and advice of the English commissioners. When the delegates of the two nations came together,

the English imitated the modesty of the Scots, and said they were unwilling to decide until the question had been debated in the English parliament. On receiving this answer, the king called a parliament to meet at Berwick on the 15th of October, and declared his intention to consult the learned in foreign parts upon a subject which seemed to admit of so easy a decision.

When this parliament met, the king put two questions to the commissioners; he asked them, in the first place, by what laws and customs they ought in this case to give their judgment, and what was to be done if there were no laws applicable to such a point, or if the existing laws of the two countries were at variance; and, secondly, if the kingdom of Scotland was to be regarded as a common fief, and the succession to the crown regulated by the same principles which were applicable to other fiefs. The reply of the commissioners was just such as he wished, and such as might be expected. They said that the laws and usages of the two kingdoms must regulate their judgment; that if none existed applicable to this particular case, he must make a new law; and that the succession must be decided on the same principle as the successions to earldoms and other fiefs. The two rival competitors were then called upon to state their titles, which they did at considerable length; Bruce contending that the son of the younger daughter was nearer in blood to the crown than the grandson of the elder, and that the succession ought not to be judged according to the rule of ordinary fiefs. The king then demanded of his council a decided answer as to the preference of the grandson of the elder sister to the son of the younger, and they replied unanimously that the grandson of the elder daughter was preferable. The king then recommended his council to reconsider the whole case, and adjourned the meeting to Thursday, the 6th of November. When that day came, Edward gave it as his judg-

ment that Bruce's claim must be set aside. Bruce now declared that he intended to present his claim in another form, and John de Hastings, who, as we have seen, was descended from the third daughter of David, earl of Huntingdon, rose and asserted that the kingdom of Scotland was partible, and that it ought to be divided equally among the descendants of the three daughters of the earl of Huntingdon. Bruce seconded this application, and demanded for himself one-third of Scotland, conceding to Baliol, as descended from the eldest sister, the title of king over the whole. Here was a new question for the consideration of the council, which however replied, that neither the kingdom of Scotland nor its revenues were divisible. The king now took a further delay to examine again the whole question, and appointed the 17th of November for the last hearing of the cause. On this occasion, the other claimants having formerly withdrawn, or given up their case by not attending, the king declared his judgment, that the kingdom of Scotland belonged to John de Baliol, with a reservation of the rights of the king of England; and he exhorted Baliol to govern his people in such a manner, that there should be no necessity for the interference of the lord paramount. He ordered the five regents to give their new king seisin of his kingdom and of its castles. The great seal of Scotland was broken into four, and deposited in the treasury of the English king, as evidence of his sovereignty over Scotland; and Baliol having sworn fealty to Edward next day in the castle of Norham, was crowned at Scone on St. Andrew's day, with the ancient ceremonies of investiture. He soon afterwards passed into England, and on the day after Christmas paid his homage to the king of England at Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Thus ended a transaction, in which Scotland was betrayed by those whose duty it was to protect her, and which was only introductory to long years of national calamity.

BOOK II.

FROM THE REIGN OF JOHN BALIOL TO THE ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF STUART.

CHAPTER I.

THE REIGN OF JOHN BALIOL; QUARRELS WITH EDWARD I.; CAPTURE OF BERWICK; BATTLE OF DUNBAR
BALIOL SUBMITS AND IS DEPOSED.

THE position which the kings of England and Scotland held towards each other on the accession of John Baliol to the crown of the latter country could not last long. A step only had been gained in Edward's projects of ambition, and it was certain that he would take the first opportunity to advance, while Baliol was in a place of nominal sovereignty and actual servitude, between the disgust of his subjects on one side and the arrogance of his superior on the other, which could not be long tenable. A subject of dispute occurred almost at the outset of his reign. A citizen of Berwick, named Roger Bartholomew, who felt aggrieved at a judgment of the regents during the interregnum, appealed against it to the king of England, after Baliol had obtained the crown. Baliol expostulated, and reminded Edward of the article in the treaty of Brigham which specially provided that no Scottish subject should be called beyond the bounds of the kingdom to answer in any criminal or civil court, and of his own promise to observe the laws and usages of Scotland. But the English king assumed the right of judging in this case, because, he said, being one which had occurred during the interregnum, the complaint lay against the ministers who held their commissions directly from him as sovereign lord of Scotland, and therefore he alone could have cognizance of their acts. He then, with an affectation of impartial justice, asked for the opinion of some of the ablest of the Scottish lawyers, and directed his council to decide according to the judgment given by them. But he showed his anger by declaring through his justiciary Brabazon that, in spite of any temporary concessions, it was his fixed intention to entertain appeals from Scotland, and give judgment upon them; and, having summoned Baliol and his council to Newcastle he there

caused Brabazon to repeat his declaration, which he backed by a brief address of his own in Norman French. "These," said Edward, "are my firm determinations with regard to all complaints or appeals brought before me from Scotland; nor will I be bound by any former promises or concessions made to the contrary. I am little careful by what deeds or instruments they may be ratified; I shall exercise that superiority and direct dominion which I hold over the kingdom of Scotland, when and where I please; nor will I hesitate, if necessary, to summon the king of Scotland himself into my presence with the kingdom of England." Baliol seems to have been cowed by this bold assumption of superiority, and he and his nobles at once consented to renounce all the stipulations in favour of their laws and liberties contained in the treaty of Brigham. To show his satisfaction at this act of submission, Edward ordered the records of the kingdom of Scotland, which had been formerly taken away from Edinburgh, to be restored; and he further gave Baliol possession of the Isle of Man, which had been given up to the king of England during the late troubles.

A new case of appeal soon occurred to embarrass the relations between the two kingdoms, arising also out of the lawlessness of the interregnum. On the death of the earl of Fife, during this period, his uncle Macduff seized upon the inheritance, to the prejudice of the earl's son Duncan, who, a minor, was left to the protection of the bishop of St. Andrews. Macduff was ejected by the bishop, on which he carried his complaint to king Edward, who, glad of every opportunity of exerting the power he had usurped, caused him to be restored to the estates by the sentence of the guardians or regents. In Baliol's first parliament, Macduff was found guilty of infringing the

rights of the crown in entering forcibly the lands of a minor, and he was punished with imprisonment. He appealed to the king of England, and the latter not only listened to his complaints, but ordered the king of Scotland to repair to England in order to answer them. Baliol on this occasion disregarded the commands of his superior lord, on which the king of England procured an act of his parliament, making it obligatory on the king of Scotland to appear in person to answer every such case of appeal. The character of Baliol was weak and undecided, and as usual the spirit he had shown in resisting the order at first fell considerably before the stern will of the English monarch; he appeared in the English parliament, which was held after Michaelmas, in the year 1293. Macduff also was there, and the Scottish chief having stated his grievance, the king asked Baliol what he had to say in reply. He stepped forward, and said, "I am king of Scotland. To the complaint of Macduff, or to any matters respecting my kingdom, I dare not make an answer without the advice of my people." Edward asked angrily and haughtily on what grounds the man who had acknowledged himself his liegeman, done homage to him, and obeyed his summons to come hither, refused to plead in his court. Baliol's patience, it appears, could endure no more; he replied firmly, "Where the business respects my kingdom, I neither dare nor can answer in this place without the advice of my people," and he evaded an artful proposal to adjourn the decision of the cause to a future day. Judgment was given against the king of Scotland, and the parliament declared him guilty of contempt and disobedience to his sovereign lord; reminded him that he had come into Edward's court as a vassal to claim the crown of Scotland, and recommended to the English king to seize three of the principal castles in Scotland as a security for his future good conduct. But Edward seems to have thought that his parliament had gone too far, and he listened to Baliol's expostulations, and delayed all further proceedings till the summer of 1294, before which time Edward found himself involved in a serious war with France.

The French war dragged Scotland into a series of disastrous hostilities. The Scots had been gradually goaded into a spirit of patriotic resistance, to which they were perhaps encouraged by French agents; and now, instead of obeying his summons to

assist him in the war, they assembled in parliament at Scone, and passed an act dismissing all Englishmen from Baliol's court, where they were regarded, probably with justice, as so many spies on his conduct. They then entered into an alliance with France, and prepared for a war with England. Their first steps, however, had the effect of creating that disunion which, in the sequel, proved their weakness. They began by confiscating all the estates in Scotland which belonged to English barons, and then they treated in the same manner the estates of those Scottish nobles who continued to profess fidelity to the oath of allegiance they had given to king Edward. Among the latter was Robert Bruce, whose lordship of Annandale was taken from him and given to John Comyn earl of Buchan, and he took possession of his castle of Lochmaben with so much eagerness as to provoke the lasting and bitter hatred of the Bruces. Edward, who was at this moment engaged in hostilities with the Welsh, in addition to his war with France, was not dismayed by the intelligence from the north, but he proceeded with artful dissimulation. He received the nobles who had been deprived of their estates with special favour, and promised them full compensation. To Robert Bruce he professed his repentance for the favour he had shown to Baliol, and for giving him the crown; declared that he would depose him from a throne of which he was unworthy, and promised to make him king in his place. This promise, joined with Bruce's hostile feelings towards Comyn, who now ruled in the Scottish councils, decided some of the influential nobles in Edward's favour; and Robert Bruce, of Annandale, with his son, as well as Dunbar earl of March, and Umfraville earl of Angus, went to Edward and renewed their oaths of homage to him.

Another source of division among the Scottish nobles arose from their distrust of their king, whom they feared on account of his notorious want of decision. Fearing that he might be induced to submit, they deprived him of power, confined him in a distant fortress, and chose a regency of twelve of the leading nobles, who were appointed guardians of the kingdom. These new rulers began by drawing up an instrument in the name of the king of Scotland, recounting the injuries received from the king of England, and renouncing all fealty and allegiance to him. They then con-

cluded a treaty with the French king, by which Baliol's son was to marry the niece of that monarch, and the French were to help the Scots in their war against England with a body of troops. Thus encouraged, and irritated at new demands of the king of England, the Scottish government proclaimed war, and a numerous army, weak by its want of discipline, was led by John Comyn earl of Buchan into Cumberland. After ravaging the country on their way, the Scots made an attempt to storm Carlisle, and were beaten off with disgrace by the citizens. This occurred on the 28th of March, 1296. Comyn marched his tumultuous army thence into Northumberland, but he appears to have been as much deficient in military capacity as his army in discipline, and they were soon obliged, on the approach of the English army, to retreat into Scotland, without performing any exploit worthy of mention.

Edward had assembled a numerous and well appointed army, consisting of thirty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, with which he had marched toward the Scottish border. On his way he was joined by the bishop of Durham, the warlike Anthony Beck, at the head of a thousand foot and five hundred horse. On arriving at Newcastle, Edward caused Baliol to be formally summoned to appear there and plead his cause against Macduff, and after waiting a few days, he advanced to the Tweed, which he passed with his main army below the nunnery of Coldstream, while the bishop of Durham passed the same river at Northam. They then advanced along the northern bank of the Tweed to Berwick, which was then one of the richest mercantile towns in the island, which was defended by a strong dike and by a formidable castle. The town was summoned to surrender on terms, which, after two days' consideration, were refused. Edward was irritated against the citizens, because they had recently taken and plundered some of his merchant ships which had unsuspectingly entered the port, and he was determined to reduce the town before he proceeded further. He drew off his army to a position about a mile from the town, where he made his dispositions for the attack unobserved, and thence he marched at the head of the storming column, while orders were sent to his fleet to attack the town at the same time from the sea. The latter was beaten off by the citizens, with the loss of several ships burnt; but the land attack was more

successful. The king himself was the first to leap the dike, and the soldiers, encouraged by his example, rushed into the town with so much fury, that nothing could resist them. The hatred which the English populace at this time bore to the Scots, whom they had learnt to regard as nothing but murderers and plunderers, increased the savage ferocity which too generally characterized the wars of the middle ages, and the English soldiery spared neither man, woman, nor child, until the streets of Berwick were literally flooded with the blood of no less than seventeen thousand of its inhabitants. The only effective resistance was offered by the Flemish merchants, who held a factory in Berwick on the condition of defending their hall, a strong building called the Red Hall, against the English, and thirty of them performed their duty so well, that the English, after attacking the building all day in vain, set fire to it at night, and burnt both the fortress and its defenders. Berwick was thus taken on the Good Friday of the year 1296. It was exposed, during two days, to the utmost horrors of a town taken by storm, and so thoroughly plundered, that it never recovered its ancient importance. The commander of the castle, sir William Douglas, surrendered, and swore fealty to king Edward; and the garrison was allowed to march out with military honours, after taking an oath not to serve against England.

The war against the Scots was popular in England, and the capture of Berwick was a subject of general exultation, and was sung in the streets and highways, in songs filled with scornful boasting. The practice of lampooning each other in satirical ballads, which was common among the borderers, had been adopted by the two nations; we are told that Edward's anger had been provoked by some personal satires set abroad against him by the people of Berwick, and we have still remains of songs of that time, which show that the English were not backward in retaliating. It seems that the Scots of Berwick had jeered king Edward in some of these popular rhymes, for intrenching himself, while they placed too much confidence, as the event proved, in their own dikes; but now he turned the tables upon them, and they were seized with dismay when they saw how, after he had turned the Scots out of the town, he began to surround it with more formidable

defences, to prevent their recovering it.* The king remained some days employed in directing these works, and probably watching the effect produced in Scotland by his first success, and by the terrible massacre which had attended it. Baliol seems to have been roused to unusual resolution by the general indignation of his subjects; and while Edward remained still at Berwick, the abbot of Arbroath, with three of his monks, arrived with a written instrument in which the Scottish king, after enumerating the injuries which he and his kingdom had received, formally renounced his homage, and declared his intention of resisting this attack to the last. Edward treated with the utmost contempt the missive of the "mad traitor," as he designated Baliol, adding, in allusion to his summons to Baliol to appear at Newcastle, "Since he will not come to us, we will go to him." A threat which he executed with a rapidity that spread terror through the kingdom.

The Scottish barons had, in the mean time, collected a numerous force, and prepared to resist Edward in his progress. While he remained at Berwick, the earls of Ross, Athol, and Menteith, at the head of a formidable army, marched across the border, and ravaged Redesdale and Tyndale in the most merciless manner. Villages and towns were committed to the flames, their inhabitants were slaughtered without distinction of age or sex, and they even burnt to the ground the two ancient monasteries of Hexham and Lanercost. Returning thence with their plunder, they gained possession of the strong and important castle of Dunbar, which belonged to Patrick earl of Dunbar, who was at that time serving in king Edward's army. This nobleman was one of those who kept his

* The following sample of a song made on this occasion, in reply to the insults of the Scots, is preserved in the *Metrical Chronicle* of Peter Langtoft. We give it first in the original language of the time:—

Piket hym and diket him,
On scorne saiden he,
Hu best hit mai be.
He pikes and he dikes,
On lengthe alle him likes,
Als hy mowe best y-se.
Scatered heir the Scots,
Hodred in the hottes,
Never thai ne the:
Ritth if y rede,
Thay toublem in Twede
That woned bi the se.

allegiance to the English king; but his countess, who held the castle, hated the English party, and she now secretly delivered it up to the Scottish leaders. The earls of Ross, Athol, and Menteith, and the barons, John Comyn, William Sinclair, Richard Seward, and John de Mowbray, according to an understanding with the countess of Dunbar, suddenly entered the castle with a strong force, and expelled the few soldiers of the garrison who remained faithful to their lord and his English allies.

King Edward was mortified at the loss of Dunbar, and resolved that it should be retaken at all risks. For this purpose he sent the earl of Warenne, with some others of the English barons, and a force of ten thousand foot and a thousand horse, who summoned the garrison to surrender, which they agreed to do in three days, if they were not relieved within that time. The Scottish leaders lost no time in hastening to the assistance of the garrison of Dunbar with all their army, and they encamped on the high ground above the castle with forty thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse. The soldiers in the castle, now confident of victory, mocked and insulted the English from the walls; but their joy was of short duration. No sooner was the earl of Warenne aware of the approach of the Scottish army, than he marched from his camp to attack them. To approach the high ground occupied by their opponents, they had to pass through a valley, in which they were crowded and embarrassed, so that the Scots, perceiving their confusion, and imagining that they were struck with fear, left their strong position, and rushed with loud shouts down the hill. When they reached the bottom, they found the small English army,

It may be modernized as follows:—

Let him dig with pick and make dikes,
They said in scorn,
How it may best be (i.e. as much as he can.
He picks and he dikes,
In length as he likes,
As they may best see.
Scattered are the Scots,
Huddled in their huts,
They never thrive:
Right if I read,
They tumble in Tweed,
Who dwelt by the sea.

The last line probably alludes to the throwing of the dead bodies into the river.

It may be observed that the number of the slain at Berwick is rated much lower by Peter Langtoft, a nearly contemporary writer. We follow the generally received account.

which had passed the valley, drawn up in compact order, and advancing against them. In the surprise and hurry of the moment, the leaders found it impossible to restore order to their columns, broken and disordered in their descent from the hills, and the English, falling upon them with great fury, after a short struggle, put them to flight with great slaughter. Upwards of ten thousand Scots are said to have been slain in the battle and the flight, and some of the chief of the Scottish nobility were among the multitude of the prisoners. The English ridiculed the Scots for their pusillanimity on this important occasion, in a multitude of songs and epigrams. One man only was mentioned as a noble exception—sir Patrick de Graham, who, disdaining to turn his back or ask for quarter, was slain on the field. Next day Edward, as soon as he received intelligence of this great victory, marched to Dunbar with the rest of his army, and the castle was immediately surrendered. The earls of Ross, Athol, and Menteith, with the barons and knights who had entered the castle with them, were added to the long list of prisoners, who were sent over the border, and confined in various castles in England and Wales.

The battle of Dunbar decided the fate of John Baliol's kingdom. King Edward marched thence to the castle of Roxburgh, which was held by James, the steward of Scotland, who surrendered without a struggle, and renewed his oath of fealty to the English monarch. His example was quickly followed by many others of the Scottish chieftains. Ingelram de Umfraville gave up the castle of Dunbarton, and delivered

his two daughters as hostages. The strong castle of Jedburgh was also delivered, without an attempt at resistance. Edward next advanced to Edinburgh, the castle of which surrendered after a siege of eight days; and he found Stirling abandoned by its garrison. Before marching to Edinburgh, the English army had been reinforced by the arrival of a body of fifteen thousand men from Wales, which enabled the king to send back to England the troops which had suffered most from the fatigues of his march; and at Stirling he was joined by a still larger force, consisting of thirty thousand foot and four hundred horse, under the earl of Ulster. He was now irresistible, and he continued his victorious march to Perth, where he kept the feast of the nativity of John the Baptist with great splendour. In the midst of these festivities, a messenger came to announce the submission and penitence of Baliol, and the king sent him word to repair to the castle of Brechin, where he was to receive from the bishop of Durham an intimation of the humiliating conditions on which only he could be received. There, at the beginning of July, 1296, in the presence of the bishop of Durham and the barons of England, he was stripped of his royal robes, and compelled to do penance with a white rod in his hand: he confessed his offences against his liege lord, recapitulated his various pretended transgressions, and acknowledged the justice of the English invasion. Three days after he resigned his kingdom of Scotland into Edward's hands, and delivered his eldest son Edward as a hostage. Both father and son were sent to London, and confined for three years in the Tower

CHAPTER II.

SUBJECTION OF SCOTLAND BY KING EDWARD; INSURRECTIONS; WILLIAM WALLACE; BATTLE OF STIRLING; INVASION OF THE ENGLISH BORDER.

THUS ended disgracefully a reign which had commenced in the betrayal of national independence. The deposition of Baliol appears to have excited little sympathy for his personal humiliation, in Scotland or in England. In the latter country he was

looked upon merely as a servant who had rebelled against his master—a vassal who had betrayed his lord—and those who regarded his character in the most favourable light, only pitied him, because they said he had been drawn into rebellion by

the artifices of the turbulent barons of Scotland.*

Scotland was now again not only without a king, but it was almost without claimants to the crown. It is said, that after the battle of Dunbar, Robert Bruce reminded king Edward of his promise to place him on the throne, and that the reply was a proud remark of the monarch, that he did not conquer kingdoms to give them away. In fact, Edward saw that at last he had reduced the Scottish people to utter prostration, and he seemed to think that he could now keep them under the government of his own officers, without the intermedium of a deputed sovereignty. He saw no signs of resistance, as he continued his march from Perth to Aberdeen, and from thence to Elgin, in Moray, and his court was crowded with Scottish barons, who came to renounce their allegiance with France, and to take the oath of fealty to himself. On his return towards the south, he carried from Scone the famous stone on which the Scottish kings had been consecrated for so many ages, with the Scottish sceptre and crown, and he gave them to the abbey of Westminster, as an offering at the shrine of Edward the Confessor. The stone remains there still, and the monarchs of Britain continue to sit upon it at their coronation. King Edward is accused of having mutilated the chartulary of the abbey of Scone, because it contained records of national independence, and of having, during his progress, cautiously sought out and destroyed the ancient monuments which might remind the Scots of their former freedom.

A parliament was held at Berwick on the 28th of August, 1296, to receive the fealty of the Scottish clergy and laity, and so numerous were the men of all ranks who crowded to make this humiliating submission, that the lists of names who took

the required oaths, which were afterwards popularly called Ragman rolls, still preserved in our national archives, extend to thirty-five skins of parchment. Having thus secured his conquest, Edward proceeded to take measures for restoring order among his new subjects, and to substitute gentleness and moderation for the severity which had hitherto marked his progress. He ordered the sheriffs of the several counties in Scotland to restore their forfeited lands to the clergy. He granted new privileges to the bishops. Most of those who held office under Baliol were retained, and there was no unnecessary interference with old jurisdictions and titles. The estates of the barons who had died before the French alliance, were restored to their widows, if these had not subsequently married the king's enemies. Edward now treated Scotland as a part of his own dominions,† and gave it merely a subordinate government. John de Warenne, earl of Warenne and Surrey, the victor of Dunbar, was appointed to the office of guardian of Scotland; Hugh de Cressingham was made treasurer, and William Ormesby, justiciary. Another Englishman, Walter de Agmondesham, was appointed chancellor, and a new great seal was made, as the ancient seal of Scotland, surrendered by Baliol in the castle of Brechin, had been broken to pieces. Warenne's nephew, lord Henry Percy, was appointed keeper of the county of Galloway and the sheriffdom of Ayr. The important castles of Berwick, Roxburgh, Jedburgh, and Edinburgh, were also committed to the charge of English keepers.

What king Edward gained by his own prudence, he lost by the negligence or imprudence of some of his officers. The earl of Warenne lived chiefly in England, and the government of Scotland was left almost entirely to the treasurer, Cressing-

* This sentiment is not unfrequently expressed in the popular English politics of the day. Thus, in a contemporary Latin ballad, we have the following account of the reign of John Baliol:—

*Johannes jam Scotiæ clemens rex et castus,
Regni tenens regimen, ut rex erat pastus,
Hunc tandem deposuit gentis suæ fastus.
Exulat ejectus de sede pia protoplastus.*

*Exulat et merito, quia, sicut legi,
Spondit homagium Anglicano regi;
Declinavit postea frango, frangis, fregi:
Omnia quæ pepigi prodendo pacta peregi.*

*Pactum prætergressus est princeps prænotatus,
Quando non compescuit pravorum conatus;*

*Vox in Rama sonuit, fletus et ploratus;
Mitis prælatus facit ignavos famulatus.*

† People in general looked upon this apparent union of Scotland with England as a fulfilment of a prophecy of Merlin, that two waters should run into one:—

*Deus! cum Merlins dist sovent veritez
En ses prophéciez! si cum vous lisez.
Ore sunt le deus ewes en un arivez,
Ke par graunt mountaignes ount esté severez,
Et un realme est fet de deus diverse regnez,
Ke solaint par deus rays estre governez.
Ore sunt les insulanes trestuz assemblez,
Et Albanye rejoynete à les regaltez.*

PETER LANGTOFT.

ham, and the justiciary, Ormesby, who irritated the people, the one by his oppressive exactions, and the other by the severity with which he enforced the oath of fealty. The general discontent broke out in petty insurrections, and, in spite of the desertion of their nobility, the people of Scotland seemed to be animated by a general spirit of resistance. At first this feeling was shown by the numerous parties of outlaws and banditti, who infested the roads, and plundered the English wherever they found them, sometimes burning and robbing their houses. These bands of marauders became gradually more numerous; they ventured even to attack castles, and to make prisoners of their garrisons; and they often committed atrocious acts of barbarity. Young men of respectable families, who had nothing to hope from the English government, and with whose wild and restless dispositions this lawless life agreed well, joined the insurgents and became their leaders. Among these was one who soon rose to the highest pitch of fame, and who was, for a while, looked upon with justice as the saviour of his country.

William Wallace (or de Walays), was the second son of sir Malcolm Wallace of Ellerslie, near Paisley, a knight of small estate, but of an ancient family. Young Wallace was remarkable for his strength and stature; and, hasty and violent in his passions, he appears to have spent rather a turbulent youth. His hatred to the English was said to have been encouraged and fostered from his childhood by one of his uncles, a priest, who had perhaps suffered from the new state of things, and who instilled into the youthful mind of his nephew the love of freedom, and the hatred of oppression. Wallace soon became a marked man in his native district, and he seems to have associated with men of the same temper and sentiments as his own, whose conduct was equally suspicious. According to popular history, he seems at this time to have lived a life worthy of Robin Hood and his foresters. One day he was insulted by some English officers in the town of Lanark, and his resentment led to a street feud, in which he was overpowered, and would have been slain, but he escaped into the house of a woman who was his mistress, and by whose assistance he succeeded in making his escape to the woods in disguise. The English sheriff forced his way into the house, and cruelly put the

woman to death; in revenge for which Wallace soon afterwards attacked and slew the sheriff. The consequences of this bold act might easily be foreseen. Wallace was proclaimed a felon and traitor; a price was put on his head; and he was thenceforth obliged to make his home of the woods and mountains. There he found companions who had been already driven to the same course, and joining with these, he became the chief of one of the small plundering bands which overrun the kingdom. Wallace's band was seldom unsuccessful in its enterprises; and the young hero already discovered a talent for war, which gained him distinction among other bands of outlaws, as well as with his own immediate followers. These gradually united themselves under his command, and he in a short time found himself at the head of a little army of outlaws, whom he accustomed to discipline and obedience to their leader, as well as to those rapid and decisive movements which were necessary to ensure success in the kind of warfare in which he was now engaged. He now openly declared war on the English, and he was joined by a few persons of more consequence, who hoped that they might thus assist in liberating their country from the English domination. Among the first of those was sir William Douglas, a baron of influence in Clydesdale, who had been taken prisoner by the English at the siege of Berwick, and had been liberated on his taking the oath of fealty to king Edward.

The addition of the numerous vassals of Douglas to his already considerable force, encouraged Wallace to attempt some bolder enterprise. It happened, fortunately for his design, that Ormesby, the English justiciary, was holding his court at Seone, with no great force to protect him, while the guardian of Scotland was attending the English parliament. Wallace marched suddenly to Seone and surprised the justiciary, who escaped with difficulty, leaving a rich booty and many prisoners to the assailants. The latter now openly plundered and ravaged the country, putting all the English they found to the sword, and acting sometimes collectively, and sometimes in separate parties. They soon, however, collected all their forces into one army, and, leaving the scene of these exploits, threw themselves into the western districts of Scotland. This movement had, no doubt, been concerted with some of the great

Scottish barons, who were weary of English rule, for Wallace had no sooner shown himself in the west, than he was joined by the steward of Scotland, and his brother, sir Andrew Moray, of Bothwell, Alexander de Lindesay, sir Rieliard Lundin, Wishart bishop of Glasgow, and other men of influence. The insurrection had now taken a formidable character, and Wallace, at the head of a considerable force, began to clear the districts in his power from the English. In doing this, acts of great atrocity were daily perpetrated. The rage of the Scots was directed especially against the English clergy, and the victorious insurgents even amused themselves with torturing helpless women.

There was one man on whom all eyes were turned, and whose conduct had been hitherto indecisive. This was Robert Bruce, the son of Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale, who was at this time with king Edward. Young Robert Bruce was powerful by his extensive possessions, and by the number of ready vassals he could bring into the field, and he was looked on by the English rulers with so much suspicion, that they summoned him to Carlisle, where he went with a numerous retinue, and made oath on the consecrated sacrament and the sword of Thomas Becket, that he would be faithful to the king of England. As a further proof of his zeal for the English government, he raised his own vassals, invaded and ravaged the lands of Wallace's companion, sir William Douglas, and carried his wife and children prisoners into Annandale. Bruce had no sooner performed this exploit, than he privately conferred with the retainers of his father, and tried, but in vain, to persuade them to rise and go with him to join the other insurgents against the English. Perhaps he felt that he had now too far compromised himself to remain any longer inactive; for he raised his own tenantry, and joined the standard of Wallace and Douglas.

The confederacy which had now formed round Wallace was, however, weak and uncertain. Success had given Wallace power, but the great barons who had joined in the revolt were ill contented to be serving under the banner of one who, without the set-off of high blood and extensive estates, stood proclaimed as an outlawed felon. Many of them were willing to fight for their country with a probable chance of success, but they were not willing to share

the fortune of this leader in case of defeat; and it cannot be denied that a great number of them were strongly influenced by a feeling of their own personal interests. Such was in no small degree the case with Bruce himself, whose ambition was stirred up by his own proximity to the throne, and his eye seems to have been directed constantly to the prize which John Baliol had carried off from his father. He had discovered that it was not likely to be the reward of his fidelity to king Edward, and he now thought that he might obtain it by serving his country.

Intelligence of this revolt reached king Edward as he was preparing to sail for Flanders, and although it excited his anger, he seems to have been too much convinced of the weakness and desolation of Scotland to imagine that it need give him any serious alarm. He sent the bishop of Durham into Scotland, and from him he learnt that the insurrection was more serious than it had at first been represented to him. He then commanded the earl of Warenne and Surrey, his guardian of Scotland, to assemble an army on the north of the Trent, and march against his Scottish enemies. The earl was stricken with years, and was hardly equal to the quickness that was necessary in such an emergency; but he sent before him his nephew, Henry Percy, with an army of forty thousand foot and three hundred horse. The English, who seem to have looked at Bruce as the most important of their enemies, marched rapidly through Annandale to take possession of the castle of Lochmaben. It was night when they arrived there, and the Scots, who had been watching their movements, took advantage of the darkness, and made a furious attack on their camp. The English, unable to distinguish friend from enemy, on account of the dense darkness, and not knowing where to rally, because they could not see their banners, set fire to the wooden houses in which they were lodged, and by this light repulsed their assailants. They then marched towards Ayr, to keep the men of Galloway in allegiance, but they were stopped on their way by the intelligence that the main army of the Scots was near at hand.

At break of day Percy led his army in the direction where he had been told that the Scottish army was posted, and after a march of three or four miles he discovered them drawn up at Irvine, on the banks of a

small lake. This was the first time that the insurgents had faced a regular disciplined army, and the hearts of many of the leaders, who distrusted one another, suddenly failed them. Their principal anxiety seemed to be to make their peace with the English and save their estates. The Scots were equal in numbers to the English, and they had little to fear in risking a battle, had they been unanimous, but there was no unanimity among the insurgents. A Scottish knight, who had hitherto resisted the English domination, sir Richard Lundi, set the example of desertion: he said there was no safety in a host which was divided against itself, and he went over with his men to the army of Henry Percy. Robert Bruce, the steward of Scotland, Alexander de Lindsay, sir William Douglas, the bishop of Glasgow, and others, followed his example; and all these chiefs affixed their signatures and seals to an instrument in Norman French, in which they entreated forgiveness for their rebellion. It was dated at Irvine, on the 9th of July, 1297. Wallace was indignant at the desertion of his noble allies; and, resolutely refusing to join in their submission, he placed himself at the head of his own faithful followers and as many of the others as would serve under him, and made his retreat towards the north. The only person of any note who accompanied him was sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell. The treaty of Irvine was said to have been negotiated by the bishop of Glasgow, against whom the anger of Wallace was especially raised on this account; and he stopped in his retreat to wreak his vengeance on the prelate, by attacking his castle, ravaging his lands, and carrying his household into captivity.

The barons who thus submitted at Irvine seem to have been confounded at their own act; and although the king had accepted their submissions, they hesitated to send in their hostages, under pretence that they waited for some security that the liberties of their country should be preserved. Two, however, sir William Douglas and the bishop of Glasgow, kept strictly to their engagements, and, finding they could not fulfil all the articles of the capitulation, they voluntarily surrendered their persons. The bishop seemed to have lost the confidence of all parties, and Edward looked even upon his surrender with suspicion, and seemed to think that he meditated treachery. Robert Bruce had now become an object of more

especial distrust, and he was only received into the king's peace after the bishop with the steward of Scotland and Alexander de Lindsay had agreed to be his sureties until he delivered his daughter Marjory as a hostage. In spite of this outbreak, Edward, who was occupied with a continental war, continued to follow a conciliatory policy. He liberated from prison the barons who had been captured at the battle of Dunbar, making it a condition with those whose patriotism was best known, that they should serve him in the Flemish war in which he was then embarking. Others were allowed to return to their country, on promising that they would use their endeavours to suppress the rebellion. The king was so much offended at the dilatory conduct of the earl of Warenne, both in his military movements and in carrying into effect the articles of the capitulation of Irvine, that he deprived him of the office of guardian of Scotland, and appointed Brian Fitzalan in his place, though he still retained the earl in the command of the army. Edward still thought lightly of the Scottish insurrection; yet before his departure for Flanders (August 22nd, 1297), he sent some of his most warlike English barons with all the horse and foot they could muster to reinforce the army under the earl of Warenne.

In the meanwhile Wallace in the north soon recruited his army, and recovered his confidence. The Scottish barons had deserted him, but most of their retainers, perhaps with the connivance of their lords, continued to follow his banner. The populace everywhere began to regard him as their protector and destined deliverer, and the army which looked upon him as its sole commander was increasing rapidly during the summer months. He had already reduced the English garrisons who held the castles of Forfar, Brechin, and Montrose, and had driven them from nearly all the strongholds to the north of the Forth. He was commencing the siege of the strong castle of Dundee, when he received intelligence that the English army, under Warenne and the treasurer Cressingham, was marching to Stirling on its way against him. With the army which now obeyed his command, and the ardour with which his successes had animated it, Wallace was not afraid to meet the enemy, and he knew that the ground about Stirling, if he could select his position, was more favourable

than any spot he might have it in his power to choose, for a tumultuous host to engage a disciplined army. He, therefore, marched southward with all his force, after charging the citizens of Dundee with the siege of the castle, and threatening them with his utmost vengeance if they discontinued it; and he was fortunate enough to reach Stirling in time to make his dispositions before the English army arrived.

The English army was superior in numbers as well as in discipline to that opposed to it, for while but forty thousand foot and a hundred and eighty horse followed the banner of Wallace, Warenne led into the field a force of fifty thousand foot and a thousand horse. But the English were embarrassed by the disagreement between their leaders, the earl and the treasurer Cressingham, the latter an overbearing ecclesiastic, who loved the profession of war better than the church, and who was hated by the Scots for his cruel tyranny. But for this cause, and for the earl's want of vigour, the English would, perhaps, have reached Stirling before Wallace. It was the passion of Cressingham to hoard up the king's revenue in his treasury, and he grudged the necessary expenses for the war. When the army marched towards Stirling, Henry Percy left Newcastle to join it, with a reinforcement of eight thousand foot and three hundred horse, but Cressingham ordered these troops to be disbanded, speaking of it as an unnecessary waste of the king's treasure, and declaring that they had men enough for their purpose.

The English army came in view of the Scots before Stirling on the 11th of September, and they found, to use the description of a contemporary chronicler, that there was not a better place in all Scotland for the defeat of a powerful army by a handful of men, than that occupied by their enemies, whose force was concealed from their view by the nature of the ground. Instead of acting with the prudence which the knowledge of this circumstance ought to have ensured, the English leaders showed a great want of caution. Warenne and Cressingham seem to have imagined that the enemy would surrender with the same pusillanimity as at Irvine, and they delayed attacking the Scots, until the steward of Scotland, the earl of Lennox, and other Scottish barons who had accompanied the army, were sent to Wallace's camp, to try to bring him to terms. They returned to in-

form the English commander of the failure of this attempt, which only made the Scots more confident, and they then promised that they would next day join the English with sixty armed horse. The English soldiers, it appears, were suspicious of the designs of these Scottish barons, and were dissatisfied at not having been led against the enemy at once, and a party of them returning from forage in the evening met them as they were leaving the camp, and from some accident or other, a skirmish arose, in which the earl of Lennox stabbed an English soldier in the throat. This encounter, in which probably the barons were not the aggressors, raised a tumult in the camp, and the soldiers cried out that they were betrayed by the Scots, and carried their wounded soldier before their commander, calling for vengeance upon the treacherous nobles who they said had only obtained his confidence to deceive him. Warenne merely urged them to remain quiet till next day, assuring them they should have ample vengeance if the Scottish barons broke their promise; and he gave orders to be ready to pass the bridge over the river Forth, which separated the two armies, early in the morning. The apparent listlessness of the old warrior spirited his men; while his want of vigilance gave the enemy time and opportunity to tamper with the Scots who were in his army, to gain information as to his numbers and intentions, and to lay their own plans and make their dispositions accordingly.

The whole course of the engagement which took place next day was a series of blunders on the part of the English commanders. By sunrise, five thousand English footmen and a large body of Welsh soldiers had passed the bridge, but finding that they were unsupported, they repossessed it. It was not till an hour after this that the earl of Warenne awoke, and then the army was drawn up, and some new knights were made. The time was now at hand when the Scottish barons were to return with their sixty horsemen; but after waiting for them some time in vain, the English commander became convinced of their treachery, and gave the order for passing the bridge, which, however, was recalled before the movement could be executed, as the steward of Scotland and the earl of Lennox were seen approaching the camp. They informed the earl of Warenne that they had made new efforts to persuade

Wallace to agree to terms of pacification, but without success, and that they could prevail upon none of his followers to desert him. It seemed as though the report of Wallace's refusal to treat made the English commander more wishful to avoid a battle. He now sent two friars to Wallace to propose terms, but they only brought back a defiance. The English soldiers had now become furious in their cries to be led on to the attack; when a Scottish knight of the English army, sir Richard Lundi, one of those who had deserted Wallace at Irvine, came forward, and cautioned them against the imprudence of their proceedings. He told them that if they attempted to pass the bridge, over which the men could only cross two abreast, it would be a useless sacrifice of life; but he said that he knew a ford near at hand, over which they could pass, sixty at a time, and if they would give him five hundred horse and a small body of foot, he would cross there and turn the enemy's flank, while the rest of the army might pass the bridge in security. The earl seemed inclined to listen to this sound advice, but some of his followers were too eager for the combat to allow of any delay, and their impatience was increased by the scornful expostulation of the self-sufficient Cressingham, who was, perhaps, actuated mainly by the love of contradicting his colleague. "Why," he cried, "do we protract the war, and spend the king's money? Let us pass on as becomes us, and do our duty." The earl allowed himself to be overruled, and gave the order for passing the bridge. Sir Marmaduke Twenge, a knight of tried courage, with Cressingham himself, who was not wanting in the same quality, led them on, and when scarcely half the army had passed, Twenge, observing that the Scots still remained on the heights, and attributing their inactivity to fear, rashly gave the order to advance up the hill.

This was exactly the movement that Wallace desired. He had sent a part of his army by a circuitous route to possess themselves of the foot of the bridge, by which the communication between the two divisions of the English army was entirely cut off; and when he saw that this object had been effected, he ordered his men to attack the division under Twenge and Cressingham. The Scots rushed down impetuously from the hill upon the troops, which were already in disorder and soon threw

them into inextricable confusion. Among the first who fell was Cressingham the treasurer. Multitudes were slain around him; for the English soldiers seemed almost paralyzed, and numbers of the heavy-armed horse threw themselves into the river, and were drowned in the attempt to swim over. The earl of Warenne remained on the other side of the river, a spectator of the destruction of his men, and when he sent over the standard bearers with another division, it was only to increase the disaster. Twenge, with one or two of his companions, cut his way through the columns opposed to him, and crossed the bridge to rejoin his commander; after which the bridge itself broke down, or was destroyed, thus rendering the fate of one portion of the army more hopeless, although it facilitated the flight of the others. These, however, were exposed to an attack from new enemies, for when their allies, the earl of Lenox and the steward of Scotland, who had, as was suspected, been in secret negotiation with Wallace, saw that their countrymen had the victory, they threw off the mask, and led on their followers to destroy and plunder the flying English. The English commander ordered Twenge to occupy the castle of Stirling, and then fled without halting till he reached Berwick, followed by what remained of his army.

Wallace's victory was complete. The loss on the side of the Scots was considerable, but he had to lament the death of his faithful associate, sir Andrew Moray. The English estimated their own loss at five thousand foot and a hundred horse, but in all probability it was much more considerable. The plunder which fell into the hands of the victors was immense. In their hatred of the English, they made few or no prisoners, but slew all who fell into their hands, and they even indulged their fury by mutilating the dead. In their detestation of Cressingham, the Scottish soldiers threw themselves on his body, mangled it, and tore the flesh from his bones. His skin was taken off, and cut to pieces, and it is even said that Wallace ordered a piece sufficient to make a sword-belt to be reserved.

The battle of Stirling was for a moment fatal to the English domination in Scotland. It struck terror into the English garrisons, and not only Dundee, but all the other fortresses in the kingdom, were surrendered to Wallace. He dismantled the castles of

Edinburgh and Roxburgh, as though apprehensive that his triumph might not be lasting, and that they might again serve the purposes of Edward's tyranny. Even Berwick was deserted by its English garrison, and Wallace sent a Scottish knight, named Henry de Haliburton, to take possession of it.

Thus Wallace on a sudden found himself in full possession of the whole of Scotland. That kingdom was at this moment suffering from a visitation of dearth and famine, and for this reason, as well as to indulge the predatory habits of his followers, the Scottish chieftain determined to profit by the terror caused by his present success to invade the northern counties of England. He ordered for this purpose a general levy of soldiers throughout the kingdom; every county, barony, town, and village being required to send a certain proportion of its fighting men to march under his banner. In the execution of this order, Wallace soon found how little substantial assistance he was likely to reap from the barons, who were already jealous of his power, and were unwilling to acknowledge for their superior a man of so mean an origin. Many of them, moreover, had estates in England, which they were unwilling to risk by taking a decided part against king Edward. It was looked upon as a grave infraction of their feudal rights for any but themselves to summon their tenantry in arms. The consequence was that Wallace's levies were made slowly and imperfectly. Mortified at the lukewarmness of the nobles, most of whom remained at least professing allegiance to the English king, Wallace now proceeded to adopt measures of coercion, and, causing gibbets to be erected in each barony and county town, he threatened with death all who disobeyed his summons to join the army. Some burgesses of Aberdeen were hanged; but in general this threat seems to have produced its full effect, and he soon found himself at the head of a vast though disorderly host. With these, taking as his associate in command Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, the son of the Moray who had been slain at the bridge of Stirling, he marched towards Northumberland. The population of that county, struck with terror, deserted their homes, and with their families, cattle, and household furniture, sought refuge in Newcastle. The Scots had sent their scouts before them, and by these they were informed of the flight of the inhabitants, and, as plunder was their main

object, they put a stop to their march, as though they intended to proceed no further. But no sooner had the Northumbrians, imagining the danger was over, returned to their homes, than Wallace marched his army suddenly and rapidly across the border, and during several weeks the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland were plundered and ravaged in the most horrible manner. These wild invaders, unrestrained in their ferocity, laid the country waste with fire and sword, and subjected its inhabitants to every cruelty and outrage that their passions could devise. In this way, from the middle of October to near the middle of November, the Scots roved over these two counties, with no other check than the occasional destruction of a few straggling Scots by the garrison of Alnwick and other border fortresses. The county of Durham was only saved from the invaders by the approach of winter, which set in with such severity, and at the same time the scarcity of provisions became so great, that multitudes of the Scots perished by cold and famine. Wallace thus found it necessary to retreat. Towards Christmas, lord Robert Clifford raised the men of Cumberland, and joining them with the strong garrison of Carlisle, had twice invaded Annandale, which he ravaged with fire and sword, in retaliation for the attack on the English border. The lands of Robert Bruce suffered on this occasion, and he made it a pretext for deserting the English party and joining Wallace.

Soon after Wallace's return to Scotland, an assembly was held at the Forest Kirk, in Selkirkshire, which was attended by the earl of Lennox, sir William Douglas, and other great barons, and their victorious leader was there elected governor or guardian of Scotland, in the name of king John, for Baliol was still acknowledged by the Scots as their king. Wallace held this high office "with the consent of the community of Scotland." In fact, though the lesser barons and gentry now joined him in great number, the earls of Scotland and the greater barons still held aloof, and were unwilling to acknowledge his superiority. But Wallace now began to exert the authority which had been placed in his hands with vigour and prudence, though perhaps with a little leaning to tyranny, though this may be excused by the turbulence of the people he had to govern. His attention was especially directed to the military con-

dition of the kingdom; and he divided it into military districts, ordering in each shire, barony, lordship, town, and burgh, a muster-book to be kept of the number of fighting men between the ages of sixteen and sixty, and from these he drew, under pain of heavy penalty, what-

ever recruits he considered necessary. He proceeded at the same time to introduce a stricter discipline into his army, and endeavoured to restrain the licentiousness of the soldiers. His firmness compelled the greater nobles to submit, at least in appearance, to his authority.

CHAPTER III.

EDWARD INVADÉS SCOTLAND AGAIN; BATTLE OF FALKIRK; INTERFERENCE OF THE POPE; BATTLE OF ROSLIN; NEW INVASIONS BY KING EDWARD; SIEGE OF STIRLING; CAPTURE AND EXECUTION OF WALLACE.

WE have traced the progress of Wallace to the summit of his power, and we have now only to follow him in his descent. The success of the Scottish rebellion at this moment was, politically, of great service to the people of England, for it enabled them to secure their own liberties against the encroachments of the crown. Edward was detained in Flanders, and the government of England was entrusted to a regency, who, alarmed at the disastrous intelligence from the north, hastily called a parliament, which met on the 10th of October, 1297. There it was determined, under the influence of the earls of Norfolk and Hereford (the marshal and the constable of England), that no aids should be granted against the Scots until the king had solemnly ratified magna charta, and the other grand protections of the liberties of the kingdom. Edward, still detained on the continent, and conscious of the embarrassing position in which he was placed, acceded to the demand of his barons, and then commanded them to assemble with all their force at York on the 14th of January, to march thence against the Scottish insurgents. At the same time he summoned the Scottish barons to the same meeting, on their fealty and on pain of being proclaimed public enemies. On the day appointed the military strength of the kingdom mustered at York in great force, but they waited in vain for the Scottish nobles. A day was then appointed for assembling their forces at Newcastle for the invasion of Scotland, and there appeared at this grand muster the earl marshal and the great constable of England, the earls of Warenne, Gloucester, and Arundel, the lord

Henry Percy, John de Wake, John de Segrave, Guy, son of the earl of Warwick, and many other earls and barons. The army which accompanied them counted not less than a hundred thousand foot, with two thousand heavy armed cavalry, and the same number of light horse.

It appears that in the interval since the battle of Stirling, the English had obtained possession of the castle of Roxburgh, and that they had rebuilt and garrisoned it. Wallace hastened to invest it with a large force, but the English garrison made a brave defence, and it had now sustained a long siege, and was reduced to great distress. The earl of Warenne, who was by his office the commander-in-chief of the English army, proceeded at once to raise the siege of a fortress which it concerned so much the English interests to preserve, and at the approach of this mighty host the Scots made a hasty retreat. Skirmishing parties were sent forward as far as Kelso, but after having relieved the garrison of Roxburgh, the English returned to relieve a post of no less importance, the castle of Berwick. The garrison of this fortress had held out during the whole time the Scots were in possession of the town, and the arrival of Warenne's army was a very seasonable succour. The Scots abandoned the town on his approach.

In the meanwhile king Edward, who was still detained in Flanders, but anxiously hurrying his departure to join his army in Scotland, concluded a truce with the king of France, and soon afterwards landed at Sandwich, to the great joy of his subjects. He had written to the earl of Warenne from

Flanders, commanding him to delay his expedition into Scotland till he arrived to take the command in person, and the earl immediately dismissed the numerous troops that attended upon him, keeping only a small part of them at Berwick. The king, immediately after his landing, sent forth his writs calling a parliament at York, and summoning the military force of the kingdom to meet him there on the feast of Pentecost. He commanded the nobility of Scotland to come to this assembly, but they paid no more attention to this summons than to the former. Edward then advanced to Roxburgh, where he found himself at the head of eighty thousand men, mostly Welsh and Irish, and seven thousand horse, three thousand of which were heavy armed. These were soon afterwards joined by a powerful reinforcement from Gascony, with five hundred horse. When Edward prepared to leave Roxburgh, the constable and the marshal refused to advance with the troops, unless he ratified again the great charter and the charter of forests, and the king was obliged to give security for his performance of this condition on his return. Having overcome this difficulty, Edward commenced his progress to the west, laying waste the country as he advanced. He had directed his fleet, with supplies for the army, to sail round the firth of Forth, and attend upon his motions.

The selfishness of the nobles, who refused to compromise themselves by acting with Wallace, again proved the ruin of their country. Most of them deserted him in his need, and Robert Bruce shut himself up with his vassals in the castle of Ayr, in mysterious neutrality. The only great nobles who joined Wallace and acted with him, were the younger John Comyn, of Badenoch, sir John Stewart of Bonkill, sir John Graham, of Abercorn, and Macduff, of Fife. Under these circumstances, it was impossible to raise an army to contend with so formidable a force in the field, and Wallace adopted the prudent policy of avoiding a battle, while he harassed the invaders by wasting the country through which they had to march, until they should be obliged to retreat from want of provisions, and so give him the opportunity of attacking them at advantage. Edward thus continued his march through Berwickshire to Lauder, and thence to Kirkliston, between Edinburgh and Linlithgow, without meeting with an opponent, or finding any one who would tell him

where the Scottish army lay. Here he determined to wait the arrival of his fleet with provisions, and he sent the bishop of Durham with a strong force to reduce the castle of Dirleton, with two small fortalices, the Scottish garrisons of which had given some annoyance to his rear. Dirleton castle was a fortress of unusual strength, and it long resisted the attacks of the assailants; and the English army began to suffer severely from the want of provisions. Three of the king's ships, however, at length made their appearance, and the timely supply they brought restored the drooping spirits of the soldiery. A new assault was now made on Dirleton castle, and it was compelled to surrender; the two fortalices were at the same time abandoned by their garrisons. Still the fleet was detained by contrary winds, and the army could not advance for want of provisions. Again a few ships brought a very insufficient supply, and the sufferings of the soldiers were so severe, that they could hardly be restrained from mutiny. The Welsh troops, of which there were about forty thousand, either suffered more than the others, or bore it with less patience, and they seem to have thought that their English comrades were treated with undue partiality. To conciliate them the king sent them a present of wine, which they drank to intoxication, and in this state they rushed furiously by night into the English quarter, and murdered eighteen priests. The English cavalry, indignant at this unprovoked attack, flew to their weapons, and falling upon the Welsh, killed eighty men. The Welsh next morning drew up in a hostile attitude, demanded vengeance, and threatened to go over to the Scots. Edward was unmoved by this threat, and merely answered contemptuously, "Let them go, if they like, and join my enemies; I trust soon to see the day when I shall chastise them both!" The Welsh, when their passion calmed, returned to their obedience, but the want of provisions became unbearable; there was no news of the fleet, nor of the Scottish army, and the country around them was a desert. In anger and mortification, Edward gave orders to retreat to Edinburgh, in the hopes of hearing something of his fleet at Leith.

But just as preparations were making for this retrograde movement, two Scottish lords, the earls of Dunbar and Angus, came secretly by day-break into the quarters of the bishop of Durham, and gave him informa-

tion that the whole Scottish army was encamped, not far off, in the forest of Falkirk, waiting to pursue and harass the English in their retreat. When this welcome news was communicated to the king, his countenance brightened, and he burst out into an exclamation of joy. "Thanks be to God," he said, "who has hitherto extricated me from every danger. They shall not need to follow me, for I will immediately go and meet them." Instant orders were given to the troops to arm, and prepare to march, and Edward himself, armed and mounted, rode backwards and forwards, hastening their execution. At three o'clock in the afternoon, the army was on its march, slowly and steadily, most of the soldiers entirely ignorant of the cause of this extraordinary alteration in the plans of their commander. At nightfall they reached a heath near Linlithgow, where they, by the king's orders, lay down to sleep on the ground in their arms, himself setting the example. Towards morning, Edward's horse, which was lying by his side, started, and turned suddenly over, striking the king violently with his foot. His cry aroused those who were near him, and the alarm went through the army, the soldiers snatching their weapons and preparing for battle, imagining that they were attacked by the enemy. But the cause of the disturbance was soon explained, and the king, who found that he was only slightly hurt, mounted his horse and gave orders to march. Just before sunset, when they had passed through Linlithgow, they saw a hill before them lined on its summit with troops. The column in advance hurried up to dislodge them, but they found that it was only an advanced guard of the enemy, which had fallen back on the main body at their approach.

It was the 22nd of July, 1298, and being the feast of St. Mary Magdelane, the king ordered a tent to be raised, that he and the bishop of Durham might hear mass. While they were thus employed, daylight appeared, and the Scottish army was seen in the distance, drawn up in lines and preparing for battle. Wallace, betrayed by the two earls, and taken by surprise, had wished at first to effect his retreat, but he found this was impossible, on account of the proximity of the enemy; and in despite of the disparity of numbers (his force amounted to not more than a third of that of the English), and of his distrust of a part of his troops, he resolved on hazarding a battle, and chose an advan-

tageous position for receiving the English if they attacked him. The chief strength of the Scottish army was in its infantry, armed with lances, which Wallace arranged in a line in four compact divisions, with their lances pointing obliquely outwards, and so close together, that it seemed impossible for any force to break through them. The archers were placed in the spaces between these divisions; and the horse, about a thousand strong, were drawn up in the rear.

The king, after hearing mass, reconnoitred the enemy's position, and convinced of its strength, and of the formidable preparations for defence, wished to give his men and horses time to take food and refreshment before leading them to the attack, but he was overruled by the eagerness of his officers to engage. Then, without further delay, the army was marshalled in order of battle, and told to advance. The first division was commanded by the marshal of England and the earls of Hereford and Lincoln, who led them in a direct line against the enemy, but their progress was suddenly arrested by an extensive moss which lay between them and the Scottish position, and they were obliged to march round it to the westward to arrive at the Scottish line. The bishop of Durham, who commanded the second division of the English army, had observed how the march of the first was impeded by the moss, and he therefore marched round its eastern extremity, and soon approached the Scottish line. Here the bishop would have halted till the third and last division, led by Edward himself, came up to support him, but he could not restrain the impetuosity of his officers, and they were almost immediately engaged with one extremity of Wallace's line, while their companions, who had extricated themselves from the moss, attacked the other extremity. The moment the engagement had commenced, the whole of the Scottish heavy horse, which was commanded by the barons, who were faithful neither to king Edward nor to their country, fled without striking a blow. The infantry stood firm in its impenetrable columns, but the archers, after a short struggle, were driven away with loss. A few of the armed knights, faithful to the cause in which they were engaged, remained with them, and encouraged them. Sir John Stewart, of Bonkill, was slain while using his efforts to keep the archers from the forest of Selkirk in their ranks, and many of them fell round him in his defence. For

some time the spears of the infantry offered an impenetrable obstacle to repeated charges of Edward's heavy horse, until they were at length broken by the tremendous volleys of arrows and stones from his archers and slingers. The cavalry now rode in among them, and made dreadful havoc. Macduff was slain, with most of his vassals from Fife; and the entire loss of the Scots on this disastrous day is believed to have been not less than fifteen thousand men. Wallace reached a neighbouring wood with the remains of his army, and succeeded in making his retreat from thence without further loss. He went first to Stirling, where the Scots burnt the town, that it might not afford any advantage to the English. The town of Perth was treated in the same manner.

The loss of the English in this engagement was not great, and only two men of any note were slain. Sir Brian de Jaye, the master of the Scottish templars, was killed in pursuing the fugitives, and a companion of the same order, of high rank, fell in the battle. From the sanguinary field of Falkirk, Edward resumed his march into the interior of Scotland. He reached Stirling four days after it had been burnt by the Scots, and took up his lodging in the convent of the Dominicans, which alone had escaped the flames. Here he remained a fortnight, to recover from the hurt he had received from the kick of his horse, while a portion of his army crossed the Forth into Clackmannanshire and Menteith, and after plundering those districts, entered Fife, which was laid waste with studious severity, in revenge for the part which Macduff and the men of Fife had taken in the war. Wherever they went, the English found neither resistance nor support. The city of St. Andrews was deserted by its inhabitants, and they committed it to the flames. They then pushed on to Perth, in the hopes of procuring provisions, but they found that place already burnt by the Scots; and unable to support themselves in a deserted country, they were obliged to return to Stirling. After placing a strong garrison in Stirling castle, the king led his army to Abercorn, near Queensferry, in the vain hope of finding his fleet with supplies from Berwick. Disappointed again, he marched through Clydesdale, towards the district which was held by the younger Bruce, who burnt his castle, and fled into the fastnesses of Carrick. Edward then marched into Bruce's

country of Galloway, to wreak his vengeance on his property and people, but the want of provisions compelled him soon to turn his course homewards, and marching through Annandale, where he captured the castle of Loehmaben, he returned with his army to Carlisle, thus closing a campaign which had been most disastrous to Scotland, without producing any permanent advantage to the invader. A parliament was held at Carlisle, in which the estates of the Scottish nobles were confiscated, and Edward, though not in possession, conferred them upon his own earls and barons, in reward for their services. The king had reached Durham, on his way southward, when he was stopped by intelligence that the Scots were again in arms. His army was reduced by the departure of some of his great barons, and the soldiers who remained were weakened with the hardships which they had already endured, and were not in a condition to march into Scotland again; but the king issued his writs, summoning his barons to meet him in arms at Carlisle on the eve of the day of Pentecost in the following year.

The good fortune of William Wallace sank with the fatal battle of Falkirk. The nobles, who despised him for his ignoble birth, appear to have been plotting his overthrow, even when he was in the zenith of his power, and the coalition against him became doubly powerful after his defeat. The Comyns threatened him with impeachment, and the Bruces laid aside their hatred of the Comyns to join them in persecuting the man who had restored Scotland to independence. With the pure spirit of patriotism, which seems to have characterized all his actions, Wallace preferred the interests of his country to his personal feelings, and attempted to save it from the consequences of domestic feud, by giving up his power to the barons. He preferred, to use the words of the old historian Fordun, to be a subject with the commonalty rather than to be their governor, and bring upon them ruin and distress. Accordingly, not long after the battle of Falkirk, he voluntarily resigned the office of governor of Scotland. He not only gave up his power, but from this moment his name disappears for several years from the annals of his country. How he was employed during that period has not been explained; an old account, of which the authority seems to be doubtful, pretends that he entered the service of the king of France, and that he signaled

himself by his exploits against the pirates who infested the coast of that kingdom, and these stories are introduced into the legendary history of the Scottish hero. On Wallace's resignation, the Scottish barons met at Perth, and elected John Comyn, of Badenoch, the younger, and John de Soulis, to be joint governors or regents of Scotland, in the name of their captive king, John Baliol. After some time, Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, and William Lamberton, bishop of St. Andrews, were joined with them in the regency.

Baliol, as we have just observed, still remained a prisoner in England, and excited commiseration by his misfortunes rather than by his conduct. When the truce was concluded in 1297, between the kings of England and France, the latter tried to obtain his liberation, and proposed also to include the Scots in the articles of pacification. Edward evaded the subject, until he had invaded Scotland and gained the battle of Falkirk, and then he refused firmly to listen to either of these proposals. The pope was next applied to, and his mediation was so far effective, that the English monarch, who professed great reverence for his spiritual father, consented to deliver Baliol into the hands of the papal legate. Accordingly, the deposed king was committed to the charge of the constable of Dover, to be by him carried over to Whit-sand, and delivered to the legate. Baliol was treated with every mark of contemptuous disrespect. Before embarking, his boxes were searched, and a crown of gold, with the great seal of Scotland, being found in them, both were seized for the king, who ordered the crown to be hung up at the shrine of St. Thomas the martyr. Edward stipulated that the pope should not interfere in Scottish affairs, but he gave him, nominally, the disposal of Baliol's estates in England. Baliol was himself sent to his castle of Bailleul, in France, where he passed the remainder of his life in retirement, forgotten equally by his subjects and his enemies.

The liberation of Baliol took place in the year 1299, when Edward was preparing for a new campaign in Scotland. The greater part of the year was spent in negotiations with France, in disputes with his barons, and in his marriage with the sister of the king of France, but the war of Scotland was always uppermost in his mind, and he called a parliament at York, on the

10th of November. Meanwhile, the Scottish regency had made an attempt to imitate the vigour of Wallace. They raised an army, and undertook the siege of Stirling, and the army encamped in Torwood, in a position where cavalry could not act against them, and where any assailants would have to encounter the Scottish spearmen at great disadvantage. When the regents heard of the parliament at York, and of the preparations on the other side of the border, they sent a letter to Edward, claiming to be included in the treaty with France, and proposing a cessation of arms. But Edward returned no answer. After acquainting his parliament with his intentions in regard to Scotland, he assembled a powerful army at Berwick, to march to the relief of Stirling, in spite of the approach of winter, and then to complete the reduction of Scotland under his domination. But when he reached Berwick, his barons, who were dissatisfied at his conduct with regard to the grand charter and other bulwarks of the national liberties, refused to march any further, and withdrew with their followers to their estates. Edward, angry and disappointed, marched into Scotland with the troops which remained, but when he was informed of the strong position occupied by the Scots, he was convinced that the risk of a battle would be too hazardous, and he returned with his army to Berwick. The garrison of Stirling, which had made a long and brave defence, were now almost reduced to extremities, and, with king Edward's permission, they surrendered the castle to sir John de Soulis, one of the regents, who committed it to the keeping of a Scottish baron, sir William Olifant.

Next year, however, Edward marched again with his army into Scotland. He directed his march towards the country of the Bruces, and on the 6th of July entered Annandale, where he besieged and took Lochmaben. He next reduced the strong castle of Caerlaverock, on the coast of the Solway Firth. The Scots, according to the system of warfare they had now adopted, wasted the country and retired before him, so that he had to depend for his subsistence on his supplies from England. In Galloway, where he now led his army, he had an interview with the Scottish bishop, who made a vain attempt to mediate a peace. The Scottish barons had been much more provoked by the confiscation of

their estates in the preceding year, than by the injuries inflicted on their country, and two of their number, the earl of Buchan and John Comyn, of Badenoch, now sought an interview with the king, in which they demanded that Baliol should be allowed to resume the sceptre, and that their estates should be restored. But after an angry meeting, in which the king treated them contemptuously as rebels, they parted unsatisfied. The king then marched to Irvine, where he encamped eight days, while provisions were brought up the river from his ships. The Scottish army made its appearance on the other side of the river of Irvine, to watch his movements, but when attacked by the English, they made a hurried retreat into the mountains, where the English soldiers could not follow, and the Welsh, who were more accustomed to mountain fighting, refused to go. The king now moved his headquarters to Dumfries, where he could easily receive supplies from England, and employed himself in reducing the people of Galloway to obedience.

Edward was arrested in his further progress by the unexpected interference of the pope. Commissioners had been sent to Rome by the regents, in the earlier part of the year, to endeavour to obtain the pope's protection, by representing Scotland as a fief of the holy see; and it is said that Boniface VIII., who then occupied the papal chair, was gained over as much by their gold as by their persuasions. The pope addressed an admonitory bull to king Edward, setting forth his own claims to sovereignty over Scotland, its independence of England, complained of the aggressions of the English monarch, and ordering him to desist. The bull was sent to the archbishop of Canterbury, who was directed by the pope to deliver it to the king. The archbishop accordingly proceeded to Scotland, and after a harassing and perilous journey, found Edward encamped near the castle of Caerlaverock. The archbishop there presented the imperious mandate of which he was the bearer, in the presence of the English nobles, and he recommended it with some admonitions on the duty of obedience to Rome, adding that "Jerusalem would not fail to protect her citizens, and to cherish, like Mount Sion, those who trusted in the Lord." Edward was offended, not less with the archbishop's observations, than with the

document itself, and he exclaimed, with a great oath, "I will not be silent or at rest, either for Mount Sion or for Jerusalem; but, as long as there is breath in my nostrils, I will defend what all the world knows to be my right." Then becoming calmer, and feeling the importance, at that moment, of keeping fair with the pope, he desired the archbishop to retire, while he consulted with his nobles. On his readmission, the king addressed him as follows:—"My lord archbishop, you have delivered me, on the part of my superior and reverend father, the pope, a certain admonition touching the state and realm of Scotland. Since, however, it is the custom of England, that in matters relating to the state of that kingdom, to consult with all those who may have an interest in them, and as the present business affects not only the state of Scotland, but the rights of England, and since many prelates, earls, barons, and magnates, are at this time absent from my army, without whose advice I am unwilling to give a final answer to my holy father, it is my intention to hold, as soon as possible, a council with my nobility, and by their advice and determination to send an answer to his holiness by messengers of my own." The archbishop was thus dismissed; and the king, embarrassed by the interference of the pope, gave up his purpose of continuing the war during the rest of the year. He pretended suddenly to be moved by the intercession of the ambassadors sent by the king of France to negotiate a peace, and professing that he yielded to Philip's wishes as his friend and kinsman, and not as the ally of Scotland, he granted the Scots a truce to endure till Whit-sunday, 1301.

King Edward was all this time moving slowly about on the Scottish borders. At the end of August, 1300, he proceeded to Holmcultram, in Cumberland, and he remained there and at Carlisle, until the 16th of October, when he returned to Dumfries. Here the truce with the Scots was concluded on the 30th of the last-named month, and, after it had been proclaimed, the king proceeded to Carlisle on the 3rd of November. At the same time he disbanded his army, and issued his writs summoning a parliament to meet at Lincoln, on the 31st of January. He also wrote to the chancellors of the two universities, commanding to send some of their ablest civilians to the parliament to declare their

opinion, and to the heads of religious houses, with injunctions to search their chronicles and other records for evidence, on his right to be lord paramount of Scotland. As Edward had now to defend his own independence against an attempted assumption of undue authority on the part of the pope, and he wished to throw the main responsibility on his nobles and people, he proceeded to conciliate them by a full and free confirmation of the great charters of liberties and of the forests. When parliament met, and the pope's bull was read, the question of right was warmly and learnedly discussed by the lawyers. According to the sentiments of the time, each party sought justification in the antiquity of their claims, rather than in the absolute justice of their proceedings, and while the king derived his rights from the remote times of the fabulous Brute, the pope would have overruled claims derived from a pagan king, by declaring that Scotland had been given to the church of Rome by St. Andrew ! The parliament concluded their deliberations on this *papal aggression*, by directing a very spirited letter to the pope, to which they attached a formidable array of a hundred and four seals. After the usual complimentary exordium to such documents, they set forth the king's claims in opposition to those of the pope, and of their right to determine them without being subjected to any jurisdiction of the court of Rome. The pope had ordered the king to send commissioners to Rome, to state there his claims, and submit to his judgment upon them, in reply to which the parliament said, that, "having diligently considered the letters of his holiness, it is now, and for the future shall be, the unanimous and unshaken resolution of all and every one of us, that our lord the king, concerning his rights in Scotland, or other temporal rights, must in no wise answer judicially before the pope, or submit them to his judgment, or draw them into question by such submission ; and that he must not send proxies or commissioners to his holiness, more especially when it would manifestly tend to the disinheritance of the crown and royal dignity of England, to the notorious subversion of the state of the kingdom, and to the prejudice of our liberties, customs, and laws, delivered to us by our fathers ; which, by our oaths, we are bound to observe and defend, and which, by the help of God, we will defend with our whole force and power." The letter con-

cluded by declaring, "we neither permit or will permit, in any way, as we neither can nor ought, the king to do, or even to attempt, such strange and unheard of things, even if he were willing so far to forget his royal rights. Wherefore, we reverently and numbly entreat his holiness to permit the king to possess his rights in peace, without domination or disturbance." The king soon after wrote a private letter to Boniface, in which he stated his claims at great length, professing all the while his great reverence for the holy see. These documents seem to have produced a wonderful effect ; for it was not long after when the pope, with singular inconsistency, wrote a letter to Wishart, bishop of Glasgow, who was acting with the patriotic party in Scotland, addressing him as "the prime mover and instigator of all the tumult and dissension which have arisen between his dearest son in Christ, Edward king of England, and the Scots !" and commanding him to desist from further opposition to king Edward ; and a bull was at the same time sent to the body of the Scottish bishops, threatening them with the pope's high displeasure, unless they remained at peace with the king of England.

In due time the truce with the Scots expired, and Edward again summoned his barons to meet him in arms at Berwick, on the day of St. John the Baptist (June 24). Directions were at the same time given that a fleet of seventy ships should assemble at the same place to act in concert with him. The English entered Scotland on the 3rd of July, in two divisions, one under the command of prince Edward, and the other led by the king in person. Their first exploit was the capture of the castle of Bonkill, in Berwickshire. The Scots followed their old policy of wasting their country, and retiring before the invaders, and the only hostility the latter had to contend with arose from the attacks of small bodies of Scots or straggling parties of foragers. The English army moved slowly from one place to another, and we can only explain the king's inactivity by the knowledge that he was actively engaged in negotiating a treaty of peace with France, and that the French king was at the same time interceding for a new truce with the Scots. In the legal documents of the period, we trace Edward at Kelso on the 22nd of July, at Roxburgh on the 24th of the same month, at Peebles on the 4th of August, and at Glasgow on

the 20th. He was still at Glasgow on the 25th, when he offered oblations at the shrine of St. Kentigern, "for the good news of sir Malcolm de Drummond, knight, a Scot, being taken prisoner by sir John de Segrave." On the 4th of September the king was at the castle of Mearns, on the 24th he was at Glasgow again, and on the 14th of October he was at Dunipace, in Stirlingshire. On this day he concluded the truce with the Scots, which was to last until the 30th of November, 1302. He now halted in his progress north, but he determined to winter in Scotland, and, having sent to England for supplies, he established his head quarters at Linlithgow, where he employed himself in erecting a strong castle. It was here that with his son and his nobles, he celebrated the festivities of Christmas. He was still at Linlithgow on the 26th of January, 1302, but he soon afterwards commenced his journey southwards, and we find him on the 12th of February at Roxburgh, and on the 24th at Morpeth, in Northumberland.

During the ensuing year, Edward's attention was too much occupied with his foreign negotiations to admit of his invading Scotland, of which kingdom he had appointed John de Segrave governor. The Scots had taken courage after Edward's departure, and on the expiration of the truce they commenced hostilities, and proceeded with so much vigour, that by the end of the year the king received intelligence from Segrave that they had not only ravaged the country, and taken and burnt the castles and towns held by the English, but that they threatened an invasion of England. Sir John de Segrave was at Berwick, whither the king immediately ordered a number of his barons to attend with horse and foot to assist the governor of Scotland against his enemies, promising that he would himself hasten with an army into Scotland sooner than he had before intended.

Thus reinforced, sir John de Segrave, who appears to have acted throughout with great want of care and foresight, marched towards Edinburgh with an army of twenty thousand men, consisting chiefly of cavalry. As they met with no enemy, the army, divided by Segrave into three divisions, encamped carelessly at night, without any communication with each other. Nevertheless, though the Scots had as yet shown no inclination to resist, their governor, sir

John Comyn, and sir Simon Fraser, had raised a force of about eight thousand horse, and marched in the night from Biggar, in the hope of surprising the invaders in their sleep, and their plan was executed with success. Early in the morning of the 24th of February, 1303, when they were approaching Roslin, Segrave, who commanded the first division, which was some distance in advance of the others, was roused from his sleep by a boy rushing in with intelligence that the enemy was upon them. The English had no time to arm or prepare for defence, and Segrave's division was quickly routed, and himself, and his brother, and son, with a number of knights and esquires, were made prisoners. The Scots were beginning to collect their booty, when the second division of the English army appeared, and then, in the urgency of the moment, the Scots put their prisoners to death, that they might fight without embarrassment. The second division was also, after an obstinate struggle, put to flight, and many prisoners taken. The sudden appearance of the third division, commanded by sir Robert Neville, obliged the victors to resort again to the cruel precaution of slaying their prisoners. It is said that the Scots would willingly have made good their retreat from Neville's division, but that he was too near before they were aware of his approach. The third combat was more obstinate than the others, but the English were again totally defeated, and Neville himself was among the slain. The wreck of Segrave's army fled to England, and the Scottish combatants gathered the plunder, which was unusually great, and returned to their homes.

While the Scots were thus triumphing in their own country, they were deserted and deceived by their last friend abroad. Philip of France had hitherto professed his intention of including them in any general arrangements of peace which he should conclude with king Edward, and, as he was now openly negotiating, they had sent some of their leading men, including the earl of Buchan, the steward of Scotland, sir John Soulis, and Ingelram de Umfraville, to the French court to watch over their interests. Philip, however, had just been defeated by the Flemings, and he was apprehensive that any open protection he showed to the Scots would only give the king of England a plea for supporting his enemies in Flanders against him. It was easily, therefore,

arranged between the two monarchs, that the one should abandon the Scots on condition that the other gave no assistance to the Flemings—Edward had already set the example by omitting the latter from his truce—and in the new truce concluded at Amiens the Scots were altogether excluded.

To pacify the Scottish envoys, he persuaded them that it was still his intention to act with energy as their mediator with England, and that he would not finally conclude a peace without extending his protection to Scotland. Further, being well informed that Edward was preparing to invade Scotland, and knowing that Edward would be glad of the absence of some of the most warlike and skilful of the Scottish leaders, he persuaded them to remain with him till the treaty was concluded, in order that they might carry back to their countrymen the best information of the success with which he had advocated their cause. So completely were the Scottish deputies deceived, that, when the news of the battle of Roslin arrived to the surprise of every one, they wrote a letter to the governor (John Comyn) and the nobles of Scotland, encouraging them to persevere, in which, after telling them how much they would rejoice "were they aware what a load of honour this last conflict with the English had conferred upon them throughout the world," they proceeded to say, "Wherefore we beseech you earnestly that you continue to be of good courage; and if the king of England consent to a truce, as we firmly believe he will, do you likewise agree to the same, according to the form which the ambassadors of the king of France shall propose by one of our number. But if the king of England, like Pharaoh, shall grow hardened, and continue the war, we beseech you, by the mercy of Christ, that you quit yourselves like men, so that, by the assistance of God, and your own courage, you may gain the victory." Almost immediately after the writing of this remarkable letter, on the 20th of May, 1303, Philip concluded with the king of England the treaty of Paris, in which the Scots were silently left to their fate.

That fate was a cruel one; for Edward, exasperated and not intimidated by the destruction of his army at Roslin, instead of talking of a truce, summoned his warriors from England, from Ireland, and even from Gascony, to meet him at Berwick. On the 10th of May, just ten days before the final signing of the treaty of Paris, he

entered Scotland with an overwhelming force, which he had divided into two armies, one of which, under the command of the prince of Wales, marched to the west. Edward led the other army in person, slowly by Roxburgh to Edinburgh, where he arrived at the beginning of June. He declared that he would this time either reduce the Scots to obedience, or he would make a desert of their country; and in this spirit he conducted his desolating march. The people, in despair, submitted to his power, or fled before him to the wilds and fastnesses, where Comyn, sir Simon Fraser, and a few other chiefs, carried on a predatory warfare against the invaders.

From Edinburgh Edward continued his progress to the north more rapidly. He was at Linlithgow on the 6th of June, at Perth on the 10th, and at Clackmannan on the 12th, from whence he returned to Perth, where he remained some days, occupied, no doubt, in receiving into his allegiance those who submitted. He was still at Perth on the 10th of July, but soon after this he proceeded by Dundee, Brechin, and Kincardine, to Aberdeen, where we find him on the 24th of August, and on the 4th of September he had reached Banff, on the Moray firth. Thence he marched westward to Kinloss, and proceeding into the heart of Moray, established his headquarters at the castle of Lochendorf, a strong fortress on an island in the middle of a lake. From hence he went to take possession of the strong castle of Kildrummie, and subsequently proceeded southwardly to Dundee, and so by Perth, Stirling, and Cambuskenneth, to Kinross, where we find him on the 10th of November.

In this long progress, Edward had met with few attempts at resistance, and one of these only has been thought worthy of record. A brave Scottish knight, named sir Thomas Maule, shut himself up with a few men in the castle of Brechin, and set the king at defiance. The massive walls of the fortress long resisted the battering engines of the besiegers, and Maule stood on the wall deriding their attempts, and scornfully wiping off with a towel the dust raised by their missiles. At length, after a siege of twelve days, he was struck down by a ponderous stone from one of the English engines; his last words were an execration on his soldiers for talking of surrender. They did surrender, however, the moment he expired.

Early in December, the king took up his winter quarters in the town of Dunfermline, where he was soon afterwards joined by his queen. While he himself was here occupied in receiving the submission of the Scottish chiefs who had not come in during his progress, he employed his soldiers in destroying the noble abbey of the Benedictines, the scene of so many events in the earlier history of Scotland, sparing only the church and a few cells for the monks. Yet the old spirit of Scottish independence, which now lay prostrate, still seemed inclined to make one effort before it expired. Comyn, the governor, with sir Simon Fraser, and a few other barons, remained in arms, though they had not dared to shew themselves, and the brave garrison of Stirling, under its commander, sir William Olifant, held out, and had been hitherto left by the English on account of its strength, though Edward now prepared to reduce it. Comyn resolved to dispute the passage of the Forth, and collecting all the men he could muster, established himself on the same spot which had been occupied by Wallace on a celebrated occasion; but, instead of following the policy of his predecessor, he destroyed the bridge over the river. Edward no sooner heard that the Scots had shown themselves in force, than he hastened against them; and when he found that they had destroyed the bridge, he himself found a ford, and led his cavalry through the water. The last show of an army which the Scots could now muster was soon routed and broken, and Comyn, with most of his adherents, soon afterwards submitted. He met the earls of Pembroke and Ulster, and the lord Henry Percy, at Strathorde, in Fife, on the 9th of February, 1304, and there entered into an agreement with the conquerors, by which all the castles and fortresses in Scotland were to be held by English garrisons, and the government of the kingdom was to be administered at the pleasure of the English king. The barons who signed this agreement were to have their lives, liberties, and lands preserved, subject to a pecuniary fine at the king's pleasure. A few persons were excepted from these conditions, among whom were Wishart, bishop of Glasgow, the steward of Scotland, and the other commissioners still in France (who of course were not present to agree to it), and especially sir Simon Fraser and William Wallace. All but the last two subsequently

submitted on the terms of the agreement, and Wallace, who now when his country was in its greatest distress, had reappeared on the turbulent scene, was alone cut off by the terms of the treaty from all hope of mercy.

In the beginning of March Edward went to St. Andrews, where he had called an English parliament, and he summoned the Scottish barons to attend. They all obeyed, except Fraser and Wallace, who, of course, as not included in the treaty, did not dare to present themselves; and these two chiefs, with the brave garrison of Stirling, were declared outlaws by the united voice of the barons of England and Scotland. The spirit of Simon Fraser was broken by the desolation of his country, and he now submitted to the punishment of fine and banishment, which was to be the condition of his surrender. Wallace now stood alone; he was bowed, though not broken, by his misfortunes, and he also would fain have made his peace. But his conditions only irritated the king's anger, who swore that the only condition reserved for him should be the punishment of a traitor, and set a reward of three hundred marks upon his head, denouncing the heaviest punishment against all who supported or protected him. Wallace, as a last resource, betook himself to the wilds of the north, to subsist on plunder.

It now remained only to invest the castle of Stirling, and the same parliament urged Edward to undertake the siege without delay. The siege of Stirling castle is one of the celebrated events in Scottish history. Sir William Olifant, who commanded the garrison, held it as the lieutenant of sir John Soulis, who was the governor of Stirling castle; and when summoned by the king to surrender it, he answered, in the chivalrous spirit of the age, that as he was pledged to his master to defend it, he could not give it up without his orders; but if he were allowed the necessary time, and a cessation of hostilities, he would proceed immediately to France, where sir John Soulis then was, and obtain his permission to yield up his trust. Edward replied, in anger, that he would hear of no terms but the immediate surrender of the castle, and that if Olifant and his garrison retained it, it must be at their utmost peril. The latter now proceeded to fortify his walls, and to erect his engines of defence, with every preparation for an obstinate struggle.

The preparations of the besiegers were no less terrible. Thirteen engines for battering were brought to bear against the walls, which threw heavy darts, with immense stones and balls of lead. The cathedral of St. Andrews was stripped of its leaden roof to contribute to the supply of the latter articles. Day after day these warlike machines continued to discharge their missiles without producing any impression on the walls, while the deadly weapons ejected from the machines on the walls, worked with the greatest skill, made fatal havoc among the besiegers, whose labours were so arduous, that it required the presence of the king himself to encourage them. Edward exposed his person with the rashness of a young warrior, riding under the walls to make his observations, and directing his men in the management of the attack, and he was often struck with the stones and javelins from the walls. On one occasion, when he approached nearer the walls than usual, a javelin struck him on the breast, and became fixed in the plates of his armour without penetrating to the skin. Edward plucked it out with his own hand, and brandishing it in the air, threatened that he would hang the man who sent it. On another occasion, an immense stone from one of the engines in the castle struck the ground before the king, and his horse backing from it, fell upon its rider. Some of his soldiers rescued their king from this dangerous position, and dragged him down the hill into the camp. Finding that their military engines produced little impression on the walls, the English now determined on making an assault, but when they had filled the fosse with faggots and branches to facilitate their approach, a well-directed sally was made from the castle, and not only were the works of the besiegers destroyed and their faggots burnt, but a considerable number of them were killed. It was now the 20th of May, nearly a month since the commencement of the siege, and the munitions of war brought by the assailants were nearly exhausted, with little effect on the castle. Untiring perseverance was one of the peculiar characteristics of the mind of the great monarch who was directing the siege operations, and he now sent orders through England to collect new weapons and make new engines, ordered all his warriors to turn their energies solely to the reduction of this great fortress, and sought for new agents of destruction. He

gave orders for the composition of Greek fire, and articles then scarcely known in western warfare, and set his engineers to construct two machines, so much larger than any of those employed before, that they overtopped the walls, and threw immense masses of stone and lead. One of these, though very complicated in its construction, did little mischief; but the other, which was called a wolf, was unusually destructive. At last, Edward's persevering efforts were successful. A large breach was made, and the outer ditching having been filled with stones, the men were ordered to the assault. But as the assailants were marching to the attack, the garrison, already greatly reduced, with their provisions exhausted, sent a deputation to the English king with offers to capitulate on security of life and limb. These terms Edward rejected with scorn, on which they consented to surrender at discretion. The earls of Gloucester and Ulster, sir Eustace le Poer, and sir John de Mowbray, were accordingly sent to the castle gate to receive their submission. The whole garrison was found to consist of only a hundred and forty soldiers. Sir William Olifant, their commander, with twenty-five of the knights and gentlemen, were compelled to appear before king Edward in full court, stripped to their shirts and drawers, with halters round their necks, as supplicants for pardon, and the king's mercy extended so far as to order that they should not be chained. But Olifant was thrown into the prison of the Tower of London, and his companions in arms were confined in different English castles.

Thus fell the last hold of Scottish independence. Edward now began to take measures for securing and governing the country he had conquered, and his measures were characterized by at least a semblance of moderation and justice. He made John de Segrave temporary governor of Scotland, and appointed English commanders to the castles. He then returned by Jedburgh, Morpeth, and York, to Lincoln, where he kept the Christmas of 1304. He took as his Scottish advisers, Wishart bishop of Glasgow, Robert Bruce earl of Carrick, and John de Mowbray, and, pretending to be led by their councils, in the spring of 1305 he called a great council of the Scots at Perth, to choose ten commissioners, who were to meet twenty English commissioners at London, for the purpose of adjusting such

an arrangement as should combine the interests of the two realms. Many of the old Celtic customs were now abolished, but in other respects the laws of Scotland were acknowledged and confirmed. Private property, which had not been forfeited, was placed under the protection of the law; and the rights of hereditary officers were recognised and treated with respect. The executive government was placed in the king's lieutenant and chamberlain.

There was one of Edward's enemies still at large, against whom he entertained the bitterest hatred. This was William Wallace, who had steadily refused to submit except on honourable terms, and who was now living the life of an outlaw in the wilds of the north. Here he long eluded the pursuit of his enemies, and might perhaps never have fallen into their hands had he not been betrayed by his own people. Wallace was hated by the Scottish nobles, not only because they looked upon him as an upstart, but because, when in power, he appears to have acted towards them with a proud and unconciliating bearing. They, therefore, were far from unwilling to deliver him up to the king's vengeance, if he fell into their hands. Many, also, of lower rank, were ready to betray him, some with no better motive than the desire of obtaining the reward which was set upon his head. The king had given strict orders to his captains in Scotland to hunt the outlaw incessantly, and he sought out all the Scots who were his enemies, and bribed them to assist in the pursuit. Among Wallace's personal enemies was sir John Menteith, a Scottish baron of high rank, whose nephew was slain fighting under that chieftain's banner at Falkirk. It is supposed that Menteith had cherished a feud against Wallace ever since that fatal battle, because he had retreated from the field and left his nephew to perish. Sir John Menteith was, at this time, sheriff of Dumbartonshire, and he joined the authority of his office with the activity of a personal enemy, in tracing Wallace from one hiding-place to another. At length a treacherous

servant of the fugitive gave information of the place of his retreat, and Menteith, having surrounded the house in which he was concealed, found him in bed "with his leman," and carried him off a prisoner. He was immediately sent to London in fetters, where he was paraded triumphantly through the streets, and, in due course, was arraigned in Westminster Hall of high treason; and as it was reported that he had once boasted himself worthy to wear a crown in that place, a crown of laurel was placed in mockery on his head. He insisted upon his innocence of the disgraceful crime of treason, on the ground that he had never sworn fealty to the king of England, but he acknowledged that he had made war against him in defence of the independence of his country. As might be expected, the Scottish hero was found guilty of everything that was laid to his charge, and he was condemned to suffer the death of a traitor. Upon this, the laurel crown was taken from his head, and he was chained; and on the 23rd of August, when the sentence was carried into execution, he was drawn at the tails of horses through the streets to the Elms, in Smithfield, where a high gallows was erected. He was there hanged, and, having been cut down alive, his bowels were taken out and burnt before his face, in a fire which had been made at hand for that purpose. His head was then struck off, and his body was divided into four quarters. These were sent severally to be stuck up at Newcastle, Berwick, Perth, and Aberdeen. His head was placed on a pole on London Bridge. Thus ignominiously perished the man whom Scotland has ever revered as one of the purest and bravest of her patriots; though, under the mistaken feelings and prejudices of that age, the people of England exulted over his fate as that of an accursed felon, and shouted songs of exultation over his quivering remains.* The refined cruelty of his death, though in accordance with the sanguinary laws of that period, cast a dark blot on the character of one of the greatest of the English monarchs.

* The contemporary chronicler, Peter Langtoft, has left us the following account of Wallace's execution, in which he curiously justifies the different parts of it by the different crimes laid to his charge:—

Novel avoms oy entre compaygnouns
De William le Walays, mestre de larouns;
Sire Jon de Menetest li suist à talouns,
Enprès de sa putayne li prist en tapisouns;

A Loundres le menait en ferges et laceouns,
Où jugez esteit sur cels condiciouns;
En primer à fourches fust trayné pur tresouns,
Pendū pur robberyes et pur occisiouns,
Et pur ceo k'il avait ennenty par arsouns
Viles et eglises et religiouns,
Avalez est de fourches, et overt les ventrouns
Le quor et la bowel brullez en carbouns,
Et copé la teste par tets mesprisriouns
Pur ceo ke il avait par ces havyllouns

CHAPTER IV.

INSURRECTION AND CORONATION OF ROBERT BRUCE; BATTLE OF METHVEN; BRUCE'S DISTRESSES AND EXPLOITS; DEATH OF EDWARD I.

It is a singular characteristic of the history of Scotland at this period, that whenever the country seemed most hopelessly subdued, the national spirit suddenly rose up like a phoenix from the ashes, and in an incredibly short space of time worked out its own redemption. As the curtain fell upon the closing scene of the career of Wallace, another champion of the national independence was springing into life in the person of Robert Bruce. This young hero was the grandson of the Robert Bruce who contended with Baliol for the crown, and the son of the Robert Bruce who had remained faithful in his allegiance to king Edward through the turbulent events of the last few years. The Bruces continued to cherish the hope that the crown would at length be fixed in their family, and to this hope we may attribute much of their otherwise inexplicable conduct during the reign of Baliol and the regency. The personal feud between the families of Bruce and Comyn was certainly increased in intensity by the circumstance that the lord of Badenoch, by marrying a sister of Baliol, had carried Baliol's right to the crown into his own family, and the son of this powerful baron, John Comyn, lord of Badenoch, known as the Red Comyn, had

been at the head of the patriotic party of the nobles ever since Baliol's deposition. We have seen the half neutral—we may term it equivocal conduct of the younger Robert Bruce, then but twenty-three years of age, during the war between Edward and Wallace. For a short time this young but powerful baron united with Comyn in the regency, but it appears to have been an alliance only for the purpose of humbling the plebeian Wallace; but, before the battle of Roslin, he had returned to the English party and renewed his allegiance to Edward. During that monarch's progress through Scotland in 1303, Robert Bruce remained faithful to him, and seems to have been taken into favour, for on the death of his father in 1304, he was allowed to take possession of all his extensive possessions in England and Scotland. Thus, on the death of Wallace, the two factions, led by Bruce and Comyn, stood in a rivalry which was heightened by the circumstance that Comyn looked on Bruce as standing highest in popular favour on account of his desertion of his country, and Bruce regarded Comyn as seeking popularity, in order, when the opportunity offered, to secure the object of his own ambition, the crown of Scotland.

Still the two rivals kept up an appear-

Which may be thus modernized for those who are not accustomed to the old English :—

To be a warning to all the gentlemen who are in Scotland,

The Wallace was drawn, and afterwards was hanged,

Beheaded all alive, his bowels burnt,

The head to London bridge was sent,

To remain there.

* * *

Sir Edward our king, who is full of piety,

Sent the Wallace's quarters to his own country,

To hang in four parts (of the country), to be their mirror,

Thereupon to think, in order that many might see And dread.

Why would they not take warning
Of the battle of Dunbar,
How ill they sped ?

These expressions of popular sentiments show us to what cruelty and injustice national divisions and national prejudices lead mankind. The popular songs and satires are, on this account to be reckoned in the most interesting and valuable class of historical documents.

Maintenez la guere, doné protecciouns,
Seysye seynurye en ses subjecciouns
De altri realme par ses entrusiouns,
Copé li fust le cors en quatre porciouns,
Cheseun pende par say en memor de ses nouns,
En lu de sa banere cels sunt ces gunfanouns.

Fragments of one or two contemporary songs on Wallace's death have been preserved. An English song, written in the following year, on the execution of Simon Fraser, contains the following allusion to Wallace's fate, which will show the feelings on the subject in England at that time :—

To warny alle the gentilmen that bueth in Scotlonde,
The Walais wes to-drawe, seththe he was an-honge,
Al quic biheveded, ys bowels y-brend,
The heved to Londone brugge wes send

To abide.

* * *

Sire Edward oure kyng, that ful ys of piété,
The Walais quarters sende to is oune contré,
On four half to honge, huere myrour to be,
Thereupon to thencke, that monie myhten se

Ant drede

Why nolden he be war
Of the bataile of Donbar,

Hou evell hem con spede?

ance of familiarity and friendship which served as a cloak to their private feelings, even sometimes against their own eyes. For while, on the one hand, Comyn treacherously endeavoured to raise the king's suspicions of Bruce's loyalty, the latter, who was secretly conspiring to clear his way to the Scottish throne, ventured gradually to take Comyn into his confidence. Bruce had entered into a league of brotherhood with one of the most influential of the Scottish prelates, William de Lamberton bishop of St. Andrews, by which they bound themselves to perpetual fidelity to each other, and promised mutual assistance in their designs. This league was, as may be supposed, carefully concealed, but it had come to the knowledge of Comyn, probably from the parties most concerned in it, and he and Bruce had a conference on the subject of their rival claims to the crown. According to the account of one of the chroniclers this conference took place when the two barons were riding from Stirling. Bruce, after dilating on the misery to which their unhappy country was reduced by their personal rivalry, made a proposal to Comyn, either that he should make over his great estate to Bruce on condition of receiving his cordial assistance in obtaining the crown, or that Comyn should resign his claim to Bruce and assist him in enforcing it on the similar condition of receiving all Bruce's lands, to add to his own vast inheritance. Comyn, with apparent cordiality, agreed to accept Bruce's lands, and to waive his own right to the crown in his favour; upon which the latter took him into his confidence, made him acquainted with all his plans, and even entrusted into his hands papers which contained evidence of his designs, which were as yet immature. Comyn saw with joy that his old rival had put himself into his power, and with base treachery he sent the papers to the king, and informed him of his projects.

It happened that Bruce, who stood at this moment very high in Edward's favour, and whose outward conduct was calculated to excite no suspicion, was at the English court when the king received these proofs of his treason. Edward, wishing to make himself acquainted with the whole conspiracy before he proceeded against any of the conspirators, did not alter his conduct towards the chief offender, but he appears, in some moment of private anger, to have dropped a hint of an intention to arrest

him, and Bruce received a private intimation of his danger from his kinsman, the earl of Gloucester. The Scottish baron immediately took to horse, and fled precipitately to Scotland, and it is said, traditionally, that, to deceive his pursuers, he adopted a precaution which had been employed more than once in similar circumstances, that of causing his horse, and those of his followers, to be shod backwards. When they reached the border, they met a messenger hastening to England, whom they seized and examined, and when they found that he was an agent sent by Comyn to the king, they slew him and seized his letters. These made Bruce fully acquainted with the treachery of his rival, and he hastened to his castle of Lochmaben, where he arrived on the fifth day after he left the court—an extraordinary short time for such a journey in those days—and where he met his brother Edward, whom he informed of the danger in which he was placed, and of the perilous position in which he stood, from which his only chance of escape seemed to be open rebellion against the king of England.

It happened to be the month of February, at which time the English justiciaries held their court at Dumfries, and the court-day was close at hand. At this court both Bruce and Comyn were obliged, as landholders, to attend, and the former, boiling with indignation, and still hardly decided as to the course he should pursue, met his treacherous rival, and demanded a private interview with him in the church of the convent of Friars minors. Here Bruce could no longer restrain his passion, and reproached Comyn with his ingratitude and disloyalty. Comyn, who was not aware of what had taken place, gave him the lie; on which Bruce, yielding to the impetuosity of his temper, and heedless of the sacred character of the place—they were near the high altar—drew his dagger and stabbed him. Then recollecting himself, he hurried from the sanctuary he had violated, and rushing into the street, called to his followers to mount their horses. Two of them, Kirkpatrick and Lindsay, seeing him pale and agitated, inquired what had occurred, and Bruce, as he mounted his horse, hastily replied, "I doubt I have slain Comyn." "Do you doubt?" said Kirkpatrick fiercely, "then I will make sure;" and he ran into the church, where he found Comyn lying bleeding on the steps of the

high altar, but still alive, and he dispatched him with his sword. The noise of the scuffle had brought Comyn's friends to his assistance, and his uncle, sir Robert Comyn, in the attempt to defend him, was slain by Kirkpatrick, who then made his escape and rejoined his master. Bruce having thus unintentionally cast the die of his fortunes, hastily assembled his retainers, and took possession of the castle of Dumfries. The justiciaries, in their terror, had barricaded themselves in the castle hall, which was their place of meeting, and they did not surrender, until the assailants had set fire to the building. Bruce allowed them to leave Scotland without injury.

The situation of Bruce at this moment was full of peril. His conspiracy to obtain the crown was known to the king, and he had no longer, even on that account, any thing to hope from him; he had murdered the first noble in Scotland, and had thus arrayed against himself the animosity of all his numerous friends and vassals; and, in addition to all this, he had defiled a place of tremendous sanctity with blood, and placed himself under the ban of the church, by insulting its strongest prejudices. The faithful friendship of bishop Lambert alone protected him against the worst consequences of the sentence of excommunication which was soon pronounced against him, and the body of the Scottish clergy was soon interested in his favour; but, with the king, his only alternative was to raise the standard of revolt, or to become a fugitive outlaw. The choice, however, was soon made. Bruce returned to his castle of Lochmaben, and despatched letters to his friends and adherents, but with so little effect at first, that he was obliged to take the field against the power of the king of England, with the assistance only of two earls and fourteen barons, but the faithfulness of these allies was proved by the promptitude with which they came forward to expose their persons and estates in his cause. These first adherents of the future saviour of Scotland were the earls of Lennox and Athol; his four brothers, Edward, Nigel, Thomas, and Alexander; his nephew, Thomas Randolph; his brother-in-law, Christopher Seton; Gilbert and Hugh de la Haye, of Errol; David Barclay, of Cairns; Alexander Fraser, of Oliver castle; Walter de Somerville; David, of Inchmartin; Robert Boyd; and Robert Fleming. He was also joined by the three bishops of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Mo-

ray, and by the abbot of Scone. These formed his whole strength when Bruce first raised his standard.

Bruce at once acted with the boldness and decision which was alone calculated to ensure success. His first step, which gratified his own ambition, while it gave him a new *prestige* in the eyes of the multitude, was to assume at once the royalty which he coveted. He rode with a small retinue from Lochmaben to meet his friends at Glasgow. On the way, perhaps by previous arrangement for the purpose of dramatic effect, sir James Douglas, a disinherited patriot, of noble family, whose father had fought under the banner of Wallace, met him in arms, and kneeling before him, did homage to him as king. He then remounted, and rode by his side. From Glasgow, Bruce hastened to Scone, and there, on Friday, the 27th of March, he was solemnly crowned. Wishart, bishop of Glasgow, produced from his own wardrobe the coronation robes; a coronet of gold was produced for the occasion, supposed to have been borrowed from the abbey of Scone, and a chair (with perhaps a stone) was found suitable for the hurried ceremony, in place of the regalia and the celebrated fatal stone, which had been carried away to England by king Edward. King Robert received the homage of the prelates and nobles present under a banner wrought with the arms of Baliol, which was produced by the bishop of Glasgow. One part of the ceremony was wanting, and two days after, on the 29th of March, the coronation was repeated, more completely. It had always been the privilege of the earls of Fife to place the new monarch on the throne, and the present earl was of the English party. But on the day just mentioned, while Bruce and his friends remained still at Scone, the earl's sister, Isabella, countess of Buchan, arrived, bringing with her her husband's war-horses, and claimed the right of performing the duty which belonged to her family. To humour this high-spirited lady, the new king was a second time installed in the regal chair by her hands. Bruce then made a progress through the country, seizing castles and towns, and imprisoning king Edward's sheriffs and officers, and strengthening himself with the accession of new partizans, though his party still remained small, on account of the enmity of the Comyns and the fear of the English.

The news of the murder of Comyn and of Bruce's revolt reached king Edward at Winchester, and, aware by experience of the danger of treating Scottish insurrections with contempt, he determined again to visit that kingdom with a powerful army. He sent immediately strong reinforcements to the garrisons of Berwick and Carlisle for the protection of the English border against a sudden irruption, and he ordered the earl of Pembroke, with lords Robert Clifford and Henry Percy, to march with an army into Scotland. He then prepared to follow them in person. To give greater force and solemnity to his intended expedition, he held a splendid festival at Westminster, at which he knighted, in great pomp, his son, prince Edward, and three hundred of the flower of the young English aristocracy, making it a condition that they should all accompany him to the Scottish war. At the banquet the king made a solemn vow that he would set out for Scotland to avenge the death of John Comyn, and punish the treachery of the Scots, and that after he had done that, he would embark for the holy war, with the resolution to die in Palestine; and he made his son promise that if he died before he performed this journey, he would carry his body with the army into Scotland, and not bury it until he had vanquished his enemies. It was immediately after this ceremony that the earl of Pembroke, with Clifford and Percy, marched with their army into Scotland, followed in the rear by the prince of Wales and his knights companions. Edward himself, who was now in his declining years, proceeded by slow journeys towards Carlisle.

The fortunes of the great Robert Bruce commenced with a serious reverse. On hearing of the preparations against him, he collected his followers in arms, and proceeded with spirit, ravaging Galloway, which had been portioned out to his enemies. Next, hearing that the earl of Pembroke lay in Perth with a small army, he marched thither to give him battle. He found the earl shut up within the walls of the town, and, in the chivalrous fashion of the time, he sent him a challenge to come out and fight. The earl, more wary, replied that it was then too late in the day, but promised to fight him on the morrow. Bruce was satisfied with the reply, and, with an extraordinary want of caution, proceeded to encamp in the wood of Methven, about a mile from Perth, in a careless man-

ner; night had now approached, and suddenly, while some of his men were out foraging, and others were cooking their evening meal, Bruce was roused by an alarm of the approach of the enemy, and, before he had time to make any dispositions of defence, the earl of Pembroke with his whole army, which exceeded that of the Scots in numbers, broke into the camp. The Scots were immediately routed, and it required all the valour of Bruce and his companions to secure a retreat for any portion of them. Bruce personally encountered the earl of Pembroke, and slew his horse, and he was himself thrice unhorsed, and once rescued with great difficulty from capture. Some of his friends, among whom were sir David de Berklay, sir Hugh de la Haye, sir Alexander Fraser, sir John de Somerville, sir David Inchmartin, and Thomas Randolph, with a chaplain named Hugh, were taken prisoners. The rest made their retreat into the wilds of Athol. Edward sent orders for the immediate execution of all the captains, but these orders were not carried into effect; some of the knights were subsequently ransomed, while others, with the chaplain, were hanged and quartered. Randolph received his pardon on joining the English party.

This disaster was a terrible blow to Bruce's party. As a high price was set upon the head of the self-made Scottish king, he was obliged to seek refuge, with those who still followed his fortunes, in the mountain wilds, where they obtained a precarious existence from hunting, and their torn garments scarcely protected them from the inclemency of the weather. At length, driven by absolute want, they descended into the low country about Aberdeen, where the king was joined by his brother, sir Nigel Bruce, with his queen, and other ladies, who came to share the sufferings of their husbands. When Edward heard of this, he proclaimed his vengeance even against the women who followed the outlaws. They added, perhaps, more to their difficulties than to their comfort, as the anxiety of the fugitive warriors was increased at witnessing the privations of those who were so much less able to bear them. After they had remained for some time in the neighbourhood just mentioned, reports came of the approach of the English, and they retired into Breadalbane. Here, amid their sufferings, they are said to have re-

ceived consolation and amusement from the sprightly gaiety and high spirits of sir James Douglas, who had now become the intimate friend of the Bruce. The season was now approaching when existence in these wild regions would be almost impossible, and to add to their distress, they were on the border of the country of the lord of Lorn, a kinsman of Comyn, and the inveterate enemy of Bruce. No sooner was he informed of the presence of the fugitives, than he collected a thousand highlanders, who, armed with their terrible Lochaber axes, surrounded them and attacked them with great impetuosity in a narrow defile where Bruce and his knights could not manage their horses. Bruce drew up his men in the best manner possible, and placing himself in the rear, he commenced a difficult retreat, halting to fight their pursuers whenever they came too near, Bruce himself performing prodigies of valour in these desultory combats. Having at length escaped from the dangers which beset them in their retreat, they held council together, and resolved that the queen and her ladies should be conducted to Kildrummie castle, in Mar, as to a place which promised a safe asylum by its position and strength, whither they were sent under an escort commanded by young Nigel Bruce and the earl of Athol. The king, with only two hundred men, though beset on all sides by his enemies, succeeded in making his way on foot through Lennox to Kantire, where the inhabitants were their friends. Closely pursued, they came to the banks of Loch Lomond, where they fortunately found a boat, but it was leaky, and so small that it would only carry three persons at a time. In this, however, they contrived to cross with much trouble and danger to the opposite shore, and thence pursued their course through the woods, where they met the earl of Lennox, who had been separated from them ever since the unfortunate battle of Methven. The old histories recount at length the marvellous adventures and sufferings of the outlaws in their flight, and tell us how the king encouraged and supported them by his unyielding spirit, and his extraordinary skill in telling old stories and romances. At length they reached the coast of Kantire, where sir Neil Campbell, who had been sent in advance, had collected a few boats, which carried them to the residence of Angus of Isla, the lord of Kantire, who

gave them hospitality and protection. But Bruce, even here, did not feel safe, and he passed over with three hundred of his followers to the little island of Rachrin, on the coast of Ireland, where he remained entirely concealed from the world.

King Edward had only reached Lanercost when he received intelligence of Bruce's defeat at Methven, and of his subsequent flight. He immediately published an ordinance, by which all who were guilty of the death of Comyn, as well as those who harboured or encouraged them, were sentenced to be drawn and hanged; all who had been concerned in Bruce's rising were to be subjected to imprisonment; and every subject of the king was commanded, on pain of heavy punishment, to raise the hue and cry on all who had borne arms against the English. A rigorous persecution of Bruce's partizans followed this proclamation, and the baseness of some of the Scottish nobility again found the opportunity of exhibiting itself. Bruce's queen and his daughter Marjory, thinking that Kildrummie, threatened with an English army, was no longer a place of safety, quitted it and took refuge in the sanctuary of St. Duthac, at Tain, in Ross-shire. But the sanctity of the church was little regarded by the Scottish barons, when it stood in the way of their passions or interest, and the earl of Ross violated the sanctuary, seized upon the ladies and the knights, and delivered them up to the English. The men were immediately put to death, and the queen and her daughter were sent to England, where they were committed to close prison. The countess of Buchan, who had placed Bruce on the throne, was soon afterwards given up to the English king, who confined her in a wooden cage, in one of the outer turrets of Berwick castle, where she could be seen by every passer by, though the only persons with whom she was allowed to have the slightest communication, were the women who brought her food, and who were ordered to be only Englishwomen. In this painful and ignominious confinement she remained four years, after which, she was shut up in the Carmelite monastery of Berwick. Two sisters of Bruce were also taken, of whom one was confined in a similar cage in one of the turrets of the castle of Roxburgh, and the other was imprisoned in a convent. Among other prisoners were the bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and the abbot

of Scone, who were all found clad in armour, and were sent fettered to England, where they were committed to rigorous imprisonment. Their clerical character stood between them and the gallows, and Edward seems to have made a vain application to the pope to have them deprived and degraded. The same considerations did not plead for Bruce's other companions in arms. His brother Nigel shut himself up in Kildrummy castle, and might perhaps have defied the force sent against him under the earls of Lancaster and Hereford, had he not been betrayed by one of his garrison. He was carried to Berwick, and there, by a special commission, condemned to be hanged and beheaded, and other knights and soldiers suffered with him. Christopher de Seton, Bruce's brother-in-law, who had taken refuge in his castle of Loch Don, in Ayrshire, was also betrayed to the English, and was taken to Dumfries to be there hanged as a traitor. His brother, John de Seton suffered the same fate at Newcastle. The earl of Athol attempted to pass the sea, but he was driven back by a tempest, and taken by the English. Edward was filled with unusual joy at his capture; when his friends interceded for him on account of the greatness of his name and family, the unrelenting monarch swore that the only distinction he should have would be a higher gallows than those of his fellow traitors. Edward was as good

as his word; for the earl was taken to London, tried and condemned, and hanged upon a gallows fifty feet high, with all the disgusting accompaniments of the punishment of high treason. His head was added to the other similar trophies on London Bridge.

One man made head against the invaders even after Bruce's defeat at Methven. This was sir Simon Fraser, one of the bravest and most faithful of the companions of Wallace, who had collected a small body of men, and posted himself in the neighbourhood of Stirling, and his reputation as a soldier stood so high, that his countrymen boasted it would require all Edward's efforts to take him. But his small force was routed in a battle at Kirkencliff, and Fraser himself was taken prisoner by sir Simon de Malton, while many of his companions in arms were captured, slain on the field, or drowned in attempting to pass the river; among the latter was sir John de Lindsay. Edward exulted in the capture of Fraser, and caused him to be treated with the utmost indignity. He was carried to London heavily ironed, with his legs tied under his horse's belly, and as he passed through the city a garland of perriwinkles was placed in mockery on his head. He was tried and condemned as a traitor, and suffered the same revolting punishment as his friend and fellow-patriot Wallace.* His squire Thomas de Boys, and a Scottish knight, who had been taken with him, sir Herbert de Morham, suffered at

* The execution of sir Simon Fraser is the subject of a very curious contemporary English ballad, of which two stanzas have been quoted in a former note. It gives a striking picture of the sentiments of the "Southrons" on the events which were now taking place in the north. It begins by accusing the Scottish barons of disloyalty, for having broken their faith to the English king:—

To the kyng Edward hii fasten huere fay;
Fals wes here foreward so forst is in May,
That sonne from the southward wypeth away.

[To king Edward they plight their faith;
False was their covenant as frost is in May,
Which the sun from the southward wipes away.]

The song accuses the ecclesiastics of being the originators of the insurrection, and says that it was at their instigation he assumed the sceptre. There was a not very probable story current in England, that Bruce's queen had laughed at her husband's coronation, and had said in derision, they had made him a "king of summer," meaning that one summer would see the commencement and end of his reign. This story is alluded to in the song:—

Hii that him crounede proude were ant bolde,
Hii maden kyng of somere, so hii ner ne sholde;
Hii setten on ys heved a croune of rede golde,
Ant token him a kyng-gerde, so me kyng sholde,

To deme.

[They that crowned him were proud and bold,
They made a king of summer, as they never should,
They set on his head a crown of red gold,
And gave him a sceptre, as one should to a king,
To judge.]

The English minstrel then proceeds to exult over the fugitive life which King Hob, as he calls him, was then leading, and expresses the hope that he would soon be taken:—

Now kyng Hobbe in the mures gongeth,
For te come to toune nout him ne longeth;
The barouns of Engelond, nght hue him gripe,
He him wolde techen on Englysche to pype,
Thourh streynthe:

Ne be he ner so stout,
Yet he bith y-soht out
O brede and o leynthe.

[Now king Hob gangeth in the moors,
To come to town he has no desire;
The barons of England, if they might gripe him,
They would teach him to pipe in English,
Through their strength:

Be he never so stout,
Yet he is sought out
Wide and far.]

Such popular songs are interesting illustrations of history

the same time. Among other victims were sir David Inchmartin, sir John de Somerville, and sir Walter Logan. Bruce himself being now attainted of treason, his estates were seized by the king, who gave his lordship of Annaudale to the earl of Hereford, and his estate of Carrick to lord Henry Percy. His extensive English estates were distributed among others of Edward's nobles. To complete the vindictive sentence against the outlaws, a cardinal legate came from the pope, and, in the king's court, at Carlisle, excommunicated the Scottish king and his adherents, with bell, book, and candle.

Bruce remained concealed during the winter in the Isle of Rachrin, ignorant of what was going on, and of the fate of so many of his friends, and his enemies equally ignorant of the place of his retreat. He was not, however, content long to remain inactive, and at the approach of the spring of 1307, having received some assistance from Christina of the Isles, his sister, he became anxious to return into Scotland. He sent before him sir James Douglas and sir Robert Boyd, to pay a visit to the isle of Arran. They found the island occupied by a strong garrison of English, under sir John Hastings, who held the castle of Brodick, and having surprised the under-warden of the castle with a convoy of provisions, arms, and clothing, they killed forty of his soldiers, and captured this to them valuable cargo, which proved a seasonable supply to Bruce, who soon after arrived with about three hundred men. Bruce's first care was to discover the condition of his own country of Carrick, where he expected assistance and concealment in his first attempts, and he sent a messenger thither, who, if he found everything favourable to his landing, was to light a fire at a day appointed on an eminence near Turnberry castle. The messenger found that the lord Percy, to whom Carrick had been given, occupied Turnberry castle with a strong garrison, with parties of the enemy quartered in the town, and that it would be madness to attempt an insurrection there, and he hastened back to his master. But by some accident a fire had been lit in the appointed quarter, and Bruce, mistaking it for the signal of his messenger, hastened his men on board their galleys, reached the shore of Carrick in the night, and met his envoy, who told him of the state of things, and urged him to re-embark. A council of war was immediately held, and

after some hesitation, Bruce yielded to the sanguine advice of his brother Edward, and determined to make a desperate trial of his fortunes. It was still night, and the garrison of Turnberry were totally unconscious of the presence of an enemy; so that when Bruce and his followers attacked them, they were taken by surprise, and easily overcome and slaughtered as they lay scattered in the houses and cottages around the castle. Percy, imagining the assailants were much more numerous, kept close in the castle, and allowed the Scots to carry off a rich booty, including his war-horses and his household plate, without interruption.

The news of this success soon brought an accession of numbers to Bruce's party, who began now to act more openly, and the English garrisons in his country left their strong holds, and made their retreat into England; but still Bruce was obliged to keep to the mountainous parts of Carrick, for a stronger force of English soldiers was approaching to watch his movements. It was at this time that Bruce's friend, sir James Douglas, performed an exploit singularly characteristic of the ferocity of manners of the olden time, which is still remembered in Scottish tradition. Edward had given Douglas's estate to lord Clifford, who now occupied Douglas castle with a strong garrison, and the rightful owner was resolved to visit it. He accordingly proceeded thither in disguise, and, after making his observations on the castle, went to the house of an old and faithful servant, named Dickson, to whom he made himself known, and who concealed him for some time, while every night his principal vassals assembled secretly, rejoiced to see their ancient lord, and ready to act by his orders. At last, on Palm sunday, the garrison left the castle without a defender, to hear mass in the neighbouring church of St. Bride. Douglas had assembled his followers with concealed arms, and some of them entered the church with the soldiers, while others remained outside. Suddenly, when they were least prepared for it, the English were attacked on all sides. They made a good resistance, but they were overcome by the numbers, as well as by the courage of their assailants; many were killed, and the rest were made prisoners in the church. Among those who fell on the side of the Douglas, was his old servant Dickson, in revenge for whose death, as it is pretended, sir James, after plundering the castle of the arms and

movables of any value, piled up in the hall the malt and corn which he found in the stores, staved the casks of wine and other liquors, and threw them on, and then slew the prisoners, and added them to the heap. He then set fire to the whole, and burned the castle with all that was in it. This barbarous exploit continued to be talked of ages afterwards, by the popular title of "The Douglas's Larder."

Bruce's fortune seemed to be again on the rise, when he was crippled, by what proved in his present position a serious disaster. He had sent two of his brothers to seek assistance in Ireland, and they returned to Loch Ryan, in Galloway, bringing with them seven hundred men. A chieftain of that district, named Macdowall, who was in the English interest, watched them as they approached the shore, and, as they were landing, he suddenly rushed upon them with his followers, and put them to the rout. A great part of them were slain or perished in the sea, and the remainder were taken prisoners. Among the latter were Bruce's two brothers and sir Alexander Crawford, who were carried to king Edward at Carlisle, and there, by his orders, immediately executed. Bruce was again reduced, with his few followers, to the condition of a fugitive. He was hunted pertinaciously by the English and the Galwegians, and even bloodhounds were used to trace him out. His dangers and his escapes were innumerable. It is related by the old chroniclers of his acts, that one evening, when he had only sixty combatants in his company, he was nearly surprised by two hundred of his enemies. Informed of their approach, he crossed a mountain stream, the banks of which were high and slippery, and drew up his men on a level behind, which could only be approached by a gorge in the hill. At this gorge, in which two men could hardly stand abreast, and which was approached from the river by a steep slippery path, Bruce and his friend, sir Gilbert de la Haye placed themselves to watch the movements of their pursuers. Their approach was announced by the baying of a hound, and then the Scottish king, perceiving that the Galwegians were passing the river below, sent sir Gilbert to bring up his men, and remained alone to defend the pass. This he did with so much courage and force, that a heap of dead bodies soon afforded substantial evidence of his prowess. And although their companions still pressed

on, in the hope of having so valuable a prize, their attack was already becoming less resolute, when Bruce's men came up and drove them away. It must be borne in mind, that the Scottish king, clothed in steel, was a formidable opponent to his pursuers. When his men arrived at the pass, they found Bruce sitting on a bank, unhurt, but he had taken off his helmet to wipe his brow and cool himself in the air. At this time, perhaps as a matter of convenience, Bruce's men were separated. Douglas still continued to prowl over his own estates. The English had recovered and rebuilt the castle, and he made an attempt to surprise the new fortress, but without success, though he slew the captain and many of the garrison. He then hastened to rejoin his king in the mountains of Carrick, having received intelligence that the earl of Pembroke was marching with a considerable force to attack him.

New and unexpected perils awaited the latter. His enemy the lord of Lorn, with eight hundred highlanders, joined the English under the earl of Pembroke, and brought with him a large bloodhound which was expected to follow up the outlawed chief with more eagerness and certainty, because it had once belonged to him. Bruce could only collect a force of four hundred men, but with these he chose a position to resist the advance of the English. While they, however, attacked him in front, he was suddenly assailed from behind by the men of Lorn, who, used to this kind of wild partisan warfare, had placed themselves in ambush so skilfully as to have entirely escaped observation. Bruce had now learnt to adopt a system of warfare which has often been practised under similar circumstances—that of making his men separate in small parties in different directions after defeat, so as to confuse their enemies and baffle pursuit, and then reassemble at a distant place of rendezvous agreed upon beforehand. He found now that it was useless to continue his resistance, and at a signal from their leader, his men suddenly divided into three distinct parties and dispersed among the mountains. But the men of Lorn now let loose the bloodhound, which instantly fixed on the track which Bruce had taken, and led his employers in the pursuit. This time he would hardly have escaped, if one of the fugitives had not fortunately killed the hound with an arrow. Bruce on this occasion lost his banner, which was taken by his own nephew

Randolph, who was now fighting in the ranks of the English. Bruce soon recovered from this misfortune, in which his loss appears to have been small, and he not only cut off and put to the sword a detachment of two hundred of Pembroke's soldiers, but he foiled him in a more important skirmish; and the earl, tired of the service on which he was employed, retreated to Carlisle.

The force of the Scottish king was now increased by some new partizans, and though still weak in numbers, they began to look forward to greater achievements. The earl of Pembroke again advanced, and in the beginning of May marched into Ayrshire with a force of three thousand cavalry. Bruce's only regular force at this moment consisted of six hundred spearmen, but the efficacy of the Scottish spearmen in battle, especially against cavalry, had been often tried, and he resolved to go and oppose the English. A number of irregular combatants and camp followers swelled his apparent force, without making it more effective. Bruce had reached Galston, not far from Irvine, when, according to the story, a messenger arrived from the earl of Pembroke, who, in the chivalrous mode of the age, informed him that it was his intention to march by London hill, and challenged him to battle there on the 10th of May. Bruce knew the locality, which was favourable to him, and agreed to accept the challenge. He accordingly hastened thither, chose a spot through which the road passed, which was bounded on each side with morasses, and by the assistance of some deep trenches which he dug for the purpose, he posted his little army in a position where six hundred spearmen could show their front and freely act, while a larger force could only advance with the same front, and could not turn his flanks. The ill armed peasantry were stationed with the baggage in the rear. Early in the morning of the appointed day the English advanced, imposing in their numbers and in the brilliance of their armour, but the Scots, confident in their leader and in the strength of their position, steadily awaited the attack. The English were divided into two lines, and as they came nearer, the first line placed their spears in the rest and charged at full gallop. In an instant the men were unhorsed by the long spears of their opponents, and many, both

men and horses, slain; and the rest, thrown into confusion, fell back upon their companions, in the second line, and threw them also into disorder. When they now saw the Scots with their long spears advancing upon them, alarmed at the unexpected reception which the first line had met, the English cavalry were all seized with a kind of panic, and began to fly, and the Scots, falling in upon them, put them entirely to the rout. Their loss was not great, for Bruce had no cavalry to pursue them, but Pembroke, discomfited and mortified, drew off his men and retired to the castle of Ayr. This action raised the spirits of the Scots, and they now flocked to the standard of their king, who soon after attacked and defeated the earl of Gloucester, with great slaughter of the English; and he even ventured to lay siege to the castle of Ayr.

The adventures of the Scottish hero during the period which we have just been describing are known to us almost solely by the metrical narrative of the historian of his life, his countryman John Barbour, archdeacon of Aberdeen. This historian, for though he wrote in Scottish verse, we may call him a historian, was born in 1326, and wrote in 1375, sufficiently near to the time of his hero to justify us in giving credit at least to the outline of his story of the king's wild adventures as an outlaw. The defeat of the earl of Gloucester, and the siege of Ayr, are told by less poetical annalists. An event, however, was now near at hand, which changed entirely the fortunes of the Bruce and of Scotland. King Edward, incensed beyond measure at the reappearance of the Scottish chief, and at his unexpected successes, resolved, in spite of his dangerous state of health, to march into Scotland in person, and he summoned his army to meet at Carlisle, and taking courage from the unabated vigour of his mind, he relinquished the litter in which he had been carried about, and mounted on horse back to march at the head of his army. The effort, however, was too much for him, and his bodily strength gave way so rapidly, that he was obliged to stop at the small village of Burgh-upon-Sands, where he died on the 7th of July, 1307. A modern column now marks the spot where he expired.

CHAPTER V.

BRUCE'S SUCCESSES; BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN.

THE English ballad quoted in the note on a preceding page, concludes with the boast, that as long as Edward Longshanks lived, all their attempts at resistance would be vain,* and there can be no doubt that both Scot and Englishman looked upon the old warrior who had just departed as the irresistible foe of Scottish independence. His death would alone have been enough to rouse the Scots to a new struggle for liberty, even had it not occurred, as it did, when fortune seemed to be already crowning the efforts of their champion. The second Edward was wanting in all the great qualities of his father. The latter, in his dying moments, with the fierce spirit that was not yet quenched, commanded his son to send his heart to Jerusalem, and to reduce his body to a skeleton, and to cause the bones to be carried with the army into Scotland, not to be buried until that country had been completely subdued. But after his death, the young king paid no further attention to his request, but having taken the homage of some of the Scottish barons in the English interest at Roxburgh, he proceeded as far as Cumnock, in Ayrshire, and then, having appointed the earl of Pembroke guardian of Scotland, he returned hastily to his own dominions to throw aside the cares of governing, and resign himself to the pleasures of a court.

The king of Scotland could now command a powerful army, and he soon began to show his force against his enemies. The first scene of his vengeance was Galloway, his own territory, the inhabitants of which, nevertheless, had persecuted him bitterly in the time of his distress. It appears that the Galwegians, even after so many years, had not become thoroughly reconciled to their Norman lords the Bruces, who, as we have before seen, were introduced by marriage with the Celtic heiress, and it is probable that they had been excited against them on the present occasion by some of their chiefs who claimed descent from the ancient stock. Immediately after Edward II.

and his army retired, sir Edward Bruce was sent into Galloway with a powerful army, to command the inhabitants to rise and join his banner. Some districts obeyed the call, but those which did not were ravaged with the most relentless barbarity. When news was carried to king Edward at Westminster, he suddenly, without any apparent cause, removed the earl of Pembroke from the guardianship of Scotland, and appointed his cousin John of Brittany, earl of Richmond, in his place; he at the same time ordered the sheriffs of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, to assemble their military force, and place it under the orders of the new guardian, who was immediately to rescue Galloway from the ravages of Bruce's soldiers. Bruce, thus attacked, was compelled to retreat to the north of Scotland, where he was soon afterwards attacked by a grievous disease, which alarmed his friends and discouraged his adherents. While he was carried painfully, in a litter, towards the north, where he reached the Grampians, in that part of the range which was then called the Morenth, he was joined by sir Alexander Fraser and all his power, and he learnt from them that Comyn earl of Buchan, sir David de Brechin, and sir John de Mowbray, were advancing with a powerful army to attack him. As the soldiers were dispirited at the dangerous sickness of their leader, it was thought advisable not to risk a battle, and the Scots encamped in a strong position near Slaines, on the east coast of Aberdeen. Here they were hard pressed by their enemies, and, when they were obliged by want of provisions to make a further retreat to Strathbogy, still carrying their king in a litter, they were closely pursued. The retreat was continued from Strathbogy to Inverness, upon which the earl of Buchan divided his army, sending a small division, under sir David de Brechin, to follow him in his march, while he himself marched to Old Meldrum, to intercept him in his march north. Sir David followed so

*Trot, Scot, for thi strif!
Hang up thyn hatchet ant thi knyf,
Whil him lasteth the lyf
With the longe shankes.

[Tut! Scot, for thy strife!
Hang up thy hatchet and thy knife,
While life lasts to him
With the long shanks.]

close at the rear of the retreating army, that he attacked and put to flight some of Bruce's soldiers, who were rather carelessly cantoned in the outskirts of the town. Enraged at this insult, and afraid of being hemmed in between the two armies, Robert Bruce sprang from his litter, and, in spite of the remonstrances of his friends, insisted on leading his men to battle in person. It required two men to hold him on his horse, but he persisted in his design, and his men, animated by the sight and example of their favourite leader, fought with so much fury, that the earl of Buchan's army was utterly routed, and the fugitives were pursued as far as Fyvie, on the borders of the earl's country. Sir David fled into Angus, to his own castle of Brechin, which was soon afterwards besieged and taken by the young earl of Athol. Bruce now took his revenge on the Comyns, by invading their territory of Buchan, and laying it waste with fire and sword with such cruelty, that for many years afterwards the "harrowing of Buchan" became a popular phrase.

Sir David de Brechin, after his defeat and the capture of his castle, joined his forces to those of Bruce, and assisted him in the siege of Aberdeen, which was undertaken soon afterwards. The citizens of Aberdeen joined heartily in the assault of the castle, which was taken by storm long before the troops destined by Edward for its relief could even begin their march. From Aberdeen Bruce marched into Angus, and reduced the strong English garrison which held the important castle of Forfar. It was taken by night, and the garrison were all put to the sword, after which Bruce ordered the immediate destruction of the fortifications. Perth was now threatened, and king Edward, in his alarm at the intelligence of new successes of the Bruce which each day brought him, sent hasty orders to the Scottish barons who still adhered to the English interests, exhorting them to oppose the insurrection with all their force, and promising to lead an army in person to their assistance in the month of August. Orders were immediately given for this expedition, but the intention was soon forgotten or laid aside. Edward, however, without any very evident motive but his own unsteady mind, dismissed the earl of Richmond from his office, and appointed Robert de Umfraville earl of Angus, William de Ross of Hamlake, and Henry de Beaumont, joint guardians of Scotland.

Perhaps he thought that by appointing Scotchmen to high offices, he would strengthen the party in Scotland opposed to Bruce.

Bruce now sent his brother once more into Galloway, the inhabitants of which still strenuously opposed his authority. The Galwegians were on this occasion assisted by a strong body of English troops, commanded by a Scottish baron, named sir Ingelram de Umfraville, and an English captain, sir John de St. John, assisted by a large body of Galwegians, under one of their most powerful chieftains. The two barons encountered Edward Bruce on the water of Cree, but they were entirely defeated, with the loss of about two hundred men, and while the Galwegians dispersed in the mountains, Umfraville and St. John escaped with difficulty to a castle on the sea coast. Edward Bruce now overrun the country without opposition, laid heavy contributions on the inhabitants, destroyed their castles, and compelled them to swear allegiance to Bruce. While thus occupied, he learnt that St. John was in the field again, and that he was marching against him with a force of fifteen hundred men, intending to take him by surprise. Edward Bruce stationed his foot soldiers in what the historian terms a "strait," and with fifty knights and gentlemen, well armed and mounted, he contrived, under cover of a thick mist, to make a circuitous movement into the rear of the advancing troops, whom he followed closely behind. What was his design in this stratagem we are not told, but it was prevented by the sudden clearing up of the mist, and then Edward Bruce's little party found themselves close upon the army of St. John, without any possibility of escape. Nothing dismayed, Edward Bruce and his companions made a furious charge on their enemies, and broke their first ranks, and following up the first attack by two others in succession, St. John's troops, surprised themselves, fell into confusion, and fled. This exploit was soon followed by another, little less daring. Donald, the lord of the isles, having collected a large force of Galwegians, under some of their bravest chieftains, was encountered by Edward Bruce on the banks of the Dee, on the 29th of June, 1308, and defeated with great slaughter, and the lord of the isles himself was taken prisoner. This defeat was followed by the entire expulsion of the English from Scotland.

Success had indeed crowned the arms of the Scots in other parts. Douglas cut off the English garrison of his own castle in an ambush, slew their governor, and having taken the castle, destroyed its fortifications. This success was followed by the submission of the forests of Selkirk and Jedburgh, the population of which now acknowledged Robert Bruce as their king. In one of his encounters, Randolph, Bruce's nephew, who had deserted to the English, was taken prisoner; he again changed sides, was created by king Robert earl of Moray, and became subsequently one of his bravest and most faithful partizans.

Bruce now turned his vengeance against the people of Lorn, who had attacked him in his distress after the battle of Methven. Having joined his forces with those of Douglas, he entered their country in the August of 1308, and plundered and ravaged it in a merciless manner. Informed that the men of Lorn had set an ambush to intercept him, he fell upon them and defeated them with great slaughter, and the lord of Lorn, himself, reduced to extremities in his castle of Dunstaffnage, submitted to Bruce, and did homage to him as his king. His son, John of Lorn, fled in his ships and remained faithful to the king of England. Perhaps this was a concerted arrangement between father and son, in order that, whichever party eventually gained the mastery, they might mutually protect each other. The weak and vacillating conduct of king Edward left Bruce thus at liberty to follow out his plans with little opposition. In less than a year the English monarch appointed no less than six different governors of Scotland; he had given orders, perhaps as many times, for fitting out expeditions against the Scots, which were either countermanded or never proceeded with; and his Scottish garrisons were left exposed to the attacks of brave and persevering enemies, without assistance or directions to regulate their behaviour. Soon after the war of Lorn, Bruce laid siege to the castle of Rutherglen, in Clydesdale; Edward directed the earl of Gloucester to proceed with an imposing force to the relief of this important fortress, but we hear nothing more of the expedition, and we know that the castle was taken. When the Scottish army now approached the English border, instead of marching to repel aggression, Edward sought the mediation of France to obtain a truce, and

afterwards he was offended with the king of France for the treacherous behaviour of his agents. During the rest of this, and all the following year, Bruce was employed without interruption from without, in reducing the kingdom to his obedience, until only a few of the stronger fortresses remained in the hands of the English. On the 24th of February, 1310, the bishops and clergy of Scotland held a general council at Dundee, in which they declared that the judgment of king Edward I. of England, in favour of Baliol's claim to the crown of Scotland, was unjust and erroneous, and that Robert Bruce, then reigning, as the grandson of Robert, lord of Annandale, the competitor of Baliol, was their right and lawful sovereign. They further engaged to defend his right, with the liberty and independence of Scotland, against all opponents, and pronounced all Scotchmen who should gainsay it guilty of high treason against the king and nation.

Affairs now, within two or three months, had undergone so great a change, that Edward's governors of Scotland were compelled to pay Bruce money for a truce, at the expiration of which the Scottish king marched against Perth, which had been strongly fortified and garrisoned as one of their most important posts. Edward could now remain inactive no longer. He summoned all his barons to meet him in arms at Berwick, on the 8th of September, and although some, in disgust at the favour shown to Gaveston, refused to attend, there was a formidable army assembled under the earls of Gloucester and Warenne, lord Henry Percy, lord James Clifford, and others who had had more or less experience in the Scottish wars. This time Edward did move, and towards the end of autumn he marched into Scotland with his whole force. Bruce adopted the policy which had been so often successful, of retiring before him, not risking a battle, and the king continued his progress from Roxburgh, through the forests of Selkirk and Jedburgh, to Biggar, and thence to Renfrew, without meeting with an opponent, but the want of provisions and forages, caused by the improvident devastations of the soldiers, joined with a famine under which Scotland was suffering, now forced him to return, and he established himself in winter quarters at Berwick. On the retreat of the English, Bruce reappeared with his army,

and invaded Lothian; upon which Edward again invaded Scotland, but with the same effect as before. Another army was led into Scotland by the favourite, Gaveston, who was now earl of Cornwall, who crossed the firth of Forth and advanced to Perth, and a fourth, under the earls of Gloucester and Warenne, took possession of the forest of Selkirk, but neither of them were any more fortunate in meeting with the enemy.

No sooner had Edward disbanded his army, and returned to London, than Bruce led his men to ravage the English territory, in retaliation for the devastations which the English had made in Scotland. Crossing the Solway, they burnt and plundered the country round Gillsland, and ravaged Tyndale during eight days; after which, they returned with their booty into Scotland. This occurred towards the summer of 1311, and in the September following, while Edward was engaged in disputes with his barons, Bruce again marched into England, and passing through Redesdale, he plundered and burnt the country as far as Corbridge, after which the Scots invaded the bishopric of Durham, ravaged it with merciless fury, and returned to Scotland with a large quantity of plunder and captives. Such was the terror which these expeditions struck into the north of England, that the people of Northumberland and the lords of the English border, subscribed a considerable sum of money to buy a temporary truce.

Bruce now undertook the siege of the strong and important fortress of Perth, which, however, for six weeks, set his army at defiance. On the 9th of October, 1311, at the pressing demand of its governor, William Olifant, an Anglican Scot, king Edward promised to send immediate succour. But it was too late; for Bruce, finding he could make no impression on the place, had recourse to stratagem. Pretending to abandon his project, he ordered the army to strike their tents, and marched away to a considerable distance. Eight days was enough to throw the garrison into perfect security, and, after that period, Bruce returned in the night so silently, that his men approached the walls unperceived. He led them across the moat, himself up to his chin in water, feeling his way with a spear, and he was the first who fixed his scaling-ladder against the wall. The garrison was taken completely by surprise, and Bruce obtained possession

of the castle and town almost without a struggle. It was given up to plunder, and all the Scots who had joined the English were put to the sword, but the English garrison is said to have been spared. Perth was taken on the 8th of January, 1312. Edward was again alarmed at Bruce's success, and gave orders to assemble an army for the invasion of Scotland, but the orders were countermanded, and he contented himself with asking for the interference of the pope, directing letters to the few castles in Scotland, which still remained in the hands of the English, thanking John of Lorn for the services rendered by his fleet, and making proposals to Bruce for a truce.

Instead of acceding to this proposal, the Scottish king assembled a larger force, and invaded the English border with more fury than ever. After burning the towns of Hexham and Corbridge, he made a forced march, and took the city of Durham by surprise. The castle and the precincts of the cathedral resisted successfully the attacks of the Scots, but the town, plundered and burnt, afforded such an unusually rich booty, that the Scots seem to have returned home immediately, in order to secure it. The terrified inhabitants of the bishopric bought an exemption from the repetition of a similar visit, and Bruce only acceded to this truce on condition that his troops should have free passage through the county of Durham, whenever they wished to invade England. On his way back, Bruce attacked Carlisle, but he was beaten off by the garrison with considerable loss. He then made another forced march, and attempted to surprise Carlisle by night; but when his men were actually mounting the walls, the soldiers of the garrison were aroused by the barking of a dog, and the assailants were again defeated, and many of them slain. The Scots had seldom carried back with them from the English borders so rich a booty, for, besides their plunder, the three counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, had contributed each two thousand pounds in money, to be included in the same truce with Durham.

Bruce now captured most of the other castles in Scotland, which had hitherto remained in the hands of the English, and he pursued his policy of destroying the fortifications, that they might not again be useful in establishing a foreign occupation of the kingdom. Among those which were now razed, were Dalswinton, in Galloway,

the stronghold of the Comyns, and the castles of Butel and Dumfries. Linlithgow was taken by the stratagem of a common labourer, named Binny, who was employed by the garrison to carry hay and other things into the fort. Having communicated his plan to a party of Scottish soldiers, he placed eight of them in his large waggon, and covered them with hay, and the rest remained in ambush outside the gate. A servant then drove the oxen, and Binny himself walked carelessly by the side of his waggon, till it stood in the middle of the gateway, under the portcullis, which, therefore, could not be lowered. The armed men then suddenly leaped out, and their companions joined them from without; and the garrison, thus taken by surprise, was put to the sword, and the castle taken. Roxburgh castle was surprised by Douglas. The castle of Edinburgh, after firmly resisting every open attack, was taken in the night by the treachery of an English soldier, who guided the Scots to a place where the rock and wall might be scaled without difficulty, but which was only known to himself. These successes were followed by a new invasion of the English border, and Edward, alarmed for the safety of Berwick, attempted in vain to negotiate a truce.

Bruce next attacked and subdued the Isle of Man, and raising some galleys to invade the opposite coast of Ireland, levied contributions on Ulster. During his absence, his brother Edward captured the town and castle of Dundee, and laid siege to Stirling. Philip de Mowbray, the English governor of Stirling, made a gallant and successful defence, and at length artfully drew Edward Bruce into an agreement, by which Mowbray undertook to deliver up Stirling at the following midsummer, if it were not previously delivered by an English army. The Scottish king, though disapproving of this arrangement, which bound him to venture a battle, agreed to stand by the conditions.

It was now understood that the dispute between Scotland and England was to be decided in a great battle, and king Edward made immense preparations. Sir Philip de Mowbray, governor of Stirling castle, taking advantage of his truce, had hastened to London to impress upon the king and his council that the English influence in Scotland would be entirely destroyed, unless Stirling were relieved, and his representations were so alarming, that all the

great barons spontaneously overlooked for the moment their discontent at Edward's misgovernment, in order to join, as they thought, in vindicating the honour of their country. Ninety-three great feudal tenants of the crown brought out their whole service of cavalry, which amounted together to forty thousand men, of which three thousand were in complete armour, horse and man. A body of twenty-seven thousand foot soldiers were ordered to be levied in the counties of England and Wales, and writs were addressed to the Anglo-Irish barons, and to a number of the Irish chiefs, to join their forces under the command of Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster, and take part in this important expedition. The various writs and orders relating to the summoning and organization of this great armament, are still preserved, and show us that it was at least intended to be far more formidable and effective than any army that had previously been led into Scotland by an English monarch. We must not, however, take it for granted that the orders of a prince like Edward II., would be so strictly executed to the letter, that the army would be fully equal to the intentions of these writs. It is said, however, to have exceeded a hundred thousand men, including fifty thousand archers. To co-operate with this land army, the king ordered a royal fleet of twenty-three ships to be collected, and the seaport towns were required to fit out an additional fleet of thirty ships. Messengers were also sent to John of Lorn, whom Edward had flattered with the rather pompous title of high admiral of the western fleet of England, calling upon him to take a part in the expedition. The army was to meet at Berwick, on the 11th of June (1314); and thither king Edward, after, as was usual in such cases, making a pilgrimage to St. Albans, repaired to join it.

Bruce, on his side, was not idle in preparing for the approaching struggle. He conceived that, according to the then existing code of chivalry, he was bound by his brother's agreement with the English governor of Stirling, to risk a battle; and although, on mustering his army in the Torwood, near Stirling, he found that the whole number of his fighting men did not exceed forty thousand, including a very small and inefficient body of cavalry, he prepared for it without apprehension. It is not improbable that king Robert felt it

was now necessary to make an effort to save his country from the desolating effects of former invasions; and we are told that he was encouraged by the recent example of the battle of Courtray, in which the splendid cavalry of the king of France had been defeated and destroyed by the burghers of Flanders, and that, knowing how large a portion of the English army consisted of horsemen, he resolved to fight on foot, and to form his army on ground where cavalry could not act, and where the English would be impeded and cramped by their numbers. Bruce was distinguished above most of his contemporaries for his great military skill, and this led him to select a spot admirably calculated for his purpose, to the east of Stirling, at the little village of Bannockburn, named from a small stream, the Bannock burn, which ran in front of his position. It lay exactly on the high road from Stirling to Edinburgh, about two miles from the former, and, therefore, an army posted there would intercept the advance of the English to succour Stirling castle. He there posted his army on a declivity which runs along the east side of the marshes of Halbert and Milton, his right resting on a deep marshy hollow which ran round the base of an eminence called the Coxe hill, while the left rested on the Bannock burn, at a bend where it ran through a deep ravine which could not be passed in front of an enemy. This ravine terminated in level ground below the village of Bannockburn, which, there seems no doubt, was then a marsh which could not be passed by any large body of men; so that Bruce's position was completely covered on both flanks by the nature of the ground. Nevertheless, for its still greater protection, he ordered rows of pits about a foot in breadth and from two to three in depth, to be dug in the firm ground extending from Halbert's marsh to the hollow which protected his right, in each of which stakes were placed, and they were then covered with turf, so that this ground also was rendered impassable for horse, and very difficult even for infantry. A little to the right of this position is a considerable eminence now called Gillies' hill, which is divided in the middle by a valley. In this valley Bruce placed a body of inferior Highland clans and others, popularly named *gillies* (from whom the hill has received its name), who had joined his host, to the number of about

twenty thousand men, and whose want of discipline rendered them rather an encumbrance than otherwise, to a regular army, at the commencement of a battle. But, in this position he conceived that, in case of victory, they might be brought to co-operate in effectually routing his enemies; and, in case of defeat, they would easily secure their own retreat to the hills, and in doing so, cover and protect the retreat of the army. The Scottish leader is also supposed to have placed a small body as a corps of observation, to protect the army from any unexpected attack, either from the treachery of the clans, or breach of faith in the garrison of Stirling castle; and this body is supposed to have been the one commanded by Randolph. Bruce formed his reserve immediately behind his centre, and having completed his arrangements for battle, he fixed the staff of his standard in a mass of stone or insulated rock in front of the reserve, which still remains, with the hole in which the staff was fixed, a lasting relic of this great affray.*

The more minute details of the battle of Bannockburn are chiefly gathered from the narrative of Barbour, who no doubt had frequently heard them from the combatants themselves. On the morning before the battle, we are told, which was Sunday, the 23rd of June, the Scottish soldiers, who had heard on the previous evening that the English army had passed the Friday night at Edinburgh, and was rapidly advancing, heard mass, and they are said to have confessed themselves solemnly and fervently, like men who were determined to die in the approaching contest, or conquer their freedom. As it was St. John's eve, they kept a strict fast, making their dinner on bread and water. After mass, the king rode to see if his orders for making the pits had been properly executed, and then he returned and gave the order to arm. When the men, in obedience to this order, had taken their places under their different banners, proclamation was made that all who were not resolved to die or conquer on that field had free permission to leave the army, but the soldiers set up a great shout, and no one stirred from his place. He

* This account of the arrangements of Bruce for the battle of Bannockburn, is taken from the third edition of Tytler, who drew it up from the local survey of a military officer, Lieutenant Campbell, of the fifty-seventh regiment.

next proceeded to marshal his army, arranging it in a line of three square columns, with intervals between them, each column presenting outwardly a thick mass of long pikes, as at Falkirk. The centre was commanded by Bruce's nephew, Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray, while the command of the right was given to Edward Bruce, and that of the left to sir James Douglas and Bruce's young son-in-law, Walter, the steward of Scotland. The reserve, placed, as we have said, behind the central column, was composed of the men of the isles, under their prince Angus, with those of Carrick, Argyle, and Cantire.

It was soon reported that the English were approaching, having left Falkirk that morning, and Bruce despatched sir James Douglas and sir Robert Keith to reconnoitre, who immediately returned with the news that king Edward's army was seen advancing in strict martial order; but we are told that Bruce, to keep up the spirits of his soldiers, ordered them to be told that the English were marching irregularly and in confusion. Before leaving Falkirk, Edward had detached a body of eight hundred cavalry, under sir Robert Clifford, with orders to make a circuit round Bruce's left flank, and throw himself into Stirling castle to reinforce the garrison. Bruce had been suspicious of some movement of this kind, and had ordered his nephew Randolph to keep watch—it has been supposed with a few men on the eminence called Coxe's hill; but Clifford had executed his movement so skilfully, that he got into the rear of Bruce's army before he was detected by the keen eye of Bruce, marching direct towards the castle. Bruce instantly rode up to Randolph, and said to him, reproachfully, "Oh, Randolph! you have neglected the charge committed to you—a rose has fallen from your chaplet!" With such men as he had about him, consisting of a select but small body of spearmen on foot, Randolph hurried down towards Clifford to repair his error; and the latter, on seeing him, advanced, ordered his troop to wheel about, and with their lances in rest, to charge him at full speed. Randolph had only five hundred men, and seeing his danger, he formed them into a square, with the spears outward on every side, and thus awaited Clifford's charge, the only result of which was that many of the English were unhorsed and wounded, and one of their officers, sir William Daynecourt, slain. The

English cavalry now endeavoured to break Randolph's square by attacking it leisurely, and on all sides, and a desperate combat ensued, in which Randolph's party seemed in danger of being overpowered. Bruce and sir James Douglas were standing together, spectators of this scene, when the latter, alarmed for the safety of Randolph's party, requested permission to take some of his men to their relief. "No," said the king, "you shall not stir from your ground, but let Randolph extricate himself; I will not alter my line of battle for him." "Noble king," replied the Douglas, "I cannot stand still, and see Randolph perish, when I may help him;" and with a half-extorted permission, he hurried with a party of men to his assistance. But as he drew near, he beheld the gallant body of spearmen emerging unhurt from the crowd of assailants by whom they had been surrounded, and the latter broken and retreating. The Douglas immediately ordered his men to halt. "We are come," he said, "too late to aid them, and we will not lessen the victory they have won by claiming a share in it." And so saying, he returned to the army. This has been often quoted as one of the brighter anecdotes of chivalry, for Douglas and Randolph were celebrated rivals for military fame. Clifford relinquished his design of proceeding to the castle, and returned, with the loss of many of his men, to Edward's army.

Another preliminary event took place the same evening. Bruce himself, mounted upon a small horse, or pony, was attentively marshalling the ranks of his vanguard. He carried a battle-axe in his hand, and was distinguished to friend and enemy by a golden coronet which he wore on his helmet. A part of the English vanguard made its appearance at this time; and a knight amongst them, sir Henry de Bohun, conceiving he saw an opportunity of gaining himself much honour, and ending the Scottish war at a single blow, couched his lance, spurred his powerful war-horse, and rode against the king at full career, with the expectation of bearing him to the earth by the superior strength of his charger and length of his weapon. The king, aware of his purpose, stood as if expecting the shock; but the instant before it took place, he suddenly moved his little palfrey to the left, avoided the unequal encounter, and striking the English knight with his battle-axe as he passed him in his career, he dashed hel-

met and head to pieces, and laid sir Henry de Bohun at his feet a dead man. The Scottish soldiers immediately raised a great shout, and would have attacked the English, had not Bruce restrained them; but they followed a short distance, and killed a few stragglers, while the English retired hastily before them. When the little disorder this incident had created was calmed, the chiefs of the Scottish army remonstrated with their king for the rashness with which he had exposed himself; he only replied, casting his eye on the shaft of his weapon, which had been broken by the blow, "I am sorry for the loss of my good battle-axe."

These two exploits—the defeat of Clifford and the slaughter of Henry de Bohun, with the other circumstances attendant on the latter—were easily construed into an omen of victory, and Bruce made them the subject of congratulation and encouragement to his soldiery. As night approached, he called together his chieftains in council, represented to them the great disparity in numbers, and demanded their advice, now that they had seen their enemies, whether he should hazard the battle, or retreat while there was still time to do it. They declared unanimously for fighting, and he then told them that his opinion coincided with theirs, and commanded that the whole army should be arrayed for battle by daybreak next morning. His chief apprehension seems to have been in the comparative want of discipline in some of his troops, and he earnestly entreated the chiefs to preserve the strictest order, not to allow a single soldier to quit his banner or break his rank, and to abstain rigorously from plundering or making prisoners until the victory was decided. He further encouraged them with a promise that the heirs of all who fell should receive their lands free of the usual feudal fine. While the Scots passed the night in arms on the field, preparing themselves for the terrible work of the morrow, the English passed it in riot and disorder. Edward had unwisely hurried their march so much, that they were overcome with fatigue, and from this and other causes, the soldiers began to show unequivocal signs of discontent; on which account he had withdrawn the army from its first position into the low ground behind it. A Scot, who deserted the English in the night, brought word to Bruce of the disorder in which they were encamped and urged him

to attack them by surprise as they lay, assuring him of an easy victory; but the wary chieftain was unwilling to quit a position, of the advantages of which he was sure, to follow advice which might have been intended only to betray him.

At length daylight appeared, and the Scottish army was drawn up in line on the spot, where they were now to struggle in defence of the independence of their country. Each had a long spear, a battle-axe slung at his side, and a knife or dagger, all weapons in the use of which they were remarkably skilful. When he had seen that all was right, Bruce went to an eminence in front of the line, and heard a solemn mass performed by the abbot of Inchaffray. The soldiers then broke their fast, after which they arranged themselves again under their different banners. Then, according to the usual custom before an engagement of this importance, Bruce proceeded to make new knights, and among those knighted on this occasion, was his son-in-law, the young steward of Scotland, the future king of Scotland, who was to carry the crown into the line of Stewart. This ceremony was hardly concluded, when the first division of the English army appeared within a very short distance in their front. Edward had divided his army into ten divisions, who were so crowded together by the narrow space into which they were drawn, that they seemed like one immense mass. They were mostly brave men and good soldiers, and their efforts were directed by some of the most distinguished commanders of the day. The king, who had a body-guard of four hundred chosen men at arms, was attended by the earl of Pembroke, the same who had defeated Bruce at Methven; sir Giles de Argentine, a knight of St. John of Jerusalem, who was accounted one of the best knights of the day, and who was famous for his brave deeds in Palestine; and sir Ingram de Umfraville, a Scot in the English interest, who was no less celebrated for his military skill.

With this latter knight Edward was conversing, when they came near enough to observe the Scottish line. Struck with their resolute appearance, Edward turned to Umfraville, and asked with some surprise, if he thought these Scots would fight. Umfraville replied, by stating his conviction that they would fight; and he advised the English king not to make a direct attack upon them, but to draw back his army towards

the encampment, as if with the intention of retreating, which, he said, would make them rush on without order or discipline, and then he might easily fall upon them, and cut them to pieces. Umfraville could boast of a long experience in Scottish warfare, and his advice was good, and would probably have insured success; but Edward paid no attention to it. At this moment the abbot of Inchaffray, holding a crucifix in his hand, walked slowly along the Scottish line to bless the soldiers and the cause in which they were engaged, and the men in the line knelt down reverently as he passed. "Behold!" said the weak-minded king of England, who seemed deeply impressed with the idea that they would not fight—"behold! they kneel; they are asking for mercy!" "They do, my lord king," Umfraville replied, "but it is from heaven, and not from us. Trust me, yon men will win the day, or die in the battle." "Be it so, then," Edward exclaimed, and immediately gave the word to sound to the charge.

The first division of the English army was composed of archers and bill-men, comprehending almost all the infantry of the army, supported by a fine body of men-at-arms, and was commanded by the earls of Gloucester and Hereford. It was the misfortune of the English army that its leaders wanted unanimity, and that they were neither at peace with one another nor personally attached to their sovereign. There was rivalry between the two commanders of the English division which now advanced to charge the left wing of the Scots under Edward Bruce, and the earl of Gloucester especially had taken deep offence at some language used towards him by the king on the preceding day, and he now insisted on taking the lead of the van, a post which was usually claimed by the earl of Hereford as constable of England. This dispute was the cause of some confusion, and the charge was irregular. In the midst of the dispute, the earl of Gloucester saw the Scottish column advancing against them, and he immediately pushed forwards with his own men, unsupported by the rest of the van, and rushed upon the enemy. The shock was tremendous; many of the knights were thrown from their saddles, and the horses, dreadfully wounded, became furious and unmanageable.

Randolph, meanwhile, moved forwards steadily with the central division, and at-

tacked the main body of the English, who were so numerous that the old historian describes the Scottish column as disappearing in the midst of their enemies like a body thrown into the sea. Sir James Douglas and the steward immediately brought up the left wing to second and support Randolph, and thus all the three divisions of the Scottish line were engaged with the English. The men on both sides fought with great bravery, and the noise and confusion at this moment is said to have been beyond description terrible. The English cavalry attempted by repeated charges to break the line of the Scottish spearmen, but in vain; many of the English horsemen were slain in the shock, and those who fell from their saddles were dispatched without mercy. Every successive charge was more fatal to the assailants, and increased the confusion of the vast army, which was crowded together and cramped for want of room.

But the English commanders now brought up their archers, the terror of the Scottish armies, whose unrivalled skill in the use of their deadly weapons had decided so many engagements, and the dreadful shower of arrows which poured upon the Scots, galled them so dreadfully, that they must soon have been broken, had not Bruce sent sir Robert Keith, with the five hundred horse that were in the reserve, to make a circuit round the morass now called Milton Bog and take the archers in flank. This movement was executed so quickly and successfully, that the whole body of the archers, who had no weapons fitted to resist cavalry, were soon put to the rout and so completely dispersed that they did not rally again effectively during the battle.

The English had already suffered great loss, and some of their bravest and most skilful commanders had fallen, yet they continued to fight well. Bruce, however, perceived already some symptoms of exhaustion, and he instantly brought up his reserve, so that the four divisions of the Scottish army were now all engaged in the contest. The effect of this new attack was soon visible in the English ranks, though the battle still raged with terrible fury; the Scottish soldiers themselves began to perceive that their enemies wavered, and shouting to each other, "On them! on them! they fail!" they pressed more eagerly forwards, and felt that they were gaining ground. It is believed that Bruce now sent orders to the Highland clans concealed on

the Gillies' hill to come forward and join in the combat, and they suddenly made their appearance, marching down the hill with banners flying. The English, imagining that they saw a large body of fresh troops coming to reinforce their enemies, were seized with dismay; when Bruce, whose quick eye instantly perceived the effect which had been produced among them, placed himself at the head of his own division of reserve, and led them on to a furious charge, which was followed up by the advance of the whole line. The English now broke, and began to leave the field in scattered parties. Multitudes were slain as they tried to escape; many were killed in attempting to rally their men. Among the latter was the young and high-minded earl of Gloucester, who was carried by his spirited war-horse into the division of Edward Bruce, where he was instantly unhorsed and slain. Among other men of distinction who fell at this time, were sir Robert Clifford, the commander so renowned in the Scottish wars, and sir Edmund Mauley, the seneschal of England. On seeing the total rout of his army, king Edward seemed bewildered; he was not wanting in personal courage, and it was with reluctance that he could be made to leave the fatal field. The earl of Pembroke was obliged to seize the bridle of his horse and force him away, and he was protected by a guard of five hundred heavy armed horse. The gallant sir Giles de Argentine followed the king till he saw him in safety, and then turning back towards the battle, he bade him farewell, observing that it was not his custom to fly. Then spurring his horse, and shouting his war-cry, "An Argentine! an Argentine!" he charged the division of Edward Bruce, and was instantly borne down and slain. Thus ended the great day of Bannockburn, for Scotland the most glorious in her annals. After the king had left the field, the slaughter of his troops became dreadful. Multitudes were drowned in attempting to cross the river Forth; others were entangled in the pits; the ravine of the Bannock burn was choked up and

literally bridged over with the slain. No less than twenty-seven English barons fell in the field; with two hundred knights and seven hundred esquires of high birth. The whole loss on the side of the English is said to have been not less than thirty thousand. That of the Scots was very small; and they had only two men of note killed, sir William Vipont and sir Walter Ross, but the fate of the latter was much lamented by Robert Bruce. The booty gained by the victors was very great, and it was much increased by the high ransoms of the prisoners of distinction. Many of the Scottish prisoners in England gained their liberty by exchange. Bruce's own wife, her sister Christian, and his daughter Marjory, with Wishart, bishop of Glasgow, and the young earl of Mar, were all delivered up in exchange for the earl of Hereford.

King Edward, when he left the field, seemed still to act under the bewilderment of his misfortune. Instead of directing his course to the south, he proceeded to Stirling castle, and demanded admittance. The governor, Philip de Mowbray, expostulated with him on the imprudence of throwing himself into a fortress which, by the terms of the treaty, he must deliver up to his enemies next day. The king then made a circuit to avoid the Scottish army, and hurried towards the south. So many parties of English still hovered about, many of whom had taken shelter under the walls of Stirling castle, that Bruce thought it prudent to keep his men together, and he would only spare sixty horsemen to accompany Douglas in the pursuit of the English king. As he passed the Tor-wood, Douglas met sir Lawrence Abernethy, who was hastening with a small body of horsemen to join king Edward's army, but who now united with Douglas in the pursuit. Edward soon reached the castle of Dunbar, where he was received hospitably by the earl of March, and from thence he passed over in a boat to Berwick.

Stirling castle was surrendered the day after the battle, and its governor entered the service of the Scottish king.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN TO THE TRUCE OF 1319.

WE are informed by the chronicler, Thomas of Walsingham, that king Edward, in his flight from Bannockburn, proceeded from Berwick to York, and that he there held a grand council or parliament to consider of the means to repair the disaster which had fallen upon him. But the absence from the national records of all mention of such a parliament leads us to believe that, whether summoned or not, it was never held; and the king soon found it prudent to continue his progress towards the south. Bruce had no sooner assured himself of his victory, than he despatched his brother Edward and the redoubtable Douglas to invade the English marches with a considerable force. The Scots crossed the eastern border into Northumberland, and ravaged successively that county and the bishopric of Durham, and then pursued their destructive course into Yorkshire, as far as the town of Richmond, which they plundered and burnt. They returned thence homeward, with an immense booty in goods, cattle, and prisoners, and on their way they burnt Appleby and Kirkwold, with all the villages and hamlets around. The English were at this time so utterly dispirited by their recent reverses, that we are assured that the appearance of two or three Scottish soldiers was sufficient to put a hundred of them to flight.* But king Edward proclaimed aloud his indignation, and gave orders for the assembly of a new army, to be placed under the command of the earl of Pembroke. These orders, however, were never carried into execution, although the Scots invaded England a second time, burning and plundering Redesdale and Tynedale, and from thence penetrating into Cumberland. Many of the English borderers are said on this occasion to have joined the Scots, and to have assisted in plundering their countrymen. Meanwhile the barons and clergy of the north, finding that so little was done by the king, met at York, and entered into a confederacy for self-protection, and with Edward's consent

appointed four commanders to lead the border troops against the Scottish invaders. This measure might, under other circumstances, have been in the highest degree advantageous, but as it was, it only added to the distress of the country; for these northern troops, not obtaining their regular pay from the king's exhausted exchequer, set all discipline at defiance, and murdered and plundered as openly as the Scottish enemies.

These hostilities were followed by negotiations for peace; and commissioners on each side met for this purpose, but their object appears to have failed through the unwillingness of the English to acknowledge Robert Bruce as king of Scotland, and the high tone in which the Scots insisted upon their entire independence. Edward now talked of a new expedition against the Scots, and the parliament held at London in the beginning of the year 1315, granted a contribution for the purpose of levying a formidable army. But a grievous famine added at this moment to the general discouragement, and the hostile attitude of the English monarch served only to provoke the Scots to new acts of hostility. In the spring, they marched through Northumberland, laid waste the bishopric of Durham, and plundered the flourishing town of Hartlepool; they then continued their progress to York, mercilessly ravaging the country with fire and sword, while such of the peasantry as could make their escape fled for protection to Newcastle, Berwick, and Carlisle, as the only towns capable, by their strength and garrisons, of resisting the invaders.

Robert Bruce, now firmly established on his throne, began to turn his attention to another object of great importance, in the circumstances under which he was placed—the settlement of the succession. To arrange this, a parliament was called at Ayr, on the 26th of April, 1315, and it was agreed that, in case of Bruce's death, without male issue, the crown should descend to his brother Edward. It was further provided that, if Edward Bruce and his male heirs failed, Robert Bruce's daughter, Marjory, should succeed, but under a con-

* *Nempe tunc Anglis in tantum consueta adempta fuit audacia, ut a facie duorum vel trium Scotorum fugerent Angli centum.—Tho. Walsingham, Hist. Angl. p. 106.*

dition that she should not marry without the express consent of her father, or, in case of his death before her marriage, of the majority of the estates of Scotland. Failing Marjory, the nearest heir lineally descended of king Robert was to succeed to the crown. It was ordered that, if either of these three should die, leaving an heir male, a minor, Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray, should be guardian of the heir and kingdom, until the estates should declare the heir of a fit age to administer the government; and in case of a failure in the direct succession, which seemed at this time not improbable, Randolph was to be guardian of the kingdom until the succession to the crown should be determined by the Scottish parliament. Soon after this arrangement had been completed, the princess Marjory was married to Walter, the hereditary high steward of Scotland, who thus became the founder of the royal family of Stewart, or Stuart.

In the summer of the same year, 1315, king Robert undertook an expedition against the western islands, where John of Argyll, or, as he was as often called, of Lorn, with a number of pirate chiefs, who acknowledged him as their commander, still upheld the English interests, and caused frequent damage to the Scottish shipping. The king was accompanied in this expedition by his new son-in-law. Taking advantage of the superstitions of the people, at the same time that he consulted his own convenience, Bruce sailed up Loch Fyne to Tarbet, instead of passing round the Mull of Kintyre, and he there caused his vessels to be dragged across the isthmus of Tarbet, on a slide made of planks of trees. It was an old tradition among the western islanders, that they would never be subdued unless their enemy sailed across the isthmus; and now, believing that the time of the fulfilment of the prophecy was arrived, they submitted without resistance, and John of Lorn himself was captured. He was imprisoned in the castle of Dumbarton, from whence he was removed to that of Lochleven, where he was kept in confinement till his death.

In the mean time, the Scottish army, commanded by the relentless chieftain, whose depredations in the border counties of England, had gained him the name of the Black Douglas, again harassed the English marches, laying waste the district

of Egremont, and plundering the priory of St. Bees. The king, after indulging for a short time in the recreation of hunting, hastened to join the Douglas on the southern border, and made an attempt upon Carlisle, but after attacking that town with persevering resolution during ten days, he was beaten away by the bravery of the garrison. The Scots were about the same time defeated in an attempt upon Berwick from the sea. They were soon afterwards overjoyed by the birth of a son to the princess Marjory, who was christened by the name of Robert, which gave hopeful promise of a new line of kings, but their joy was mitigated with sorrow, on account of the death of the princess soon after the birth of her child.

This occurred early in the year 1316. The Scots still continued their hostilities against England, by a descent upon Wales, accompanied with new threats of invasion in the north. In the summer, Bruce led his army into Yorkshire, and wasted the country without resistance till he reached Richmond, which was redeemed from the flames by the payment of a sum of money, collected by the nobles and gentry of the county. The Scots then moved off into the West Riding, which they plundered and burnt, and returned home with a rich booty.

An expedition of a more extensive character at this moment occupied the attention of the Scottish king. Edward Bruce had fought bravely under the banner of his brother, while they were contending against difficulties, but, now that they had secured the independence of Scotland, his ambitious and ungovernable temper made it difficult for them to live peaceably together. According to the historian, Fordun, Edward Bruce demanded of his brother Robert, as the reward of his services, one-half of the kingdom of Scotland, and, we are told, that he only relinquished his claim upon a promise of being made king of Ireland. A hostile expedition into Ireland was, at this moment, a sensible attack on the power of England, and king Robert, embarrassed by his brother's factious behaviour, willingly agreed to the project. On the 25th of May, 1315, Edward Bruce, accompanied by the earl of Moray, sir Philip Mowbray, sir John Soulis, sir Fergus of Ardrossan, and Ramsay of Ochterhouse, with an army of six thousand men, landed on the coast of Antrim. This in-

vasion belongs rather to the history of Ireland than to that of Scotland, and we will therefore pass over it briefly. The Scots soon found partisans, and after carrying all before them, and ravaging the counties of Down, Armagh, Louth, Meath, and Kildare, they were compelled by famine and disease to retreat into the north of Ulster, where Edward Bruce caused himself to be crowned king of Ireland, and immediately laid siege to Carrickfergus. He had dispatched the earl of Moray to Scotland, to inform his brother Robert of the condition of his affairs, and press him for immediate assistance. King Robert was returning from his expedition into Yorkshire, in 1316, when his brother's messenger reached him; he immediately resolved to hurry in person to his assistance, and, having committed the government of Scotland to his son-in-law and sir James Douglas, he passed over into Ireland with a considerable body of troops. Carrickfergus soon surrendered to the united forces of the two Bruces, and, joined by their Irish allies, they marched south, and after a vain attempt to reduce Dublin, advanced through Kilkenny, and laid waste the country to the gates of Limerick. Famine again drove them away, and they were compelled, in the spring of 1317, to retreat into Ulster, whence king Robert returned to Scotland, taking with him the earl of Moray, but leaving the flower of his army to support his brother's cause in the field. After a long inactivity, Edward Bruce again prepared for active hostilities towards the summer of 1318. But the English had now regained their courage, and a powerful army under lord John de Birmingham marched against him, and found him encamped at Tagher, near Dundalk. Here the Scottish army was entirely defeated on the 5th of October, 1318, leaving among their dead their leader, Edward Bruce, with sir John Soulis, sir John Stewart, and many more of the most distinguished of the Scottish warriors. A small remnant only of the Scottish army ever returned to Scotland.* The lord John de Birmingham caused the head of Edward Bruce to be cut off and sent to the king of England, and he received, as a reward for his success, the title of earl of Louth. The body of the Scottish chieftain was quartered, and dis-

tributed to four of the principal towns in Ireland.

During king Robert's absence in Ireland, the border, which he had left to the charge of the Douglas, was the scene of hostilities which furnished anecdotes to enliven the pages of the chronicler, Barbour. The king of England, thinking the absence of the two Bruces and Randolph, a favourable moment for the invasion of Scotland, summoned his military vassals to meet him in arms at Newcastle. The quarrel between the king and his barons had been revived; nevertheless, they proceeded with their followers to the appointed rendezvous, but when they found that the king himself was not there, the earl of Lancaster and the barons of his party returned to their homes in disgust. The design of one great invasion of Scotland was thus overthrown, and gave place to a series of inroads which were opposed and repelled by the united bravery and skill of Douglas and the Steward. On one occasion, when Douglas was lying at the manor of Linthlauglee, two miles above Jedburgh, in the heart of the forest which stretched out towards the English border, he heard that the earl of Arundel and the earl of Brittany were advancing from Northumberland with an English force of ten thousand men, to take him by surprise. Well acquainted with the nature of the ground through which his enemies had to march, he took possession of a narrow pass in their way, which was covered on each side by a wood, consisting chiefly, it appears, of young trees. These he caused to be platted together so as to form an impervious barrier on either side, and he placed his archers in ambush in an adjoining hollow. No sooner had the English engaged themselves in the pass, than the archers, suddenly making their appearance, threw in among them a volley of arrows, and Douglas, at the same moment, made a furious charge with his cavalry. The English, crowded in too small a space, were soon thrown into disorder, and took to flight, with the loss of one of their leaders. For the Douglas, throwing himself into the thick of the fray, singled out the earl of Brittany, and slew him with his dagger. The house of Douglas was long proud of this exploit.

On another occasion, a knight of Gascony named Edmund de Cailou, who at that time held the office of governor of Berwick, had made an inroad into Scot-

* A more detailed account of Edward Bruce's expedition to Ireland will be found in the *History of Ireland*, by the same author as the present work.

land with a party of his countrymen, and was returning with the plunder of Teviotdale and the Merse, when they were intercepted by Douglas, and defeated with loss. Cailou himself, was among the slain. Sir Ralph Neville, one of the English commanders in Berwick, met some of the fugitive Gascons, and reproached them with pusillanimity. They pleaded in extenuation, the extraordinary force and courage of the Douglas, which was popularly believed to be irresistible; upon which the English knight said scornfully, that if the Scot dared to show his banner before Berwick, he would willingly fight with him hand to hand, and show them how little his boasted valour would avail him. Douglas was informed of the vaunting speech of sir Ralph Neville, and, with the chivalrous spirit of the time, he marched immediately into the neighbourhood of Berwick, and sent some of his men to plunder and burn the villages within view of the town. Neville marched forth with a large body of men, and posted himself in a strong position to wait the opportunity of attacking Douglas when his men were dispersed to plunder the country. But he mistook Douglas's object; and the Scottish chief no sooner beheld his opponent within his reach, than he called in all his plundering parties, and marched to attack him. The English were again defeated, and Douglas encountering Neville in the fight, slew him with his own hand. The Scots, without further opposition, ravaged the country, burnt towns and villages, and carried away the cattle to Scotland.

Finding that his efforts against the Scots by land were of so little avail, king Edward now determined to try what he could do by sea, and he fitted out a fleet which sailed up the firth of Forth to Duniebrisse, on the coast of Fife. The sudden appearance of the English on their coast threw the population of the neighbouring country into so great a panic, that the sheriff found the greatest difficulty in getting together five hundred horsemen to make a show of resistance, and these no sooner saw the enemy at hand than they fled precipitately. In this dilemma, an ecclesiastic, as had often been the case, came forward to set a spirited example, which restored his countrymen to confidence. Sinclair, bishop of Dunkeld, in armour and on horseback, with sixty of his household retainers, threw himself in the way of the sheriff's cavalry, as they were

flying in disorder from the face of the enemy. "Out upon such recreant knights!" he cried, "who ought to have your spurs struck from your heels!" and then seizing a spear from the soldier nearest to him, and shouting, "let all who love Scotland follow me!" he rushed towards the enemy. The fugitive Scots immediately rallied, and made so furious a charge, that as many of the English as had landed were driven back with considerable loss to their ships, and some were drowned in their hurry to embark. It was not long after this occurrence, that king Robert returned from Scotland, and he was so much pleased with the prelate's bravery that he declared he should in future be his bishop. Sinclair was long afterwards known by the title of "the king's bishop."

King Edward, who was unwilling to obtain a peace by yielding to the demands of the Scots that he should recognise their independence, attempted to procure it by the intervention of what was then looked upon as a higher power. It is said that he bought the favour of pope John XXII. with English gold. In the beginning of the year 1317, the pope issued a bull, in which, describing Bruce as "his beloved son carrying himself as king of Scotland," he enjoined a truce from all hostilities between the two countries for two years. This bull was entrusted to two cardinals, who were to proceed with it to England and Scotland, and who carried with them letters sealed and patent addressed to the two kings. They were to publish the truce on the spot, and they were privately empowered to place Robert Bruce under the ban of the catholic church if he refused to comply with the pope's commands. Another bull was given them at the same time, declaring the pain of excommunication against Robert Bruce and his brother Edward, which was to be used only if circumstances required; and the pope showed his partiality by directing a bull against the minorite friars in Ireland, who had been active in exciting the Irish to join the Scottish invaders against their English rulers. When the two cardinals arrived in England, they sent two nuncios, the bishop of Corbeil and master Aumery, to deliver the papal letters to the king of Scotland, and to proclaim the bull relating to the truce. They travelled in the train of the bishop elect of Durham, who was proceeding with a pompous retinue of ecclesiastics and barons to Durham to be inau-

gured, and the nuncios proposed to be present at the ceremony. As they approached Rushy Ford, within a stage of Durham, they were suddenly surrounded by a party of the lawless soldiers who then infested the northern counties, under the command of two of their chiefs, Gilbert de Middleton and Walter Selby, who seized and stripped the ecclesiastics of their rich apparel, and robbed them of their baggage and horses. They then permitted the nuncios to continue their route to Scotland, but they carried off the bishop elect and his brother Henry de Beaumont to Gilbert de Middleton's castle of Mitford, from which he was not liberated until so heavy a ransom was paid that it was found necessary to sell the jewels and rich vestments of the cathedral to defray it.

It has been supposed that this act of violence was committed at the instigation of the king of Scotland, who was in secret communication with the turbulent English chiefs in the border counties, and that his object was to make himself master of any secret letters and instructions the papal messengers might have brought with them. When at length the nuncios reached the Scottish court, they found the king resolved to resist their authority, although he acted with cautious prudence. When they had read the bull and the open letters, Bruce began with a solemn protest against the insult offered to Scotland, in addressing him as governor of that kingdom, and not as king. He said that there were many of his subjects bearing the same name of Robert Bruce, who shared with the other barons in the government of the kingdom, and that it was possible that the letters might be intended for some one of them. As he was anxious for peace between the two kingdoms, he had allowed the bull and the open letters to be read, but as they were not addressed to him as king, he could give no answer to them. But the sealed letters, not being directed to the king of Scotland, he would not allow to be opened in his presence. He said that he could take no further cognizance of the matter until he had consulted his parliament, which could not be called till after Michaelmas; it was now early in the month of September.

The nuncios attempted to excuse the misdirection of the letters, alleging that it was not usual for the church to do or say any thing which might prejudice either party while a controversy was pending. To which Bruce replied, that if his spiritual father

and his holy mother were unwilling to prejudice his opponent by giving him (Bruce) the title of king, they ought to have felt the same delicacy in withdrawing that title from him who was actually in possession of a kingdom. "All my subjects," he said, "call me king, and by that title do other kings and royal princes address me; but I perceive that my spiritual parents assume an evident partiality amongst their sons. If you had ventured to present letters so addressed to other kings, you might have received very different treatment, but my reverence for your authority and respect for the holy see will be your protection." The nuncios then begged for a temporary cessation of hostilities, which the king said he could not grant without consulting his parliament, while the English manifested their present hostile feelings. This was all the reply the messengers of the pope could obtain; and, after leaving the royal presence, they were assured by the courtiers that the only impediment to negotiations for peace was the refusal of the pope to address Bruce as king, and that, as they were satisfied the pope had acted under the influence of king Edward, and in contempt of the people of Scotland, neither their king nor his advisers would listen to any proposals of treaty unless the royal title were given to him.

The cardinals had meanwhile proceeded to Durham, where they awaited the return of the nuncios. When they learnt the ill-success of their messengers, they determined that, at all events, the papal truce should be published in Scotland, and they employed as their agent for this purpose Adam Newton, the father guardian of the friars minor of Berwick, who was to obtain an interview with Bruce, deliver in person the pope's letters to the king and to the bishop of St. Andrew's and the other Scottish prelates, and publish the bull enjoining the truce, as well as that of excommunication, if necessary. Newton was better acquainted with the Scots than his employers, and he cautiously left the papal instruments in secure keeping at Berwick, until he was assured of the reception which awaited him at the Scottish court. After a perilous journey, he at length found the king with his army, encamped in the woods of Old Cambus, not more than twelve miles from Berwick. It was now the middle of December, and, intending to commence the ensuing spring with an attack upon this

important town, he was overlooking and directing the construction of warlike engines for that purpose. Having obtained a safe conduct, with less difficulty than he expected, the friar returned to Berwick for his papers and credentials. When he again presented himself before the lord Alexander Seton, the king's seneschal, he was informed that Bruce would not admit him to a personal interview, but that he must deliver him his letters that they might be examined privately by the king. To this proposal the papal agent consented; but when Bruce saw that in these documents, the title of king of Scotland was still withheld, he returned them contemptuously, and ordered friar Newton to be informed that it was his intention, in spite of the papal orders, to make himself master of the town of Berwick. Newton now attempted to publish the pope's bull for a truce of two years, but when he began to read it, he was treated with so much violence, that he found it necessary for his personal safety, that he should desist. He then made a last attempt to execute his commission, by requesting permission to proceed into Scotland, to meet the Scottish prelates, with whom he was commanded to confer, and if this were not granted, he demanded a safe conduct back to Berwick. But to his no little consternation, both were refused, and he was ordered to depart out of Scotland as quickly as he could. On his way, he was attacked by four armed men, said to have been employed by the king, who robbed him of his papers, and stripping him to the skin, turned him out naked on the road. As they had carried away all his bulls, it was not even in his power to revenge himself by publishing the pope's sentence of excommunication.

Bruce now prepared for the siege of Berwick, and in this instance, at least, his success was insured by treason among his enemies. The security of this important place had been watched over with care, and governors were placed over the castle and town who were not likely to neglect their duty. The governor of the town was especially strict in enforcing discipline among the townsmen, and a burgess, named Spalding, had taken great offence at his severity. This man was himself of English extraction, but he had married a Scottish woman, and perhaps she suggested to him the project of revenging himself on the governor, by betraying the

town to her countrymen. Spalding contrived to send a communication to the earl of March, offering to assist the Scots in escalading the walls on a certain night, when it would be his turn to keep watch. The earl, who had himself abandoned the English interest to enter warmly into the national Scottish cause, immediately went to the king, and informed him of the offer. We are told that the king, in allusion to a growing rivalry between his favourites Douglas and Randolph, said to the earl, as soon as he had communicated his intelligence, "You did well to tell this to me; for Douglas and Randolph are so emulous of glory, that if you had trusted one of them with the secret, the other would have taken offence; but I will now employ them both." On the day appointed, these two chiefs, with the earl of March, were ordered to bring together, towards evening, a chosen body of men at Dun's park, from whence, at nightfall, they marched on foot to Berwick, and, with Spalding's assistance, easily fixed their ladders and mounted over the wall into the town. Instead of waiting for the support of the Scottish army, the soldiers of Douglas and Randolph could not be restrained by their leaders from dispersing themselves in the streets, to slay and plunder the townsmen, who, panic-struck, saved themselves by leaping over the walls, or took refuge in the castle. In the midst of this confusion, daylight appeared, and the governor of the castle, Roger Horsely, discovering the comparatively small number of the assailants, sallied out and attacked them so vigorously, that he would have driven them out of the town, had not Randolph and Douglas made a desperate effort with their own immediate followers, whom they had kept close together. The English now, in their turn, retired to the castle, and before they could take any further steps to recover the town, Bruce arrived with the army, and secured his conquest. The garrison of the castle soon surrendered, and the Scottish king, contrary to his usual practice, preserved and strengthened the fortifications, and gave the custody of this important town to his son-in-law, Walter the steward.

Although Berwick was not treated with the rigour usual on such occasions at that period, the Scots obtained a considerable booty from it; and, not content with this, Bruce led them into England, where they committed great havoc. They reduced the

castles of Wark and Harbottle, and took that of Mitford by surprise—its turbulent lord had been taken and executed, and it was now in the hands of the English king. They then proceeded into Yorkshire, and burnt the towns of Northallerton, Borough-bridge, Scarborough, and Skipton in Craven; after which they returned to Scotland, laden with plunder, and driving their English captives before them, to use the words of the old chroniclers, like flocks of sheep.

King Edward's disputes with his barons still paralyzed the English, and the remainder of this eventful year 1318 passed over without any attempt to retaliate for the injuries inflicted on the kingdom by the Scots. The pope was indignant at Bruce's refusal to admit his envoys or to listen to his mandates, and he now caused the two cardinals to publish new bulls of excommunication against him, in which he was charged with taking Berwick traitorously during the papal truce; with contempt towards the papal authority; and with other offences which were to be declared more fully in case of need. The national spirit of the Scots had been so thoroughly raised by their continued successes, that the papal bulls passed unheeded either by the clergy or the people.

Various circumstances had now occurred to call Bruce's attention to the internal state of his kingdom. The death of Edward Bruce without issue, as well as that of the king's daughter Marjory, had made her infant son Robert the last remaining of Bruce's direct line. It was therefore thought prudent to have the title of the young heir again solemnly acknowledged. A parliament was accordingly summoned, which met at Scone in the December of 1318. Its first act was an engagement of solemn allegiance to king Robert, and a promise to aid him against all who should menace the liberties of Scotland, or impeach his royal rights, however high might be the power, authority, or dignity of the opponent. This act was designed especially against the pope and his late attempt to deprive Bruce of his title of king. By a further enactment, any native of Scotland who should fail in his allegiance to king Robert was denounced a traitor. The infant prince Robert was declared to be the next heir to the crown, in default of male issue of the king's body; and the regency was settled on Thomas Randolph earl of Moray, or, in case of his death, on James earl of Douglas. An abso-

lute rule was laid down for the future succession to the throne, by which it was ordered that the male heir nearest to the king in the direct line of descent should succeed, and, failing him, the nearest female in the direct line; and that, failing the whole direct line, the nearest male heir in the collateral line should be taken as the successor. As this was contrary to the rule on which Bruce's own claim to the throne had been founded, there was a special proviso that respect should always be held to the right of blood by which king Robert himself had succeeded to the crown. Another act passed at this parliament made every man liable to be called out to serve in defence of his kingdom, and he was required to provide himself with weapons according to his rank and means. The particular orders referred solely to the infantry, the especial and most effective force of the kingdom. Every man worth ten pounds a year of land was ordered to have in readiness a buff jacket and a head-piece of steel; those whose income was less might substitute iron for steel. All were to have gloves of plate and a sword and spear. Every man who possessed a cow was to possess a bow and sheaf of arrows, or a spear. Orders were also made for providing for the armed forces, when called out, in the manner least burthensome to the country. An act was likewise passed to regulate the obedience due to Rome, and secure the independence of the Scottish church. Ecclesiastics were prohibited from remitting money to Rome to purchase bulls; and by a somewhat similar regulation natives of Scotland residing in a foreign country were not permitted to draw their revenues from their native country. Absentecism appears to have been as much dreaded in Scotland as it was at a later period in Ireland.

While the Scottish parliament was passing these salutary laws, king Edward seemed gradually to become aroused from his inactivity, and in the year 1319 he proclaimed his intention at all risks to rescue Berwick from his Scottish enemies. Having made a temporary agreement with his discontented barons, he raised a formidable army, with which he appeared before Berwick at the end of July. His proceedings on this occasion were carried on with a prudence which he had seldom shown before. Having established his camp on the Scottish side of the Tweed, he began by securing it with strong ramparts and trenches, which would

enable him to resist any attempt to raise the siege. He then proceeded to invest the town along the whole line of its walls, which were very low, and an English fleet having entered the estuary of the Tweed, it was beleaguered on all sides.

The details of this siege of Berwick are again furnished by the minute chronicler Barbour. It was the beginning of September when the siege was regularly commenced, and the first assault was made on the 7th of that month. After great preparations, the besiegers advanced to the walls in numerous different bodies, covered by strong parties of archers and slingers, and the assault was carried on with great resolution on various points, from early in the morning till noon. The fleet then moved up as close as possible to the town, and one ship, the rigging of which had been prepared for the purpose, was to be drawn up close to the wall. The boat of this ship was raised up half-mast high, and a sort of drawbridge was fitted to it, which, at a preconcerted signal, was to be dropped on the town wall. The boat and the rigging of the ship were filled with soldiers, who were immediately to rush forward over this novel kind of bridge into the town, which it was supposed would thus be easily taken. By some mismanagement, however, this ship ran aground, and, being left dry by the ebbing of the tide, it was successfully attacked by the townsmen, and burnt. In the mean time the soldiers on the walls, encouraged by the bravery of their leader, the steward of Scotland, had succeeded in repelling every attack from the land side; and when the besiegers saw the flames of their burning ship, they were too much discouraged to continue the attack that day with any prospect of success.

Although the walls of Berwick were low, they offered a sufficient defence against an enemy when manned by brave men, and it was determined, in preparing for a second assault, to undermine and breach them. For this purpose, the English constructed, on an immense scale, one of those machines known in the middle ages by the name of a *sow*, consisting of a large inclosed shed or chamber, formed of strong timbers, and moving on wheels, so that under its cover a body of miners might dig under the foundation of the wall, or break up the masonry with tools made for that purpose, without being exposed to the missiles of the besieged. Besides the miners, it contained

a number of armed soldiers, to defend it in case of attack from a sallying party. Scaffolds, higher than the walls, and moving on wheels, were also constructed, to push forward parties of armed men, who might jump down from them on the walls. And instead of the single ship, which had been burnt, Edward caused a number of vessels to be fitted out in a similar manner, with the addition of numerous archers and slingers placed in the top castles, who, it was expected, could keep the enemy at a distance while the ships drew up close to the walls, and threw their drawbridges upon them.

The Scots, on their side, were actively engaged in making preparations of defence. The garrison was strong and courageous, and devotedly attached to their brave commander, the steward of Scotland. Among them were five hundred gentlemen, who quartered the arms of the steward, and who had come voluntarily to fight under the banner of their feudal chief. The steward was assisted by the ingenuity of a Flemish mercenary, named John Crab, who was celebrated for his skill as a military engineer, and who was now aided by an English engineer who had been taken prisoner in the first assault, and was compelled to serve against the besiegers. Crab caused two large engines to be made for throwing stones of immense size, which, like the sow and scaffolds of the besiegers, moved upon wheels. Less ponderous engines, for throwing stones, leaden bullets, and darts, were also made; with iron chains and grappling hooks, and piles of fire faggots, mixed with flax and pitch, and made into large bundles like casks. These preparations having been completed, the troops were distributed under their officers along the walls, each division having its particular post to defend, while the steward placed himself at the head of a strong body of reserve, in a position whence he could watch the various points most exposed to attack, and send reinforcements whenever they might be wanted.

At sunrise on the morning of the 13th of September, the English advanced with resolution to the walls of Berwick, and began their attack with great fury. In spite of every difficulty with which they had to contend, and of the incessant shower of missiles from the besiegers, they soon succeeded in filling up the ditch and fixing their ladders. A desperate conflict now took place, which lasted without intermis-

sion till noon, when the English began to give way and fall back. This was the moment chosen to bring up the sow, which was moved with its ponderous weight towards the wall. Crab, the Fleming, immediately brought the most powerful of his military engines to bear upon it, that he might break or disable it before it came too near. The English soldiers pushed forward their machine eagerly and rapidly, and Crab in haste aimed at it one of his most ponderous stones, but it passed over the sow without injuring it. A second stone fell short of its aim, owing no doubt to the too great anxiety of the engineers to avoid the error which had rendered their first shot harmless. The sow approached nearer and nearer, and would soon have been too near the walls to receive any serious damage from Crab's catapult, when he aimed a third shot with more success. The ponderous mass, flying through the air with a fearful noise, fell in the middle of the English military engine, and broke its roof timbers to pieces, killing many of the men who were inside. A shout of exultation resounded from the walls, and as the English miners and soldiers who had not been killed by the blow rushed out from their machine, the Scots cried out in derision that the English sow had farrowed her pigs. The Scots threw their chains and grappling irons from the walls to keep the broken sow from being dragged away, and then showered down burning faggots upon it, by which it was soon consumed. These machines were usually covered with raw hides, and other incombustible material, to protect them from fire, but all this had no doubt been torn and scattered in the breaking of the timbers it covered.

Thus ended the machine which had cost the English much labour, and on which they reckoned so much for success against the town. The attack from the water had meanwhile been made with far less skill and courage than that from the land. The ships came up towards the walls with the tide, but the vessel which took the lead had no sooner arrived within range of one of Crab's warlike engines, than it was struck by a stone, which damaged its rigging, and killed and wounded some of the crew. The other ships were alarmed at this accident, and they all drew off from the attack. Even this circumstance did not destroy the courage of the besiegers; they marched again to the walls, and made a furious attack, in

which they attempted to set fire to St. Mary's gate. The Scots were here so hard pressed, that the steward went to encourage them by his personal example, and even the women and children of the town were employed in supplying the soldiers on the walls with arrows and stones. It was not till nightfall that the English army, foiled in every attempt, was drawn off from the attack.

Although its besiegers had thus been twice beaten off, Berwick was not yet secure, for the English were evidently resolved to carry on the siege till it was taken. Bruce was too well aware of the disastrous effects which would follow a defeat, to risk the fortune of a battle with the English army; but he determined to try the effect of a diversion, and as he knew that the military force of the north was collected before Berwick, and that the country was left in a defenceless state, he sent Randolph and Douglas to invade England with an army of fifteen thousand men. This expedition had also a secret object, which might have had a still more important influence on the relations between the two countries at this moment. While the king of England was occupied in the siege of Berwick, his queen, Isabella, had taken up her residence near York, and some traitors in her court are said to have given Bruce information of her unprotected position, and of the facility with which she might be surprised and captured. Amid the political intrigues and distractions of the country at this time, Bruce had secret communication with the party opposed to the court, and he appears thus to have obtained frequent information on the movements of his enemies. It was the plan of Randolph and Douglas to make a sudden march into the heart of Yorkshire, and with the queen their prisoner, Bruce doubted not being able to dictate a peace. But there were traitors on both sides, and a Scottish prisoner gave the queen warning of her danger. When Randolph suddenly appeared before York, he found that queen Isabella and her court were gone to the south. In disappointment and anger, he ravaged the country about with more than usual ferocity. The only hope of protection for the suffering population, was in the forces which could be collected from among the vassals of the archiepiscopal see, and the archbishop, seized with a sudden burst of military ardour, and assisted by the bishop of Ely,

who happened to be there, raised an ill-composed army of about twenty thousand men, composed of a multitude of priests and monks, who had taken up arms on this occasion, with the ill-disciplined feudal soldiers of the church lands, and the trained bands and armed burgesses of the city of York. The latter, probably, were the only portion of this motley army fit to be led to battle. However, the archbishop and his troops sallied forth courageously to seek the enemy, whom he found encamped at Mytton, on the banks of the Swale. The English leaders were entirely wanting in the experience and military foresight necessary to cope with veteran warriors like Randolph and Douglas, and while they incautiously led their army across a bridge over the river, the Scots fired some large haystacks, and under cover of the dense smoke which issued from them, they threw a strong column into the rear of the English, between their army and the bridge. The archbishop's army was thus attacked at once both in front and rear, and in a few minutes it was routed and dispersed with great slaughter. Four thousand men were slain on the field of battle and in the flight, among whom were three hundred ecclesiastics, who were known by their white surplices, which they wore over their armour. Many of the fugitives were drowned in the river Swale, in the tumultuous effort to cross it. Night saved the remainder, and it was fortunate for the vanquished that the engagement had taken place in the evening. This battle, which was fought on the 20th of September, 1319, was called by the Scots, in derision of the number of surpliced ecclesiastics who fought in it, the white battle, or the chapter of Mytton.

The news of this disaster spread consternation in the English camp before Berwick, where it appears to have been already found difficult to appease the political feuds which continued to rankle in the breasts of the leaders. The earl of Lancaster, the great leader of the country party, was suddenly seized with so much displeasure and disgust, that he drew off the whole body of his followers, and marched away. These troops composed about one-third of

the English army. Thus reduced in force, alarmed at the attempt which had been made to capture his queen, and provoked at the defeat of the archbishop of York and the ravages of the Scots, king Edward determined to raise the siege of Berwick, and he marched off with his army to intercept Douglas and Randolph, on their return from their foray in England. The wary Scots, well informed of his movements by spies and traitors in his camp, and far better acquainted with the border passes, escaped into Scotland with their booty, leaving the English army to trace their route only by the horrible devastation which attended it. They are said to have plundered and burnt, during this inroad, no less than eighty-four towns and villages, besides private castles, houses, and hamlets. Nor was this the only visitation of the kind to which England was subjected during this disastrous year. The northern borderers were allowed to gather in their harvest, and then, when they least expected it, Douglas and his army of devastators broke in among them again, and having ravaged the country about Gillsland and Borough-on-Stanmore, they rushed through Westmoreland and Cumberland, burning the agricultural produce on their way, and sweeping before them a vast herd of cattle and prisoners.

Edward seems now to have been humbled by successive disasters, and Bruce was anxious for peace, to consolidate his own power. The consequence was natural; proposals for a truce were made, it is uncertain by which party, and they were readily listened to; and it was agreed between commissioners from the two kingdoms, that there should be a cessation of hostilities for two years, to commence with the Christmas of 1319. King Edward appointed his keepers of the peace on the English borders during the truce, the first instance on record of an office, which was afterwards frequently revived; and the commissioners were directed to continue their conferences, in the hope that they might lead to the permanent peace and alliance which had now become so necessary to the two countries.

CHAPTER VII.

EXPOSTULATIONS WITH THE POPE; PLOT AGAINST THE SCOTTISH KING EDWARD INVADES SCOTLAND;
BATTLE OF BILAND; DEPOSITION OF EDWARD II.; NEW INVASION OF ENGLAND BY THE
SCOTS; PEACE; DEATH OF ROBERT BRUCE.

THE pope had been greatly offended at the obstinate insubordination of the king of Scotland, and provoked at the little effect his bulls of excommunication had hitherto produced, he now renewed, and recapitulated them in a bull of considerable length, and to make it more terrible and efficacious, the holy father enjoined the archbishop of York, and the bishops of London and Carlisle, to repeat the reading of it in public every Sunday and festival throughout the year, with the solemn accompaniments of bell, book, and candle. We must not suppose that these proceedings passed totally unheeded by Bruce, for, though far distant from the Popish see, the censures of the church were too terrible in those days, to be long set at defiance; but he knew that their object was to stop and paralyze him in the moment of his success, and he knew too that if his success were once established and secured, the papal see was far from difficult to be propitiated. No sooner had the truce with England been accorded and carried into effect, than the king of Scotland began to think of taking steps, at least to justify himself with the pope, and he proceeded exactly in the same manner as Edward the first had done when a preceding pope had forbidden him to persevere in his hostilities against the Scots. A parliament was held at Aberbrothwick, on the 6th of April, 1320, when a bold letter of justification was addressed to the pope in the names of the whole nobility and community of Scotland. In this celebrated document, the Scottish nobles and commons began by tracing their fabulous origin from Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, through a long list of kings, most of them equally fabulous, to prove the antiquity of their independence, and they proclaimed their pretended conversion by St. Andrew, the brother of St. Peter, and the privileges which he had conferred on the Scottish church, to show their claims to the especial favour and indulgence of the see of Rome. They then proceeded, in a more rational tone, to describe the means by which the first Edward had attempted

to destroy their independence, and the cruel injuries which he had inflicted upon their country. From these innumerable evils, they said that they had been freed by Robert Bruce, whom they described as a second Maccabæus or Joshua, in return for which they had raised him to the throne, to which he was entitled by the rights of blood. "To him," they said, "we are bound, both by his own merit, and by the law of the land, and to him, as the saviour of our people, and the guardian of our liberty, we are unanimously determined to adhere." They added further, that if Bruce himself should alter his principles, and attempt to subject them or the kingdom to England, they would turn against him, and use their utmost efforts to expel him from the throne, choosing another king to rule over them, who would defend their rights. They declared, that as long as a hundred Scotchmen were left alive, they would never be subjected to the dominion of England. "It is not for glory," said they, "or riches, or honour, that we fight, but for that liberty which no good man will consent to lose, but with his life. Wherefore, most reverend father, we humbly pray, and from our hearts, beseech your holiness to consider, that you are the viceregent of him with whom there is no respect of persons, Jews or Greeks, Scots or English; and turning your paternal regard upon the tribulations brought upon us and the church of God by the English, to admonish the king of England, that he should be content with what he possesses, seeing that England of old was enough for seven or more kings, and not to disturb our peace in this small country, lying on the utmost boundaries of the habitable earth, and whose inhabitants desire nothing but what is their own." They concluded by declaring their earnest desire for peace, and their willingness to contribute to a crusade against the infidels, and by protesting against the pope's partiality for the king of England.

This spirited remonstrance was signed by eight earls and thirty-one barons, and it

was sent to Rome by two special messengers, sir Edward Maubulsson and sir Adam de Gordon, who were entrusted with further verbal communications. Their mission was so far effective, that the pope delayed further proceedings in the matter of the excommunication, and strongly urged that a final peace should be concluded between the two countries. The king of France offered himself to be a mediator for this purpose, and two envoys from that monarch, with two nuncios from the pope, attended a meeting between the Scottish and English commissioners. It was soon, however, evident that neither party was as anxious for peace as was pretended. Bruce was in league with the English barons of the party of the earl of Lancaster, and knowing that they were in open insurrection, he was willing to wait and watch the course of events, knowing that the king of England would for some time be too much embarrassed at home to think of interfering in the affairs of Scotland; while Edward, who was not yet willing to recognise Bruce as king, was probably aware of a conspiracy against him which might have had fatal results.

The glory which had crowned Bruce's patriotic efforts for the salvation of his country, had not exempted him from the jealousy and hatred of some of his barons and subjects, and all were not satisfied of the justice of his claims to the throne of Scotland. This, no doubt, was the reason of the acts of the parliament at Scone in the preceding year relating to the regulation of the succession. We have scarcely any intimation of the intrigues which seem to have been carried on at this time to undermine his power, and which a little later broke out in a manner so disastrous to Scotland, but we are informed that a conspiracy existed, the design of which was to murder king Robert, and place the crown on the head of lord Soulis, who claimed it as a lineal descendant of the daughter of Alexander II., and whose claim would have been good if his mother's legitimacy could have been proved. The plot is said to have been nearly ripe for execution, when it was incautiously disclosed to the countess of Strathern, who appears to have been personally hostile to Robert Bruce and his family, but, seized with sudden fear or remorse, she gave information to the government. One of the chiefs of the conspiracy was Bruce's nephew, sir David de Brechin, a brave and accomplished knight, who had

signalized himself against the infidels in the east, and for that and other causes was popular in Scotland. Brechin had at an earlier period been attached to the English interest; in 1312 he was appointed English warden of Dundee, and he appears to have fought at Bannockburn, under the banner of England, and to have been taken prisoner. He was subsequently taken into favour by Bruce, but appears to have entered into secret communications with king Edward; which was the case also with Soulis, who held the hereditary office of seneschal, or high butler, of Scotland. Five other knights are mentioned as being implicated in this conspiracy, sir Gilbert de Malherbe, sir John Logie, sir Eustace de Maxwell, sir Walter de Berklay, and sir Patrick de Graham, as well as three esquires, Richard Brown, Hamelinc de Troupe, and Eustace de Ratray. All these persons were arrested, and brought to trial before a parliament held at Scone in the beginning of August, 1320. Brechin, with Malherbe, Logie, and Brown, were condemned and executed for high treason. Soulis died in imprisonment in Dumbarton castle. The others were acquitted. The execution of Brechin was an unpopular act, and raised many feuds against Bruce's family; and the parliament which condemned the conspirators was long remembered popularly by the appellation of "the black parliament."

The conspiracy in England was equally unsuccessful with that in Scotland, although it proceeded farther. The earl of Lancaster, having entered into a secret agreement with Robert Bruce, by which the Scottish king was to lead his army into England to his assistance, rose in arms against king Edward, but he was entirely defeated in the battle of Pontefract, in March, 1322, and himself, with the principal nobles of his party, fell in the field or on the scaffold. Edward was thus for a moment relieved from his domestic embarrassments, and, aware of Bruce's communication with the English conspirators, he determined to employ all his force against the Scots. He immediately summoned his military vassals to assemble, but his orders were obeyed so slowly and imperfectly, that four months were wasted before the army that was to march against Scotland could be gathered together. During this time, Bruce led his army into England, and again wasted the six northern counties with fire and sword, returning into Scotland as usual with a large booty. At

length Edward's armament was completed, and an army of a hundred thousand men was assembled at Newcastle, at the head of which the king marched into Scotland in the month of August. A fleet of transports, with provisions, was ordered to proceed up the Forth; and another fleet, commanded by sir John Leybourn, was sent round to attack the western coast and the islands.

Bruce felt his inability to contend with a force like this, and he determined to follow the safe policy of retreating before it, and laying waste the country, trusting to the natural effects of want and consequent disease on the English army. The latter, in its advance to Edinburgh, found that it was marching through a desert; it met with no resistance, for the whole population of the country had been withdrawn to the north of the Forth, where king Robert established his head-quarters at Culross. Edward appears to have reckoned almost entirely for the support of his army on the provisions in his fleet, and on the supplies that might be drawn from the country through which he marched, and as the former was kept back by contrary winds, the English army arrived at Edinburgh in a state bordering on starvation, and, as the fleet was still delayed, the king was obliged to give orders for a retreat. It was now that the Scots changed their system, and began to act on the defensive. Douglas and Randolph, with troops so long and so well practised in this kind of partisan warfare, hung on the rear of the English army, cut off their foraging parties, and harassed them with perpetual attacks. As the English advanced towards Melrose, Douglas, who had occupied that place for a moment, put to the sword an advanced party of three hundred men, which so exasperated the English, that when the main army reached Melrose, they plundered and destroyed the monastery, and slew the prior and as many of the monks as remained, and, which was still more shocking to the religious feelings of the time, they sacrilegiously cast the consecrated host out of the precious vessel that contained it, and robbed even the high altar of everything that was valuable. They treated Dryburgh in a similar manner, and then hastened into Teviotdale. Here a new calamity awaited them, for the half-famished soldiers no sooner reached a country in which provisions were plentiful, than they indulged their appetites to such a degree as to bring on a fatal dysentery, and mul-

titudes were carried off by the disease. The English army is said to have lost during this expedition, by famine and sickness, not less than sixteen thousand men. At length Edward collected a part of his shattered and discouraged forces at Biland abbey, in Yorkshire, where he was joined by some fresh levies. The Scots, who had followed close upon their rear, crossed the English border, and king Robert in person undertook the siege of Norham castle. He is said to have been compelled to raise the siege by the bravery of the garrison, upon which he took a bold resolution, and marched with his whole army to attack king Edward at Biland. The history of the battle which follows is very obscure. We are not acquainted with the number of the English army, but it was probably very much reduced, and, as was usual in such cases, many of the barons had probably returned home with their followers. We can only explain the confidence with which Bruce marched to attack the English so far from the border, by his knowledge of its reduced state. Edward had just received the news of Bruce's supposed retreat from Norham, when he was surprised by the intelligence that the Scottish forces were close at hand. He had hardly time to draw up his soldiers, in a very strong position along the ridge of a steep and rugged declivity, when Bruce's army was seen marching in battle array across the plain. The English position could only be assailed by a narrow path which led to Biland abbey, and this Douglas and Randolph, with a chosen body of men, undertook to force. They were courageously opposed by a body of English, under two brave commanders, sir Thomas Ughtred and sir Ralph Cobham, and a very obstinate struggle ensued, in which the Scots were galled by a shower of stones and other missiles thrown down by the English on the heights. Bruce had now recourse to a manœuvre which had once before proved successful under similar circumstances; he sent a body of highlanders, who were accustomed to such warfare, to climb the rocks at some distance from the pass, and they thus turned the flank of the force which held the heights, and quickly drove them away, while Douglas and Randolph forced the pass. The English now fled in every direction, and Edward, forced to abandon his camp equipage, baggage, and treasury, escaped with difficulty to Bridlington, and thence to York, pursued by the steward of

Scotland with five hundred men.* In the hurry of his flight, he lost the privy seal of England, as he had done before at Bannockburn. John of Brittany, earl of Richmond, Henry de Sully, grand butler of France, with many other men of note, were taken prisoners by the Scots. It is said that Bruce had been informed that the earl of Richmond had spoken of him in scornful language, in retaliation for which he now treated him with much severity, keeping him long in rigorous confinement, and at last taking from him an enormous ransom. The French knights were treated with great courtesy, and sent home to France. The Scots ravaged the whole country to the north of the Humber, and having extorted a very large sum of money from the inhabitants of Beverley for sparing that town, they returned with their plunder to Scotland.

From his disasters in the north, Edward had to turn his attention to new treasours among his nobility. Andrew de Hartela, who had been created earl of Carlisle, and received many favours for his service in destroying the faction of the earl of Lancaster, had now taken umbrage against the royal favourite, and entered into a conspiracy against his master. The plot was discovered, and the earl of Carlisle was arrested, condemned, and executed as a traitor. He was accused of having leagued himself with Bruce, and with having organized a confederacy among the northern English barons to obtain a truce with the Scots, and maintain Bruce and his heirs in the possession of the crown, in return for which the king of Scots was to give them aid in their designs in England, the object of which was no doubt the overthrow of the Despensers. This, and other manifestations of discontent among his barons, joined with the remembrance of his numerous reverses, so far disheartened the English king, that he was again willing to listen to negotiations for peace, and a truce for thirteen years was agreed to without much difficulty. In this agreement Bruce gained his point of being virtually acknowledged as king of Scotland. Yet Edward's bad faith appeared even during the negotiations for the truce, for his envoys at Rome were instructed to excite

the pope's anger against the Scots and their leader, while at home he made military preparations, and advised Edward Baliol, the son of the late king of the Scots, to come from Normandy for the purpose of residing at the English court, which manifested a desire to encourage a faction in Scotland which disputed Bruce's right to the throne. The pope seems also to have been a little affected by Edward's reverses, and when he had heard Bruce's complaints by Randolph, who had been sent to Rome as ambassador, he so far relented as to consent to address a bull to Bruce by the title of king of Scotland. Edward incensed at this proceeding, addressed a spirited but apparently a useless remonstrance to the holy see, while Randolph returned by way of France, and there renewed the league between that kingdom and Scotland.

The history of Scotland during the next few years presents few transactions of importance, and we can do little more than say that the kingdom seemed to be advancing steadily in prosperity under the firm and generally wise government of king Robert. On the 5th of March, 1323, an event occurred which was celebrated throughout Scotland as being auspicious to the country, though in the sequel it proved otherwise. On the day just mentioned a son was born to Robert Bruce, at Dunfermline, and was baptized by the name of David. The birth of a direct male heir seems to have increased Bruce's confidence in his own stability, and to have made him less anxious about the treaty still going on for a lasting peace with England. The Scottish commissioners were now instructed to make demands, some of which were utterly inadmissible on the part of England. We are told not only that they required that England should renounce all feudal superiority for ever, and that the fatal stone of Scone should be restored, but that they demanded that the whole of the north of England, up to the gates of York, should be ceded to Scotland.

The death of the steward of Scotland, which happened no long time after the birth of David, left the child, which had previously been regarded as the heir to the throne, an orphan, and, happen what might,

* Tytler has I think been too hasty in censuring Lingard for representing the battle of Bannockburn as a surprise. The sudden and hurried march of Bruce, and the circumstances of the battle, seem to show that the expedition was an attempt to surprise

and capture the English king, and that the latter was guarded by only a small force, totally unsuspecting of the danger of an attack, a circumstance of which Bruce had probably received information from traitors in Edward's camp.

the kingdom had now the prospect of being governed after Bruce's death by a regency. Bruce, therefore, became still more anxious to strengthen his dynasty, and in 1326, by the intermediation of Randolph, who had now on several occasions exhibited his talents as a diplomatist, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive with France, was concluded at Corbeil. It was stipulated only that this treaty should not bind the king of Scots to hostilities with England until after the expiration of the truce. Soon afterwards a parliament was held at Cambuskenneth, which was rendered memorable by the circumstance that it was the first in which, as far as we know, the representatives of the cities and burghs were called to preside. All the clergy, earls, barons, with the commonalty, assembled on this occasion, took the oaths of fealty and homage to the infant David, as the next heir to the crown, and, failing him, to Robert Stuart, or the steward, Bruce's orphan grandchild.

Almost immediately after these events came that great revolution in England which snatched the crown from the head of the second Edward, to place it on that of his son. Bruce seems to have regarded the embarrassed state of England at this moment as a favourable opportunity for renewing hostilities, with the object of extorting better terms from the English government, and he easily found excuses for breaking the truce in the equivocal behaviour of the English regency, and more especially in the intrigues against Scotland, which he pretended that the deposed king had pursued at the court of Rome after the truce had been agreed to. In fact, though the English regency professed the most peaceful disposition, several of their acts were calculated to raise suspicions of their sincerity, especially their affecting to communicate with the nobles and magnates of Scotland, so as not to recognise the king. Bruce assembled a formidable army, and marched to the border, declaring his intention of resorting to hostilities, unless the English government agreed to an immediate peace, and one that should be advantageous to Scotland. The rulers of England replied to this threat by instant preparations for war. The military force of England was summoned to meet at Newcastle on the 18th of May, 1327, to be commanded by the grand marshal of England (the duke of Norfolk), with the presence of the young monarch, who was destined to be as great a

scourge to Scotland as his grandfather. Two officers of great repute, Robert Ufford and John Mowbray, were sent with reinforcements to the lord Anthony Lucy and his garrison of Carlisle. Two fleets were ordered to cruise off the eastern and western coasts of Scotland. And to give force to all these preparations, and confidence to his troops, king Edward proceeded with his court to York, where he was attended by two foreign allies, John of Hainault, and John Quatremars, each commanding a fine body of foreign cavalry.

Although Bruce himself was struck with that mortal sickness which eventually carried him away from his scene of glory, he was now evidently bent upon war, and he soon afterwards sent his herald to bid defiance to the young king of England, and announce that his army was ready to invade his kingdom with fire and sword. According to Froissart, who has related so much of the history of this period, the Scottish army consisted of fourteen thousand men, and it was commanded by the two veteran leaders Randolph and Douglas. They crossed the Tyne near Carlisle, and, sweeping through the wild districts of Cumberland, entered the principality of Durham, where they committed dreadful devastation. Mounted on hardy little hackneys, and without luggage to impede their progress, the Scottish soldiers moved forward with extraordinary rapidity. Froissart's description of them shews us how well adapted they were for the sort of warfare in which they were now engaged. They were, he says, "exceedingly hardy, through their constant wearing of arms and experience in war. When they enter England they will, in a single day and night, march four-and-twenty miles, taking with them neither bread nor wine, for such is their sobriety, that they are well content with flesh half sodden, and for their drink with the water of the brook. To them pots and pans are superfluities. They are sure to find cattle enough in the countries they invade, and they can boil or seethe them in their own skins, so that a little bag of oatmeal, trussed behind their saddle, and an iron plate, or girdle, on which they bake their crackenel, or biscuit, and which is fixed between the saddle and the crupper, is their whole purveyance for the field."

King Edward lay at York, with a fine army of sixty-two thousand men, of which eight thousand were well armed knights and

squires, fifteen thousand lighter armed cavalry, and fifteen thousand infantry, with an effective force of twenty-four thousand archers. When news arrived that the Scots had crossed the border, this formidable force was immediately put in motion on the road to Durham, but they obtained no certain tidings of the enemy till they entered Northumberland, where the smoking ruins of villages and hamlets indicated but too plainly their devastating course. The English followed them for two days and two nights, without discovering them, though they were known to be not far distant. The country was not favourable for the passage of a large army, and it was far better known to the Scots than to the English commanders.

At length, wearied with a fruitless pursuit of three days, it was determined to march to the Tyne, in the vain hope that the Scots would return by the same route as they came, and that thus they might be intercepted in their retreat. After a difficult march the army of king Edward, weary with toil, hunger, and watching, reached their appointed station. It was now nightfall, and the rain poured down in torrents, and swelled the river. Nevertheless, the soldiers were ordered to lay under arms, each man with his horse's reins in his hands, so as to be ready at a moment's notice. They endeavoured to obtain some shelter from the weather by cutting down the green branches of the trees, and making themselves lodges, while their horses, which had tasted nothing during a day and a night, fed upon the leaves. The soldiers themselves were also fasting; for, to accelerate their march, the carriages and waggons containing their wine and provisions had been left behind, each man taking a single loaf of bread strapped behind his saddle, and this had been rendered uneatable by the rain and the sweat of the horses. It was impossible to obtain either fire or light, and they were thus obliged to lay on the bare ground, under a heavy rain and amid thick darkness, not knowing where they were, or how soon they might be disturbed by the approach of the enemy. When at length day appeared, they learnt from the country people that their position was about forty-two miles from Newcastle, and thirty-three from Carlisle, but still there was no intelligence of the Scots. The English, however, encamped on the northern side of the Tyne, and waited eight days

amid torrents of rain, but no Scots made their appearance. Then, alarmed at the increasing discontent of the soldiers, the commanders of the English army determined to repass the Tyne, and march again in search of the enemy. It was at the same time proclaimed that the king would reward with knighthood and a grant of land, any soldier who would discover his enemies, and sixteen knights and squires immediately rode off in different directions in search of the required intelligence. One of them, Thomas de Rokeby, was almost immediately taken prisoner by an advanced guard of the Scottish army, and he was carried before Randolph and Douglas. The two Scottish leaders, confident in the strength of their position, had no sooner heard of the object for which Rokeby had been sent out, than, assuring him that they were as desirous of seeing king Edward and his nobles as he could be of seeing them, they set their prisoner at liberty, in order that he might guide the English to their encampment.

The English army was at this time at Blanchland, on the river Derwent. Here Rokeby found the young king, and communicated his intelligence, and the army was immediately drawn out, and, marching in order of battle through Weardale, came about mid-day in sight of their enemies, who were encamped very strongly on the slope of a hill which had the rapid river Wear at its foot. The flanks of their position were defended by rocks, which it was impossible to turn, and which overhung the river so as to command its passage, whilst the stream itself, full of great stones, and swollen by the rains, presented an almost insurmountable barrier. The English commanders saw at once that it would be an act of rash temerity to attack the Scottish camp, but they sent heralds to challenge Randolph and Douglas to march out and fight them in the plain. This proposal was refused; the Scottish chiefs returned for answer that they were in the kingdom of the English, and had burnt and wasted the country, as was sufficiently well known, and that if the king and his barons were displeased with it, it was their business to come and drive them away, as they intended to remain encamped there as long as they pleased.

On their arrival before the Scottish position, the English army had been drawn up in battle array, and it continued in this manner three days, marching and manœuv-

ring, in the hope of irritating the Scots, and provoking them to descend from their stronghold. The position of the English soldiers was an unusually trying one; with the enemy's camp in view, where they could see and hear them feasting and making merry, they were obliged themselves to sleep at night on the bare rocky ground, ill supplied with provisions themselves, and without litter or forage for their horses. Yet, believing that the Scots were also short of provisions, and likely to be entirely without them, they determined to stay and hold them in siege. On the third night the English saw the blaze of the Scottish fires, and heard the noise of their soldiery, as usual, but when day broke their view fell on nothing but a bare hill-side, and they learnt that their enemies, who were well acquainted with this wild country, had decamped during the night, and fallen back on another and a stronger position.

They had now encamped on a hill in a wood called Stanhope Park, sloping, like their first camp, to the banks of the Wear, and hither the English immediately followed them, and fixed their camp on a hill in front, with the river between the two armies. The Scottish position resembled in many respects that which they held before, with the advantage that, being covered with wood, their movements and designs were entirely concealed from the English. The Scottish chiefs were thus enabled to plan a daring attack, which had nearly made the young king of England a captive. Douglas, having discovered a ford at a considerable distance from both encampments, took with him a chosen body of five hundred horse, and passed the river at midnight. The knowledge of the country, which the Scots had gained by their frequent plundering expeditions, enabled them by a circuitous route to gain the rear of the English camp. It appears that wearied with their continual watchings and privations, the English army had relaxed somewhat in its discipline, a circumstance of which, as well as of the position of the royal tent, Douglas was probably well informed by spies and deserters. He deceived the outposts by assuming the tone and manner of an English officer going the rounds, and pretended to reprove them for their negligent conduct, calling out in a tone of authority, "Ha! St. George! no watch?" He thus passed the barriers, and then separating his men into two parties, he sent one to make an attack

in another quarter, while he himself with the other division rushed furiously forward, slaying all who resisted. Three hundred of the English were killed in a very short time, and Douglas and his men, having reached the royal tent, began to cut the tent-ropes. Here, however, he met with a much more vigorous resistance than he expected from the royal household. The king's chaplain, and several other of the attendants on his person fell bravely defending their master, and the time thus gained enabled Edward to escape and rouse his whole army. The Douglas now in his turn found himself in the utmost danger, and sounding his horn to collect his followers, he set spurs to his horse and dashed furiously through the midst of his enemies. By great exertions the Scots made their way out of the camp, with no great loss, but mortified at the failure of their project. When Douglas reached the Scottish camp, he was met by Randolph, who asked him how he had sped. He replied that they had drawn blood, and that was all.

The Scots now began to suffer from want of provisions. Their position was well chosen for withstanding an attack, but it was more difficult to retreat from than that which they held before. Behind it was a large morass, which was then quite impassable for cavalry, so that they could not leave their camp without exposing themselves to an attack from the English army, under circumstances of great disadvantage. A consultation was held, in which Douglas and Randolph differed in opinion, the latter recommending the risk of a battle, while Douglas pointed out the extreme disparity of forces, and urged a retreat. This opinion in the end prevailed, but as it would have been madness to attempt this by day, it was determined again to deceive the enemy by a night retreat. As the bog alone afforded them a means of escape, they made a number of hurdles of boughs of trees wattled tightly. They then packed up their more valuable booty in the most portable form, and distributed it among those who were to have charge of it. When night set in they lighted the camp fires, set up a great noise of horns and shouting, with all the usual accompaniments which the English were accustomed to hear every evening. At midnight they marched off in silence, leaving their fires burning, and when they came to the marshes they dismounted, and, throwing the hurdles over the softer places,

crossed them in safety. They drew the hurdles over after them, that they might not assist their enemies in the pursuit.

No pursuit, however, took place, which, under circumstances, was fortunate for the Scots. It appears that in a skirmish the day before, the English had taken prisoner a Scottish knight, from whom the king received information that the Scottish soldiers had all received orders to be ready to follow the banner of the Douglas at night. The English were thus led to anticipate another attack by night, and they were drawn up in order of battle, and lay all night under arms. Some time before day-break some of the English patrols captured two Scottish trumpeters, and these gave information that the enemy had left their camp, and had by that time proceeded about five miles in their retreat. Had the English pursued they might still have overtaken the Scots, but, warned by the successful attack on their camp by Douglas, they were afraid of some new stratagem of the wily Scot, and remained under their arms till daylight. They then sent scouts across the river, who ascertained that the Scottish camp was indeed abandoned. The English are said to have found in it five hundred slaughtered cattle, and more than three hundred vessels made of skins of cattle with the hair on, which were suspended on stakes, and were full of meat and water ready for boiling. There were also found about a thousand spit-racks, with meat on them, and about ten thousand pairs of old shoes, made of raw hides with the hair outside, called by the Scots *brogues*. There were five poor Englishmen tied naked to trees, three of whom had had their legs wantonly broken. These were the only living beings left in the camp. The young king Edward is said to have shed tears of mortification when he saw that his enemies had thus escaped him. His army was in a state of exhaustion, and almost of disorganization, and before it had reached York on its return from this ill-fated expedition, the greater part of the horses were dead.

Thus ended young Edward's first campaign against the Scots. Although they sent forth boasting proclamations to the people, the party which at this moment ruled England were perfectly aware that they had been outmanœuvred, and that the result had been disastrous, and they were now eager to obtain a peace. While the English government were inspired with

these sentiments, and embarrassed by the exhausted state of the treasury, and the growing hatred between Mortimer and the principal nobility, they were suddenly alarmed with the intelligence that Bruce himself had invaded the borders with a formidable army. The king of Scotland had called together every man in his kingdom capable of bearing arms, and, crossing the eastern borders, he had sat down with one division of his forces to lay siege to Norham, while another division, under Douglas and Randolph, laid siege to Alnwick, and a third was sent to plunder Northumberland. Their hostilities were soon stopped by the arrival in Bruce's camp of commissioners from England, who brought proposals for peace, which was to be cemented by the marriage of Bruce's infant son, David, with the princess Joane, a sister of king Edward. A truce was soon concluded, to last from the 23rd of November, 1327, to the 22nd of March, 1328; and a parliament was summoned in England to give its authority to certain preliminaries which were beyond the power of the commissioners to agree to. This parliament met at York on the 1st of March, 1328, and the grand point of dispute was then conceded, that Robert Bruce should be acknowledged as king of Scotland, and that Scotland itself should be recognised as a free and independent kingdom for ever. The instrument of renunciation was worded as follows:—"Whereas we, and others of our predecessors, kings of England, have endeavoured to obtain a right of dominion and superiority over the kingdom of Scotland, and have thereby been the cause of long and grievous wars between the two kingdoms; we, therefore, considering the numerous slaughters, sins, and bloodshed, the destruction of churches, and other evils brought upon the inhabitants of both kingdoms by such wars, and the many advantages which would accrue to the subjects of both realms, if, by the establishment of a firm and perpetual peace, they were secured against all rebellious designs, have, by the assent of the prelates, barons, and commons of our kingdom, in parliament assembled, granted, and hereby do grant, for us, and our heirs and successors, whatsoever, that the kingdom of Scotland shall remain for ever to the magnificent prince and lord Robert, by the grace of God, the illustrious king of Scots, our ally and dear friend, and to his heirs and successors, free,

entire, and unmolested, separated from the kingdom of England by its respective marches, as in the time of Alexander king of Scotland, of good memory, of late deceased, without any subjection, servitude, claim, or demand whatsoever. And we hereby renounce and convey to the said king of Scotland, his heirs and successors, whatever right we, or our ancestors in times past, have laid claim to in any way over the kingdom of Scotland. And by these same presents we renounce and declare void, for ourselves and our heirs and successors, all obligations, agreements, or treaties whatsoever, touching the subjection of the kingdom of Scotland, and the inhabitants thereof, entered into between our predecessors and any of the kings thereof, or their subjects, whether clergy or laity. And if there shall anywhere be found any letters, charters, muniments, or public instruments, which shall have been framed touching the said obligations, agreements, or compacts, we declare that they shall be null and void, and of no effect whatsoever. And, in order to the fulfilment of these premises, and to the faithful observation thereof, in all time coming, we have given full power and special authority to our faithful and well-beloved cousin, Henry de Percy, and to William le Zouche of Ashby, to take oath upon our soul, for the performance of the same. In testimony whereof we have given this our letter patent, at York, on the 1st of March, in the second year of our reign, by the king himself and his council in parliament."

After a full renunciation of sovereignty like this, the object of all Bruce's efforts for so many years, the terms of a peace were soon arranged. This peace was concluded at Edinburgh on the 17th of March, 1328, and it was confirmed on the part of England in a parliament held at Northampton on the 4th of May following. It was to be cemented by a marriage between prince David of Scotland, then five years old, and the princess Joane of England, who was two years his senior. The two kings engaged to assist each other against all enemies, always saving to the king of Scots his ancient alliance with the king of France; and

each engaged not to give any aid to the rebel subjects of the other. All writings and documents relating to the attempt to establish a feudal superiority over Scotland were to be sought up and sent to the king of Scots, and the English king was to assist Bruce in obtaining at the court of Rome a recall of the sentence of excommunication. On the part of the king of Scotland it was covenanted that certain English barons who had been deprived of their lands in Scotland should be restored; and, in further consideration of this advantageous treaty, Bruce was to pay to the English government twenty thousand pounds sterling within three years, at three separate terms. It was further stipulated, in a separate instrument, that the fatal stone of Scone, which had been carried away from Scotland by Edward I., should be sent back.

In England this treaty of Northampton was not only unpopular in itself, but it was one of the acts of an unpopular government. When, in the following year, Edward snatched the power out of the hands of his mother, and Roger de Mortimer was brought to the scaffold, one of the great crimes laid to his charge was that, at Stanhope-park, he had hindered the king from attacking the Scots, for which, it was alleged, he had received a bribe of twenty thousand pounds, and that he and the queen had sacrificed the dignity and honour of England by concluding a disgraceful peace with the Scots, and by bringing about a degrading marriage for the king's sister.* The populace of London rose tumultuously when they heard of the terms of the treaty, and proceeding in a riotous manner to Westminster, declared their intention of hindering the stone, one of the glorious trophies of the first Edward, from being carried away; and the young king himself subsequently disavowed it as an act which had been forced upon him by the baneful influence of Mortimer.

The peace was as necessary to the repose of Scotland as it was to England. Bruce had made an effort to reappear in the field in the invasion of the English border which had brought on the peace, but it was his last. His disease, a species of leprosy, said

* *Secunda causa imposita fuit, quod impeditur honorem regis et regni apud Stannop Park, ubi Scoti fugerunt, qui capi et interfici facilliter potuissent, si ipse, qui fuit major de consilio regis, Anglicum cum Scotis tunc congredi fecisset. Item, quod ipse receptis xx. mille libr. a Scotis illos tunc per-*

misit evadere; et turpem pacem postmodum inter Scotos et regem juvenem fieri procuravit, et super hoc chartam regis eisdem fecit fieri, et etiam illud vile matrimonium contractum inter sororem regis Angliæ et David filium Roberti de Brus fieri consuli et procuravit.—Walsingham, p. 131.

to have been the consequence of the hardy and exposed life which had been entailed on him by his devotion to his country, was now gaining on him fast, and he retired to pass the short remains of his life in his favourite palace at Cardross, on the eastern shore of the Clyde. There he lived hospitably with his nobles, and charitably with the poor, amusing himself with shipbuilding, architecture, and gardening, and indulging, when his health permitted, in the recreation of hawking. It is said that he kept also for his amusement a lion, and a fool named Patrick.

Bruce's last days were dedicated to the internal settlement of his kingdom. He had lived long enough to complete its emancipation from foreign influence. During the negotiations for the peace, he had lost his second wife, the mother of David, and all his cares of family were now centred in his son and his grandson. The former was now sent forward to Berwick, to meet the bride who had been destined for him by the treaty of peace with England. The princess Joane arrived there, accompanied by her mother (the queen dowager), with Roger de Mortimer and the lord chancellor (the bishop of Lincoln), and attended by a splendid retinue. The marriage was celebrated at Berwick with great magnificence and rejoicing, in the presence of Randolph and Douglas, whom king Robert, unable from his state of health to attend in person, had sent as his representatives. The English brought with them the roll containing the names of all those Scots who had paid homage to king Edward I., called popularly, from the great number of seals attached to it, the *ragman roll*,* which, in accordance with the terms of the treaty of Northampton, they delivered up to the representatives of the Scottish king. Bruce went as far as Edinburgh to receive and welcome his infant daughter-in-law, but the effort was too much for him, and he was obliged to return immediately after the interview to his more quiet retreat at Cardross. There he called around him his principal courtiers,

* It appears that *ragman* was a sort of popular game. A number of sentences were written on a roll of parchment, implying good or bad character or fortune to the individual who hit upon any particular sentence. Strings were attached to the edge of the roll opposite each sentence, with a knot or ball at the end. The parchment was then rolled up, and the strings and knots hung in confusion at one end. Each person engaged in the game chose a knot, which indicated, when the roll was opened, the sentence to the application of which the person who had

and entreated them on their fealty to keep the kingdom faithfully for David his son; and made them promise that when David came of age they would place the crown on his head and obey him. He then called for his old and tried friend Douglas, who came forward from among his attendants. Upon which the king told his courtiers how it had always been his intention to end his days at Jerusalem, fighting for the holy sepulchre, but, having been hindered from fulfilling his vow of going in person by the pressing necessities, he expressed the wish that his heart should be taken out after his death, and sent to the holy land, as the only manner in which he could now fulfil his intentions. Then, turning to Douglas, he continued, "Since, my dear friend sir James, I know no knight in all my realm more hardy than yourself, or more thoroughly possessed of all the knightly qualities required for the accomplishment of the vow, I entreat you that, in place of myself, for the love you bear to me, you will undertake this voyage, and acquit my soul of its debt to my Saviour; for I hold this opinion of your truth and nobleness, that I am persuaded whatever you undertake will be accomplished successfully. If you promise me to perform this, I shall die in peace. I wish that, as soon as I am dead, you cause the heart to be taken out of my body, and to be embalmed, and that you take as much of my treasure as seems to you sufficient for the expenses of your journey for yourself and your companions. And it is my will that you carry my heart along with you, and that, since this poor body cannot go thither, you deposit that part of it in the holy sepulchre of our Lord. And it is my further command, that in your journey you use that royal state and maintenance, both yourself and your companions, that into whatever lands and cities you come, all may know that you have in charge to bear beyond seas the heart of king Robert of Scotland." "At these words," says the historian Froissart, from whom these details are taken, "all who stood by began to chanced upon it was to submit. The roll was called a *ragman roll*. The name appears to have been given to the record mentioned in the text, because the great number of seals of Scotchmen signing it, hanging to the end when it was rolled up, gave it the appearance of a *ragman roll*. See, on this curious subject, the *Anecdota Literaria*, edited by Thomas Wright (J. Russel Smith, publisher, London), a volume in which several of the playful *ragman rolls* are printed. I believe that the Scottish *ragman roll*, or some part of it, is preserved.

weep; and when sir James himself was able to reply, he said, 'Ah! most gentle and noble king, I thank you a thousand times for the great honour you have done me in making me the depository and bearer of so great and precious a treasure. I will obey your commands faithfully and willingly, to the best of my power, albeit I would have you believe that I think myself far unworthy to be entrusted with so high an enterprise.' 'Ah! gentle knight,' said the king, 'I heartily thank you, if you promise to do my bidding on the word of a true and loyal knight.' 'That, my liege, I promise assuredly,' Douglas replied, 'by the faith which I owe to God, and to the order of knighthood.' 'Now praised be God,' said the king, 'for I shall die in peace, since I am assured that the best and most valiant knight of my kingdom has promised to achieve for me that which I myself could never accomplish.' And not long after, this noble king departed this life." Robert Bruce died at Cardross, on the 7th of June, 1329, at the age of fifty-five.

Thus ended the career of probably the greatest prince who ever occupied the Scottish throne. The remarkable vicissitudes in his life have often been remarked by historians. Fickle and headstrong in his youth, with the same restless and impatient character as his brothers, ready to take up the sword for his country, or against it, as he was moved by his interests or his passions, he seems to have been calmed down by the sufferings and privations of the middle portion of his career, into the exemplary wisdom and moderation which formed the glory of his after life. In his person, we are told that this great prince was tall and well shaped, with the broad shoulders and open chest which indicated great strength combined with great activity. He had curly hair, a low forehead, with strong and prominent cheekbones, but with a cheerful and open expression of countenance, which bespoke the kindness and generosity that marked his behaviour on every occasion. His great military talents, and the unflinching perseverance with which he carried out his plans, have been admitted by all. He had been, in his childhood, a great reader of,

or listener to, the romances of chivalry, and from them he had imbibed an extraordinary love of personal adventure and enterprise. His first wife, Isabella, the mother of his daughter Marjory, was the daughter of Donald, tenth earl of Mar. His second wife was Elizabeth, the daughter of Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster. By her, besides a son David, who succeeded on the throne, he had two daughters, Elizabeth and Margaret. He left also illegitimate children, some of whom figure in the subsequent history.

Bruce is said, in his last moments, to have bequeathed to his barons the experience of his whole life, in a series of brief directions as to the proper manner of carrying on war against England. Perhaps this story is apocryphal, but a few directions of this kind, reduced, for the sake of remembrance, into Latin leonine verses, appeared after his death, and were long popular under the title of "Good king Robert's testament." They enjoined that the Scots should always fight on foot; that they should take the mountains, bogs, and woods, for their fortresses; that their arms should be the bow, the spear, and the battle-axe; and that when invaded, they should drive their herds for safety into the mountain fastnesses, while they wasted the country before the enemy. By proceeding thus, he said, they would overcome their enemies more securely than by victory in the field.*

Immediately after Bruce's death, his heart, according to his own directions, was taken from his body. The latter was buried with great solemnity under the pavement of the choir in the abbey-church of Dunfermline, and over it was raised a marble monument richly sculptured by the best workmen in Paris. The heart was delivered to Douglas, who placed it in a rich casket, and, when the season permitted, set sail for Flanders and anchored off Sluys, where he remained twelve days on board his ship, waiting to find companions with whom he might continue his journey to Jerusalem. Froissart, who takes a delight in recounting the circumstances of this chivalrous expedition, describes the state with which he received his visitors

* The leonine verses alluded to in the text are as follows: they at least describe the kind of warfare in which Bruce was so uniformly successful:—
Scotica sit guerra pedites, mons, mossica terra;
Silva pro muris sint, arcus et hasta, securis.

Per loca stricta greges munientur; plana per ignes
Sic inflammantur, ut ab hostibus evacuentur.
Insidiæ vigiles sint, noctu vociferantes.
Sic male turbati redient velut ense fugati
Hostes pro certo; sic rege docente Roberto.

on board. We are told that he was accompanied by seven noble Scottish knights, and that he was served at table by twenty-eight esquires of the first families in the country. He kept his court with the sound of trumpets and eymbals; and the vessels of his table were of gold and silver, which seems to have been looked upon as an unusual degree of magnificence for anything beneath royalty. Before leaving Sluys, Douglas heard that Alonzo, king of Leon and Castile, was at war with the Moorish governor of Grenada. His love of adventurous enterprise took fire instantly, and believing that he could not better carry out the desires of his dying friend and master, than by fighting against the infidels, in whatever country he might meet with them, he hastened to Spain to lend his arm in support of the christian cause. His first battle occurred at Theba, on the borders of Andalusia, where the Moors were defeated, and their camp taken. But Douglas and his companions from Scotland engaging too eagerly in the pur-

suit, were suddenly surrounded by the Moorish cavalry. Douglas was cutting his way through the enemy, when he saw one of his friends, sir William Sinclair of Roslin, in danger, and turning to rescue him, he became himself so entangled among the overwhelming numbers of his enemies, that it was impossible for him to escape. In this jeopardy, he took the casket containing Bruce's heart from his neck, and threw it before him, crying out, "Now pass onward as thou wert wont, and Douglas will follow thee or die;" and almost at the same moment he was cut down by his assailants. Three of his knights and many of his companions perished with him. The body and the casket were found next day by his surviving friends, on the field of battle, and carried home to Scotland. Bruce's heart, thus turned back sorrowfully from its original destination, was deposited in the church of Melrose; and the good sir James, as he was popularly called, was buried with his ancestors in the parish church of Douglas.*

CHAPTER VIII.

RANDOLPH REGENT; EDWARD BALIOL; BATTLE OF DUPLIN; BATTLE OF HALIDON HILL.

IN conformity with the act regulating the succession, Randolph now assumed the regency of Scotland, and he showed soon that he possessed all the abilities necessary to wield the sceptre which had been gained by Bruce. He had great difficulties to contend with at home and abroad. The severities of Bruce's *black parliament*, as it was called, had raised a number of enemies to Bruce's dynasty, who were ready at any time to join against the present government; and the bitter feud of the powerful and extensive family of Comyn, which arose out of the murder at Dumfries, was not abated. On the other hand, king Edward of England, who had now reached an age to act for himself, and began to show those great

qualities for which he was afterwards famous, while professing to regard the treaty of Northampton as a sacred obligation, looked upon it really as degrading to his country, and was already preparing his plans of aggression.

The first serious danger for Scotland arose from the treaty of Northampton itself. Bruce had been backward in fulfilling that article of the treaty which required the restoration of their Scottish estates to the English barons. Henry Percy had, indeed, been restored, but in regard to the two others, Thomas lord Wake, who claimed the lordship of Liddel, on the western border, and Henry de Beaumont, a powerful English baron, who claimed the lands and earl-

* A few years ago, in clearing the foundations of the church of Dunfermline for some repairs, the tomb of Robert the Bruce was unexpectedly discovered and opened. The body was inclosed in lead, which was twisted round the head into the rude shape of a crown. A rich cloth of gold had been thrown round

the body, but it was almost entirely decayed. It was found, on examining the skeleton, that the breast bone had been sawn asunder to get out the heart. The full report of this interesting discovery will be found in the second volume of the Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Edinburgh.

dom of Buchan, the regent was unwilling to give them possession of power which they might use to the injury of Scotland. They had both opposed the treaty of Northampton, and he knew that they were both intriguing to place young Edward Baliol on the Scottish throne. Baliol was now residing in England, and Randolph, aware of the intrigues of his party, took care to strengthen the borders, and having repaired the fortifications of Berwick, he employed the Flemish engineer Crab, to look to its defence, and keep watch upon the English.

Beaumont soon became the leader of the confederacy for the restoration of the family of Baliol, and his influence drew into it all the disinherited barons. Nor did it want extensive support in Scotland. Edward Baliol's mother was the sister-in-law of the murdered Comyn, so that all that house, with those who had been offended with the proceedings in the black parliament, were ready to espouse his cause. Baliol and the English barons raised three hundred horse and a small body of infantry, and they are understood to have asked king Edward's permission to enter Scotland from the English border. This, however, he refused, and he issued a proclamation enjoining his subjects to observe faithfully the articles of the treaty of Northampton. But at the same time he threw no impediment in the way of their embarking at the small port of Ravenshirc, near the mouth of the Humber, from whence they directed their course to the Scottish coast.

At this moment Scotland sustained the greatest misfortune which under the present circumstances could have occurred. To meet the projected invasion, the regent Randolph had made more extensive preparations for defence than the character of the attack seemed to require, but he was well aware of the danger, unless the attempt was crushed in its commencement. When he heard that the expedition was on its way, he hastened to place himself at the head of his army, when he died suddenly. The old Scottish historians have handed down to us the popular belief that the regent was poisoned, and, although such reports were too common in such cases in the middle ages to deserve much credit in themselves, yet the same writers assure us that the poison was administered at a feast, by a friar employed by Beaumont's faction, and that the friar fled to England as soon as he had

effected his purpose. In Randolph Scotland lost the only man capable at this juncture of keeping together the jarring elements of the state. The old Scottish nobles, who had been kept in due subjection to the crown by Bruce's great power, were already showing the desire to emancipate themselves, and it was evident that the bitter factions which had been so fatal to Scotland before, were ready to show themselves again. As soon as Randolph's death was known, a parliament was called at Perth, which was marked by violent divisions among the nobility, and it was not till after much contention that the office of regent was conferred on Bruce's nephew, the earl of Mar, a man of feeble talents, qualified neither for the field nor the cabinet. On the very day of his election, and but twelve after the death of his predecessor, news arrived that the disinherited barons had sailed up the Forth, and landed with their army at Water-Kinghorn. These daring adventurers might easily have been crushed at the outset by a well-conducted attack; instead of which a small party, under Alexander Seton, was allowed to attack them at disadvantage and be destroyed, while the new regent, with a well-ordained army more than ten times as numerous as the invaders, waited at a distance to watch their movements. In fact, Baliol had landed with a force of only from five to six hundred men; but after his success against Seton, many of the discontented Scots came to his standard, and by the time he reached Dunfermline, where he found a large supply of arms and provisions, his force amounted to not less than two thousand foot soldiers, besides his cavalry. He then pushed on to Perth, and encamped near Forteviot, in a strong position, with his front defended by the river Earn. His force now amounted altogether to about three thousand men. The army of the earl of Mar, consisting of thirty thousand men, were drawn up in his front on the extensive tract called Dupplin moor, whilst the earl of March, with another army nearly as numerous, lay at Auchterarder, about eight miles to the west, ready to take the invaders in flank.

The confidence of the English leaders is said to have been supported by the knowledge that they had friends in the hostile camp. Some of the old historians say that Mar himself had entered into a secret correspondence with Baliol, but this is rendered

totally improbable by what followed. The regent, however, was remiss in his discipline, and the men who under Bruce had been so orderly, were allowed to abandon themselves to riot and intemperance. The consequence was that when the English, treacherously guided across a ford of the river at midnight by a Scottish baron from the earl of March's army, Andrew Murray of Tallibardine, and making a silent march, came suddenly upon their outposts, the Scottish soldiers were at first helpless from drunkenness, and many were slain before the advance of the invaders was checked by young Randolph, earl of Moray, the earl of Menteith, Robert Bruce, a natural son of the late king, and Alexander Fraser, with a body of three hundred men collected on a sudden. The desperate bravery of these men drove back the English soldiers and kept them at bay, until daylight appeared and discovered the whole Scottish army in arms. But they had been drawn up in a hurried and disorderly manner, and were rashly and inconsiderately led down the hill by their commander; instead of destroying the English, they crushed and overwhelmed Randolph and his brave companions, and then became so crowded and huddled together, all arms mixed in one inextricable confusion, that they could neither act efficiently, nor retire, and multitudes were trodden down and suffocated by their own men. The English, who had preserved their discipline, seeing this confusion, fell upon their enemies and made terrible havoc, and by nine o'clock in the morning the whole Scottish army was slain, captured, or dispersed, with a very trifling loss on the part of the assailants. Contemporary historians tell us that after the battle the bodies of the dead lay in some parts of the field so thick that the mass was a spear's length in depth, and that multitudes were found lifeless, without the trace of a wound. Some of the best and bravest of the Scottish nobility perished on this ill-fated day, including Randolph, earl of Moray, Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick (Bruce's natural son), Alexander Fraser, the regent Mar himself, the high chamberlain of Scotland (the late king's brother-in-law), and the earl of Menteith; and the whole number of the Scots who fell in the field is supposed to have been not less than thirteen thousand. The English lost only two knights and thirty-three esquires, with a few of the common soldiers.

The English were as much astonished at the victory they had gained, as the Scots

were thrown into consternation, and they looked upon it as something miraculous. From the field of battle, Baliol marched on to Perth, of which he took immediate possession, and fortifying the town with palisades, determined there to watch the movement of the army under the earl of March. It is certain that many of the chiefs in this army had entered into correspondence with the English, and it has been surmised and even asserted that the earl himself was among the number. His conduct indeed showed no great haste to attack the enemies of his country. On hearing of the result of the battle, he marched over the field with his army, which was not far short of thirty thousand men, and, well assured of the disaster which had fallen Mar's army, he proceeded towards Perth, which he declared it was his intention to attack. On the way he ordered his soldiers to cut branches and make faggots, to be used in filling up the foss when they attacked the town; but when he reached the high ground overlooking the town, he ordered his men to halt. Henry de Beaumont was watching his proceedings, and, when he observed some of his own men alarmed, he exclaimed with an air of confidence, "Fear not, for, as I take it, that army will not hurt us; I perceive without doubt our friends and well-wishers amongst them." He had probably seen enough to convince him of Mar's friendly intentions. That commander now, capriciously (in appearance) changed his plan of an assault for a blockade, and encamped quietly till another occurrence gave him an excuse for showing more openly his sympathy for the invaders. When Beaumont and Baliol advanced, they had given orders to their fleet to proceed to the mouth of the Tay, to be ready to co-operate with the land force. Hither they were followed by the Fleming, John Crab, with the Scottish fleet, who attacked them, and captured Beaumont's own ship, called the Beaumontscoogge, but the other English ships fought with so much resolution, that in the end, Crab was entirely defeated, and he was glad to make his escape to Berwick. When March heard of Crab's defeat, he immediately broke up his army from before Perth, and raised the siege; and soon after, when his army was dispersed, he announced his accession to the English interest.

Thus the whole fabric which it had taken Robert Bruce so long to erect, with so much arduous labour, was overthrown in a

moment. David, now in his ninth year, had been crowned at Seone with the usual ceremonies, soon after his father's death. The friends of his family, anxious for his safety, under the circumstances which had occurred so unexpectedly, sent him and his young queen in haste to France, where they were received with the utmost favour at the court of Philip VI. Baliol, without further opposition, marched to Seone, and was there crowned king of Scotland. The earl of Fife, who had been taken prisoner at Dupplin moor, and had subsequently joined the English party, placed the new king on the throne, and Sinclair, bishop of Dunkeld, performed the ceremony of coronation. The coronation took place on the 24th of September, 1332.

Edward Baliol's triumph, which was one of intense degradation for Scotland, was not of long duration. The new king caused Perth, which he looked upon as his head-quarters, to be fortified, and then, having given that town to the keeping of the earl of Fife, he made a progress to the south, while king Edward, who now laid aside the mask which concealed his real sentiments, marched to the Scottish border. Baliol had not been gone long from Perth, when the town was attacked and taken by sir Simon Fraser and sir Robert Keith, and the party of Bruce then took courage and chose another brother-in-law of the late king, sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, regent. This proceeding only hastened the conclusion of Edward's league with Baliol. These two kings met at Roxburgh, where the latter renewed formally the surrender of the independence of Scotland more fully even than it had been made by his father. He acknowledged Edward as his feudal lord, and promised truth and loyalty to the king of England and his heirs, as the rightful sovereigns of the kingdom of Scotland. He agreed to put Edward in possession of Berwick, and of other lands on the marches to the value of two thousand pounds. He pretended to consider the princess Joane as only betrothed to David Bruce, and he offered to marry her himself. But the most important article of the treaty between Baliol and Edward was, the promise on the part of Scotland to assist the king of England, in all his wars, with two hundred men-at-arms, and an engagement that Baliol's successors on the throne of Scotland should, in the same manner, furnish one hundred men-at-arms. If these men

were not sent according to the agreement, the Scottish king was to forfeit the then enormous sum of two hundred thousand pounds, and, in case of non-payment, Edward was authorized to take possession of the kingdom.

Baliol soon found himself reduced to a condition in which it was no longer in his power to carry this agreement into effect. After he had thus completed, in word, the surrender of the liberties of his new kingdom, which he showed greater incapacity to govern even than his father, he lay carelessly encamped at Annan. His elevation to the crown had been in reality little more than a temporary triumph of the faction of Comyn over that of Bruce, and the latter, which enjoyed the sympathies of the people, were preparing for a struggle to recover their position. On the night of the 16th of September, the earl of Moray (the second son of the regent, Randolph,) sir Simon Fraser, and Archibald Douglas, having collected a strong body of horse, marched secretly and rapidly from Moffat, and broke into Baliol's camp at midnight, slaying everybody they met. Taken entirely by surprise, Baliol's followers made no great resistance; his brother Henry, with Walter Comyn, sir John de Mowbray, and others, were slain; and Edward Baliol, aroused from his sleep by the noise, seized a horse and escaped with difficulty, and almost naked, to England. Among those who were captured on this occasion, was Alexander Bruce, earl of Carrick, a natural son of Edward Bruce, the brother of the late king, who appears to have been one of the first to go over to the English interest. He would have been executed as a traitor, but for the compassionate interference of the earl of Moray.

The surprise and flight of Annan was followed by a renewal of the old border hostilities. Baliol had fled to lord Dacres of Gillsland, who received him with the utmost hospitality, and with whom he passed his Christmas. In revenge, Archibald Douglas, the brother of Bruce's sir James, invaded Gillsland with an army of three thousand men, and mercilessly plundered and ravaged the country. In retaliation, sir Anthony Lucy of Cockermouth, and William of Lochmaben, entered Scotland with eight hundred men, and William Douglas, commonly known as the knight of Liddesdale, a natural son of "the good sir James," in an attempt to intercept

them, at Loehmaben castle, of which he was keeper, was defeated with very serious loss, and himself taken prisoner. Baliol had entered Scotland again, and established himself at Roxburgh castle, where he bestowed the land of the knights slain in the battle between Douglas and Lucy on his English followers. It appears to have been the anxious aim of the Bruce party, at this time, to obtain possession of the person of Baliol; he had narrowly escaped at Annan, and now, soon after the affair at Loehmaben, the regent, sir Andrew Moray, came suddenly before Roxburgh castle with a strong force, and attempted to take it by storm. Not only was the attempt unsuccessful, but Moray himself, rashly pushing forward to rescue one of his esquires, was overpowered by the English and taken prisoner. Thus were two of the ablest soldiers in Scotland, a Bruce and a Douglas, lost for a while to the national cause. Both of them were, by king Edward's orders, closely confined, the knight of Liddesdale, in fetters. The Scots endeavoured to supply the loss of Moray, by electing Archibald Douglas, lord of Galloway, for their regent.

King Edward determined now to proceed against the Scots with vigour, and, assembling a powerful army, he marched to the north, and encamped before Berwick. The Scottish commander of Berwick castle was the earl of March; while the town was entrusted to a Scot of more certain patriotism, sir Alexander Seton. The governor made a brave defence, and, with the help of Crab, the Fleming, who had still a fleet of ships of war under his command, they burnt or sunk a good part of the English fleet employed to attack the town from the sea. Edward was himself repulsed in an attempt to carry the town by assault, and he determined to turn the siege into a blockade. The garrison, at length reduced to a condition of distress, entered into negotiations, by which it was agreed that on a certain day, if succours were not thrown into the town before, it should be delivered up to the English. They gave hostages for the performance of these conditions, of whom the son of the governor, sir Alexander Seton; was one. The regent, informed of their condition, exerted himself to raise a powerful army, with which he appeared before Berwick just before the appointed time, and succeeded in throwing in a body of men under sir William Keith and other experienced commanders, in spite

of the opposition of the English. The latter, safe in the strength of their position round the town, refused to quit it; and the regent, who was himself unwilling to risk a battle by attacking the English camp, determined to imitate a manœuvre which had proved successful under Bruce, and marched his army into Northumberland, in the hope of thus drawing Edward away from the siege. But although the Scots wasted the English territory, and even threatened Bamborough castle, which Edward's queen had made her residence during his operations in the north, the English king remained unmoved before Berwick. The moment the day arrived which had been fixed on for the delivery of Berwick, he made a peremptory demand that the garrison should perform their promise. But they demurred, on the ground that their regent had, according to the terms of the agreement, succoured the town before the appointed day, and sir William Keith, who had now been elected governor, set the English at defiance, and declared his intention of defending the town to the last. Edward, in anger, accused the citizens of treachery, and called together his council to determine what should be done with the hostages. They gave it as their opinion that, as the townsmen had broken their agreement, the lives of the hostages were forfeited. They were accordingly warned to prepare for death, and young Seton is said to have been hanged in front of one of the gates of the town, so near, that the whole proceeding could be seen distinctly by his father. This act of severity had its intended effect on the citizens, who, alarmed for the safety of their children who were in Edward's hands, and assured by Keith that the Scottish army was much superior to the English in numbers, and that their regent would undoubtedly come and raise the siege, entered into negotiations again, and a solemn instrument was now drawn up, by which it was agreed that if the Scots did not relieve the town on or before the 19th of July, by throwing into it two hundred men-at-arms by land, or by vanquishing the English in a pitched battle, the town should be immediately surrendered.

Sir William Keith received a safe-conduct to proceed to the regent Douglas, and he pictured to him in so strong a light the importance of the town and the extreme danger in which it was then placed, that

Douglas imprudently determined to risk a battle. He led back his army from Northumberland, and crossing the Tweed on the 18th of July, encamped at a place called Dunsepark. Edward immediately drew up his whole army in four divisions, or battles, on the eminence of Halidon Hill, a little to the west of Berwick. Each division was flanked by bodies of archers. The regent drew up his army in correspondence with the English, into four battles, commanded respectively by the regent himself, by the young steward of Scotland (directed by his uncle Sir James Stewart), by the young earl of Moray, assisted by two veteran leaders, James and Simon Fraser, and by the earl of Ross. They occupied a hill opposite the English position, and separated from it by a marsh, which could only be passed on foot.

On the morning of the 19th of July, the day on which the truce with the town expired, the Scots descended from their position to attack their enemies. The leaders and the men-at-arms left their horses to the care of the campboys and pages, and, contrary to the advice of some of the older officers, advanced with the whole Scottish army into the soft boggy ground below. They marched on with the characteristic impetuosity of their countrymen, but they soon became involved in the marsh, were retarded in their progress, and fell into much confusion from being unavoidably crowded together. "And then," says an old English chronicler of this event, "the Englishe mynstrelles beten ther tabers, and blowen ther trompes, and pipers pipeden loude, and made a grete schoute uppon the Skottes, and then hadde the Englishe bachelers eche of them two wings of archers, whiche at that meeting mightily drewen ther bowes, and made arowes flice as thicke as motes on the sonne beme, and so they smote the Skottes that thei felle to ground by many thousandes." This quaint passage is a fair description of the celebrated defeat of Halidon Hill. The Scots, crowded together in the marsh, and unable to come to close

fighting, presented a broad aim to the English archers, and were slaughtered in vast numbers. Many of them turned their backs, and fled, before they had passed the marsh. The greater part of the army, however, encouraged by their chiefs, pressed forwards, and, having succeeded with difficulty in clearing the bog, rushed furiously up the hill to engage their enemies. The English calmly kept the ranks, and received them at the top of the hill, where the battle lasted fiercely for a short time, but the Scots, discouraged by their loss in the marsh, and out of breath with the hurried ascent of the eminence, were unequal to contend with fresh troops, who had not yet engaged in the combat, and were steadily commanded. The effect of this disparity was soon felt. The earl of Ross, in leading up the fourth or reserve division of the Scottish army to attack that division of the English army which was commanded by Edward Baliol in person, was driven back, and Ross himself was slain in the struggle. The regent was almost immediately afterwards made prisoner, mortally wounded. The Scottish army was now entirely broken and driven off the field, and to increase their disaster the nobles and men-at-arms found that the camp boys and pages had fled, carrying away with them most of their horses. The slaughter which the English made in the pursuit was dreadful. Besides the earl of Ross and the regent Douglas, the earls of Lenox, Athol, Carrick, Sutherland, and Strathern, James and Simon Fraser, the two uncles of the steward of Scotland, John and James Stewart, John de Graham, Alexander de Lindsay, and a great many other barons and men of note, fell on this fatal day. With them were slain, at the lowest calculation, fourteen thousand of the best soldiers of Scotland.*

The town and castle of Berwick were delivered up immediately after this decisive battle, and the earl of March, long suspected of favouring the English, now openly joined king Edward. Many of the nobility followed his example, and Baliol,

* In England there was great exultation on the battle of Halidon Hill, which showed itself in a variety of ballads and poems. In these we see how the murder of "the Red Comyn" was still uppermost in men's minds as an object for vengeance. It shows how great a part the feud of the Comyns and the Bruces occupied in the troubles of Scotland, during the earlier half of the fourteenth century. The following is a stanza from Laurence Minot's song on the defeat of the Scots at Halidon Hill, a con-

temporary production, in which we trace the horror occasioned by the murder of Comyn:—

This sari chaunce tham es bitid,
For thai war fals and wonder fell;
For cursed caitefes er thai kid,
And ful of treson, suth to tell.
Sir Jon the Comyn had thai hid,
In haly kirk thai did him qwell;
And tharfore many a Skottis brid
With dole er dight that thai most dwel.

in a progress through the entire kingdom, found none to oppose him; nearly the whole kingdom submitting to his sovereignty. Five castles alone remained in the hands of the party of Bruce, Dumbarton, held by Malcolm Fleming; Urquhart, in Inverness-shire, by Thomas Lauder; Lochleven, by Alan de Vipont; Kildrummie, by king Robert Bruce's sister Christian; and Lochmaben, by Patriek de Chartres. A brave soldier named John Thompson, supposed to be the same man who brought back the shattered remains of the army of Edward Bruce from Ireland, also held a stronghold in Lochdon, on the borders of Carrick, for David Bruce. Berwick was at once made over to the king of England, who proceeded very deliberately to remove a great part of the Scottish inhabitants of the town and country, and replace them with his own English subjects. He even sent into England the Scottish monks from the religious houses, and placed English monks in them, with directions to preach submission to his authority; and proclamation was made in London, and in the principal commercial towns in the kingdom, inviting English merchants to settle in Berwick. Edward's immediate reward for the assistance he had given to Baliol was, however, much more extensive than the town and county of Berwick. In an assembly held in Edinburgh on the 10th of February, 1334, Baliol distributed the large estates of those who had fallen in battle, or who had been disinherited for their attachment to David Bruce, to the English barons who had supported him; and at the same time, the forests of Jedburgh, Selkirk, and Ettrick, with the counties of Roxburgh, Peebles, Dumfries, and Edinburgh, and the constabularies of Linlithgow and Haddington, were given to Edward, and were, with the town, castle, and county of Berwick, annexed for ever to the kingdom of England. To these new possessions, Edward immediately appointed English governors, and Baliol completed the humiliation of his kingdom, by appearing before Edward at Newcastle, to swear fealty to him as his liege lord for the kingdom of Scotland and the isles, while the friends of the young Bruce were obliged to conceal

themselves in the mountains and fastnesses of the kingdom.

Circumstances soon occurred to show the frailty of the tenure by which Baliol held his power. A dispute among his own followers relating to a succession was the first cause of revolt. Alexander de Mowbray having claimed the estate of his brother, who died without male heirs, was put in possession by a decision of Baliol, to the disinheritation of the three daughters of the deceased baron. Their cause was warmly advocated by Henry de Beaumont, Richard Talbot, and the earl of Athol, who, when Baliol refused to listen to them, retired to their estates, and assumed an attitude of discontent, if not of open rebellion. Beaumont, establishing himself in his strong castle of Dundarg, in Buchan, seized upon a large portion of the disputed possession which lay in that earldom, and held it by force. The partizans of David Bruce were encouraged by these dissensions among their enemies, and began again to hold up their heads. They were at this moment joined by the late regent, sir Andrew Moray, who had been released from his captivity, and returned to Scotland; and a Scottish fleet, strengthened by some ships from France, hovered on the coast to assist them.

Baliol was alarmed at these symptoms, and retreated to Berwick, where he made a weak and unsuccessful attempt to appease his own discontented barons, by reversing the decree in favour of Mowbray, which had indeed been an unjust one. Mowbray was thus entirely alienated from the English party, and taking with him his friends and vassals to join that of David Bruce, he co-operated in hostilities against his rivals in the law-suit. One of these, Talbot, as he was passing with a body of soldiers into England, was attacked and taken prisoner by sir William Keith, and confined in the castle of Dumbarton. Beaumont, the chief of them, was besieged by Moray and Mowbray, in his castle of Dundarg, and in spite of the strong situation of that fortress, he was compelled to capitulate, and it was only on the payment of a heavy ransom that this powerful and turbulent baron was allowed to retire into England.

CHAPTER IX.

BALIOI EXPELLED BY A NEW REVOLUTION; EXPLOITS OF SIR ANDREW MORAY; BLACK AGNES OF DUNBAR.
DAVID BRUCE RETURNS TO SCOTLAND; INVASION OF ENGLAND; BATTLE OF NEVILLE'S CROSS.

THE risings described at the close of the foregoing chapter were but the forerunners of a more general revolt. The young Steward, whose lands had been given by Baliol to the earl of Bute, lay concealed from his enemies in Bute, from whence, now that his friends began to stir, he made his escape to Dumbarton, where he was received with joy by the governor, Malcolm Fleming. Assembling as many of his vassals as he could summon together, and joined by Colin Campbell of Lochow, he took by storm the castle of Dunoon. When the news of this exploit reached Bute, the vassals of the steward in that district rose against their English governor, Alan de Lyle, and stoned him to death, and then, cutting off his head, they marched with this savage trophy to join their lord, and soon afterwards the castle of Bute fell into his power. The insurrection, thus set agoing, spread more and more. Many of the fugitive patriots under William de Caruthers and other chiefs, left their hiding-places in the mountains of Annandale, and they were joined by Thomas Bruce with the men of Kyle, and by Randolph, earl of Moray, who had returned from France, his place of refuge after the fatal battle of Halidon Hill. In a short time the greater part of Clydesdale, with Ayr, and the districts of Renfrew, Carrick, and Cunningham, were occupied by the adherents of king David II., who proceeded to elect the steward and the earl of Moray as joint regents. They joined their forces against the powerful earl of Athol, attacked and drove him into the wilds of Lochaber, and then made him their prisoner. Baliol, astonished and alarmed at the progress of the revolt, hurried into England to seek the protection of his liege lord, king Edward.

The English monarch, in spite of the approach of winter, marched with such an army as he could assemble, into Scotland, with Baliol in his host. This vassal king, after ravaging Avondale, and the districts of Carrick and Cunningham, held his Christmas at Renfrew with royal state. He there appointed a warlike ecclesiastic named William Bullock, chamberlain of Scotland, and

governor of the castles of St. Andrews and Cupar, and entrusted him with the chief management of affairs. John de Strivelin, one of Baliol's commanders, was sent with a considerable force to lay siege to Lochleven castle, a difficult undertaking, which ended in the defeat of the besiegers. This appears to have been the only result of Edward's expedition. The barons of king David's party took new courage, and called a parliament at Dairsie, in Fife, to consult on some plan of combined operations. This assembly took place in the April of 1335, and was disturbed by the ambition and pride of David de Strathbogie, earl of Athol, who had now joined the patriots, and who, having obtained an ascendancy over the mind of the young Steward, assumed a tone of superiority over the other nobles. The consequence was, that after some mutual bickerings, the parliament broke up in disorder, and left the defence of Scotland to the individual talents and exertions of the confederated chiefs.

These were soon called upon by circumstances to show all their constancy and valour. King Edward again marched into Scotland about midsummer, with a larger army, which he had assembled at New-castle. He was accompanied by the earl of Juliers and the count of Montbelliard, with a large body of foreign mercenaries; while his fleet entered the firth of Forth to co-operate with the land forces. Before he entered Scotland, Edward divided his land forces into two parts, one of which, under the command of Baliol, marched from Berwick, while the English king, with the other division, advanced from Carlisle. The Scots acted on the instructions said to have been given them by Robert Bruce, retreated before the invaders, who, having met with no opposition to their progress, joined their forces at Glasgow, and then pushed on to Perth. The Scots still followed their prudent system of carrying off their cattle and goods, and deserting the plain country; but they began to be bolder in attacking the English straggling parties, and the old Scottish chroniclers recount some of their exploits with pride. On

of these was attended with remarkable circumstances. Guy count of Namur had landed at Berwick with a body of Flemish auxiliaries, and imagining that the intervening country was totally clear of enemies, he marched carelessly to Edinburgh, on his way to join king Edward at Perth. But as his men were passing the Borough Muir, they were suddenly attacked by a little army of Scots, led by the earls of Moray and March, and sir Alexander Ramsay. The foreign knights, sheathed in steel and well mounted, made a gallant defence, and it was only when the knight of Liddesdale swept down from the Pentland hills to reinforce the Scots, that they retreated into Edinburgh, then an open town, as its castle and fortifications had been destroyed by the Scots. The Flemings were pursued into the town, where the fight continued with obstinacy in the streets and lanes. Tradition long pointed out, at the foot of the Bow, the mark of the tremendous blow given by a gigantic Scottish knight named sir David de Annand, whose ponderous battle-axe is said to have cut through man and horse, and to have been stopped only by the flag-stone beneath, which was shattered to pieces. At length, driven gradually up the High-street to the ruins of the castle, the count de Namur and his Flemings there slew their horses and piled their bodies on the rock as a rampart, behind which they took their stand, until they were obliged to surrender.

This little success brought a great misfortune on the Scottish cause. The foreign knights were treated with the utmost courtesy, the more so because the count, their leader, was a kinsman of the king of France. They were set at liberty without ransom, and Moray himself escorted them across the English border with a small body of Scottish soldiers. On his return, unexpectedly attacked by William de Pressen, the warder of Jedburgh forest, the Scots were defeated, and the regent Moray was himself taken prisoner, and confined in the strong castle of Bamborough. The loss of this brave and able leader was at this moment irreparable; and when king Edward returned to Perth, after ravaging the northern parts of the kingdom, he received a message from the earl of Athol, announcing that that fickle chief and his friends were ready to submit. One of those friends was the young steward of Scotland, who had latterly submitted himself in an unaccountable manner to

Athol's influence. By an agreement concluded at Perth, the earl and all the Scottish barons who "came under his peace," received free pardon, and had their estates restored to them, and Athol himself was appointed regent or governor of Scotland under king Edward Baliol. After making a pretended show of care for the welfare of his country, in stipulating that the franchises of the church and the ancient laws of Scotland should be preserved as they existed in the reign of Alexander III., Athol signalized his zeal for the cause with which he had now identified himself by the bitterness and cruelty with which he hunted out and exterminated the partizans of David Bruce. But a sudden vengeance overtook him. The sister of Robert Bruce and wife of sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, still held resolutely her castle of Kildrummie against Baliol, and Athol, anxious to secure so valuable a captive, hastened to attack it. Sir Andrew Moray, who was at this time the principal leader of the fugitive patriots, called together from their lurking-places as many men as he could, and, joined by the knight of Liddesdale and the earl of March, hastened to the succour of his lady. The two parties met in the forest of Kilblene, and after a short struggle, the earl of Athol was defeated and slain. This unexpected event gave new courage to the Scots, who assembled in a parliament at Dunfermline, and elected sir Andrew Moray to the office of regent. It was again made evident that in spite of the selfishness and fickleness of their nobles, the great mass of the Scottish people were determined to maintain their independence, and were devotedly attached to the name and family of Bruce. Scotland was not yet subdued.

The Scots could not have had a better leader than sir Andrew Moray. He had taken his first lessons of war under Wallace, and had been inured to it under Bruce, and no one knew better how to practise that peculiar system which had kept the latter on the throne, and which the new regent was soon called upon to employ. When king Edward heard of the death of the earl of Athol, he again hastened into Scotland with a formidable army, and he was joined by all the Scottish barons and their vassals who had submitted to Baliol. He marched direct to Perth, laying waste, as usual, the country through which he passed, and burning its towns and villages, and from Perth he overran the northern parts of the country,

hunting in vain for his enemies, although they were in arms, and at no great distance from his army. History has preserved more than one anecdote of the extraordinary coolness and skill with which sir Andrew Moray eluded his pursuers, and the contempt with which he treated all their attempts to overtake him. One day, we are told, Moray was encamped in a wood, supposed to have been in Perthshire, which was then known by the name of Stronkaltere. Intelligence of his place of retreat was conveyed to king Edward, who immediately marched against him. Moray was so entirely taken by surprise, that he was quietly hearing mass in a chapel in the forest, when some of his soldiers came in breathless haste to tell him that his outposts had been unexpectedly driven in by the enemy, who was at hand in great force. The regent ordered them to be silent till mass was ended, and then, having heard the report of the messengers, he merely observed, "It is well; there is no need of haste." He then ordered his esquires to bring his war-horse, and leisurely examined its saddle and girths, to see that everything was right. All this time the English were reported to be approaching nearer and nearer, and his knights began to exhibit signs of alarm and impatience. Yet Moray went on leisurely adjusting his armour, when, as he was buckling on the piece which covered the thigh, one of the straps broke. Not in the least disconcerted by this accident, he called to an esquire to bring him a certain coffer from his baggage, and opening this, he took out a skin of leather, and cut off it a thong to supply the place of the broken strap. Having carefully returned the coffer to its place, Moray mounted his horse, and drew up his men in a close column, and marching slowly in sight of the English, who, though now close upon him, did not venture to attack him, he gained a narrow defile, and marching rapidly through it, disappeared from their sight without losing a man. This anecdote is related by the metrical chronicler, Andrew Winton, who assures us that he heard it from knights who were present on the occasion, and who told him that they never found time pass so slowly as when they stood by their old commander when he sat cutting his skin of leather in the wood of Stronkaltere.

Soon after this Moray laid siege to Athol's widow in her castle of Lochendorb, and this lady, a daughter of Henry de Beaumont,

sent in haste to king Edward to implore his assistance. He listened to her petition, and marched immediately to Lochendorb, but Moray again retired into the woods and morasses, and Edward, weary of the vain pursuit, ravaged the rich province of Moray with fire and sword, and then, having repaired and garrisoned the most important fortresses in Scotland, he left the army at Perth under the command of his brother, the earl of Cornwall, and returned to England.

Edward's departure was the signal for a new insurrection. The regent Moray, with the knight of Liddesdale, sir William Keith, and other barons of their party, assembled their vassals and followers, and appeared again in the field. They captured successively the castles of Dunotter, Kinlevin, Laurieston, Falkland, St. Andrew's, and Bothwell, all which the regent, imitating the prudent policy of Robert Bruce, ordered to be dismantled and overthrown. After these successes the regent crossed the border to provision his army by predatory excursions into England, for Scotland was suffering from a grievous famine, the result of the ravages of war; and on his return he overrun the Lothians, and then laid siege to the castle of Edinburgh. An attempt of the English borderers to relieve this fortress led to a desperate battle near Chisholm castle, in which the English were defeated, but the Scots suffered so much loss that it was considered prudent to raise the siege.

Scotland at this moment might have received a new visit from king Edward, if his attention had not been occupied with preparations for a new and greater war. He attempted for awhile to delude the Scots with proposals for a general peace, but their leaders were too well acquainted with the state of things, through the communications with their French allies, and all doubt was at length dispelled by Edward's announcement of his claim to the crown of France, on the seventh of October, 1337, and the consequent declaration of war between the two countries. The intelligence of these events was received by the Scottish patriots with the utmost joy, not only because it drew away from them their great enemy, and employed and exhausted his resources, but because they could now receive openly assistance from their French allies.

Yet king Edward had left a powerful army in Scotland, under the command of the earl of Arundel, Salisbury, and Norfolk,

and when the delusive negotiations for peace were at an end they began to act on the offensive. Their first undertaking was an attempt on the castle of Dunbar, one of the celebrated sieges in Scottish history. Dunbar castle, which, as the key to Scotland on its south-eastern border, was a place of great importance, belonged to the earl of March, and, in his absence, was in the charge of his countess, the worthy daughter of the warrior Randolph, known popularly, on account of her dark complexion, by the name of Black Agnes of Dunbar. The earl of Salisbury undertook the siege of this place, and brought to it the flower of the English army, with all the warlike machines which were then considered most powerful, but Black Agnes set him at defiance, and, performing all the duties of a brave commander, exposing her person on the walls, and provoking the assailants with taunting gibes and witticisms, she held them at bay during five months, and then forced them to leave the siege. On one occasion, when the stones from the engines of the besiegers struck the battlements near her, she is reported to have sent one of her maidens for a white napkin to wipe away the dust. On another occasion, when the English brought the warlike machine called a sow to the wall, she is said to have called out in doggerel rhymes, in allusion to the name of the English leader (Montague earl of Salisbury), and to a similar occurrence at the siege of Berwick,—

“Beware, Montagow,
For farrow shall thy sow.”

On which a huge mass of stone was thrown upon the sow, and broke it to pieces. Neither of these witticisms was original. Once an arrow from the ramparts struck through the armour of an English knight as he stood by the side of the earl of Salisbury, and killed him on the spot. “There,” said the earl, “is one of my lady’s tire-pins; the love-shafts of Agnes go straight to the heart!” At length, finding it impossible to make an impression on the walls, the English converted the siege into a blockade, their fleet hindering all communication by the sea, and the garrison of Dunbar began to suffer for want of provisions. At this critical moment Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie sailed, in the darkness of midnight, from the Bass with a light vessel laden with provisions, and carrying forty good soldiers on board, and passing unobserved through the hostile fleet, succeeded in landing his

cargo under the wall of the castle. The garrison thus relieved, resumed its tone of defiance, and Salisbury, losing all hopes of success, withdrew his army.

The Scots had now gained sufficient strength to appear in force in the open country, and they began to drive out the English, who were obliged to retire for safety into the few fortresses, such as Edinburgh, Perth, Stirling, Cupar, and Roxburgh, that still remained in their hands. The reinforcements and supplies necessary to maintain these strong positions in an enemy’s country, were as grievous to the English as to the Scots, for the taxes necessary to support Edward’s wars began now to weigh heavily on his country, and the discontent was not lessened by the frequency with which the supplies for Scotland were intercepted and captured by the Scottish insurgents. In the multitude of petty encounters and sieges of small fortresses which now constituted the war in Scotland, success went usually on the side of the Scots. Among the most active champions in this warfare the knight of Liddesdale, sir William Douglas, stood always foremost. After expelling the English from Teviotdale, he defeated and captured sir John de Strivelin, who was at the head of five hundred men-at-arms; intercepted a considerable convoy near Melrose, took the castle of Hermitage, for which it was intended, defeated sir Roland de Vaux, and, after a very severe contest, routed a strong party of his enemies under sir Laurence Abernethy. Another hero of this partisan warfare was sir Alexander Ramsay, who established himself in the wild country about Hawthornden, and on the banks of the Esk, and carried his depredations over the border into the English counties. In the middle of these successes, a gloom was thrown over the patriots and their cause by the loss of their brave though now aged regent, sir Andrew Moray. Bending under the weight of years and a life of turmoil and anxiety, this old and worthy companion of Wallace and Bruce, retired to his castle of Avoch, in Ross-shire, and there expired in the year 1338. The steward of Scotland, who had now returned with hearty zeal to the patriotic party, was chosen sole regent. He began his government by sending the knight of Liddesdale to France to ask for assistance from king Philip, while he himself assembled his army and undertook the siege of Perth, which had been strongly fortified by the English.

The garrison of Perth made a resolute defence, and its fortifications were so formidable, that the steward had already given his orders to raise the siege, when five French ships of war suddenly entered the Tay, bringing with them the knight of Liddesdale, and a strong body of veteran soldiers from France. The steward now relinquished all intention of retreating, and having, with the assistance of the French ships, cut off the castle from all chance of supplies, he proceeded to push on the siege with vigour. The improving prospects of the cause in which he was engaged, at the same time brought him a new ally in the person of the ecclesiastic William Bullock, who had left his sacred functions for the profession of arms, and had so distinguished himself on the side of the English by his great skill in political intrigue, and his extraordinary warlike talents, that Baliol had made him chancellor of Scotland, and, when he retired just before this into England, he left him in command of the castle of Cupar. Bullock was a selfish and avaricious man, and when he saw the popular cause thriving, he sold his services to the regent, delivered up the castle of Cupar, and joined the army before Perth, where he was employed in directing the military operations of the siege. The possession of superior learning and science seems to have fitted him well for a task which was but imperfectly understood by the rough warriors with whom he was now to co-operate, and they stood him in good stead under the unusual circumstances which soon followed his arrival in the Scottish camp. He found the Scots already discouraged by the loss of some of their best men, and by their anxiety for the knight of Liddesdale, who had been dangerously wounded by a javelin from one of the engines on the walls, but Bullock insisted on continuing the siege, which was rendered somewhat more practicable by the success of the Scottish miners in excavating under the town ditch, and drawing off the water. In the midst of their labours there occurred, about mid-day, a nearly total eclipse of the sun. As the darkness increased, the superstitious soldiers on both sides were struck with terror, and, as if with one accord, left all other occupations to gaze on the threatening aspect of the sky. But Bullock's knowledge placed him above these superstitious feelings, and, while others were lost in the contemplation of this terrible object, he pressed on the engineers,

and almost unobserved advanced the military engines to the walls, and made the other preparations for storming. When the natural light of day returned, and the soldiers recovered from their alarm, the English governor of Perth was astonished at the progress which the besiegers had made during the darkness, and, already intimidated by the awful prodigy they had witnessed, the garrison entered into negotiations, and agreed to deliver up the fortress on honourable terms. The garrison and their commanders were sent by sea to England, and the steward, having destroyed the fortifications of Perth, proceeded to lay siege to Stirling. According to the calculations of modern astronomers, the eclipse which caused so much alarm on this occasion took place on the 7th of July, 1339.

The old chroniclers relate various anecdotes illustrative of the dreadful condition to which their country had been reduced at this time by the complicated ravages of war and famine. The open country was utterly depopulated, and herds of wild deer, and even wolves, ranged undisturbed over the plains, and approached the walls of the fortified towns. In their very fastnesses people died of hunger, or prolonged their existence by food that is loathsome to the imagination. One of the chroniclers tells us that a wretch, who was popularly called "Christy Click," from the iron hook with which he seized his victims, in company with a no less ferocious female, carried on systematically the profession of cannibals, and lay in ambush in the mountains to entrap travellers, in order to kill and eat them. These two horrid beings were, in the sequel, captured, and, after being tried and condemned, they were both burnt.

The Scots now went on leisurely besieging and taking the English castles. Stirling held out long and bravely, but it was at length reduced by famine. In this siege the Scots lost a good and brave chieftain, sir William Keith.

A brief interval of quiet followed the capture of Stirling, and the regent embraced the opportunity of making a progress through the kingdom, which was now cleared of the English, with the exception of a small number of strong fortresses still held by Edward's garrisons. The labours of agriculture had recommenced, and commerce seemed to be reviving, when war broke out again, and put a stop to all

further improvement. The Scots obtained possession of the important castle of Edinburgh by a stratagem similar to one which had been employed with success on a like occasion under Robert Bruce. The stratagem is said to have been suggested by Bullock; but it was executed by the knight of Liddesdale, who placed himself in ambush in the neighbourhood of the castle. One Walter Curry, the captain of a merchantman of Dundee, was engaged to run his ship up the Forth, and under pretence of being an English victualling ship, to offer to supply the garrison with provisions. The governor was deceived, and immediately accepted the offer, and the draw-bridge was lowered for the reception of the wine and corn which was landed from the ship. No sooner, however, had the waggons entered the gateway, than they were stopped just under the portcullis, so as effectually to hinder it from being lowered, and the pretended merchant and his men, throwing off the frocks which covered their armour, slew the warden, and sounded a horn as a signal to their comrades to hasten to their assistance. The garrison also was aroused, and a fierce struggle took place at the gateway, but the bravery of the knight of Liddesdale and his followers overcame all opposition, and the English were soon put to the sword, with the exception only of the governor and five of his men.

The Scottish patriots now felt so secure in their power, that they resolved to send over to France for their young king David, who was in his eighteenth year, and therefore capable of exercising all the functions of government. Having escaped the vigilance of the English cruisers, he landed with his queen at Innerbervie, in Kincairdineshire, on the 4th of June, 1341. This apparently wise measure was unfortunately far from producing all the good effects which were expected from it. Inheriting the personal courage of his father, David had none of his military talent or prudence, and the violence and impetuosity of his character, which seems to have resembled that of his uncle Edward, had been developed and not tamed during his nine years' residence in France, where moreover he had imbibed an inordinate love of pleasure. Totally unacquainted with the fierce and lawless character of the Scottish barons, he came to rule over men who, uniting cordially together in opposing English rule, were not much less hostile to any superior control

that might limit the lawless independence to which they were accustomed. They were more ready to obey him in the field in time of war, than to submit to his laws in time of peace. David appears also to have come to the throne with personal prejudices against some of his barons, and more especially against his nephew, the steward, and it was his character never to lay aside a prejudice of this kind once generated in his heart.

The effect of these feelings on both sides soon made itself apparent. Sir Alexander Ramsay, of Dalhousie, one of the bravest of the Scottish patriots, surprised the important castle of Roxburgh by night, and expelled the English garrison. In reward for this gallant exploit, apparently without consulting his nobles, king David made Ramsay governor of Roxburgh and sheriff of Teviotdale. The office of sheriff of the county seems to have been regarded as appertaining properly to the governor of this strong fortress, but during its recent occupation by the English, the sheriffdom had been held by the knight of Liddesdale, who took mortal offence against Ramsay, whom he regarded as the cause of his being deprived of it. To revenge this feud, the fierce baron pretended at first to be reconciled with Ramsay, in order to lull suspicion, and then taking the opportunity, when he was performing the duties of his office as sheriff, at a court held in the church of Hawick, he marched thither suddenly with a body of his soldiers. Although Ramsay is said to have received secret warning of the knight's intentions, he placed too much confidence in his professions to believe in it, and, when his enemy entered the church he beckoned him to come and sit beside him on the bench. But the knight of Liddesdale, without further parley, drew his sword and rushed upon the sheriff, who was severely wounded before he was captured. He was thrown bleeding across a horse, hurried off to the castle of Hermitage, and there thrown into a dungeon where he was left without food. It happened that there was a granary over his dungeon, and some grains of corn fell through the crevices. With these Ramsay contrived to prolong his existence, so that it was seventeen days before he died. Instead of punishing this foul deed, David alarmed, it would appear, at such symptoms of insubordination among his great barons, endeavoured to conciliate the knight of Liddesdale by conferring on him the governorship of Roxburgh castle, and the sheriff-

dom of Teviotdale, with the office of protector of the middle marshes. He is said to have obtained this favour chiefly through the intercession of the steward; but the murder of Ramsay gave rise to numerous feuds, which added to the troubles of the kingdom. The knight of Liddesdale was so little grateful for the favour he had received, that he entered into a secret correspondence with the king of England, and joined in a conspiracy, the object of which was to replace Baliol on the throne. One of the persons most deeply engaged in this plot seems to have been the same William Bullock, who had now changed sides more than once, and who held the office of chamberlain of Scotland. We are totally in the dark as to what may have been the cause of this man's dissatisfaction with the government of king David, or how his treasonable intentions were detected, but it is certain he was suddenly arrested, stripped of his honours and high offices, and thrown into a dungeon in the castle of Lochendorb, where he was starved to death. His fate seems to have acted as a warning to the lord of Liddesdale, for his treasonable correspondence with England is traced no farther.

The arrival of David in his dominions had been followed by repeated incursions into the English borders, which had been at times repulsed by the borderers, but king Edward was too much engaged with his wars on the continent to pay much attention to Scotland. David was at the same time embarrassed by a revolt of the islanders under John of Argyle, who was joined by several of the northern barons. Under these circumstances a truce between Scotland and England for two years was proposed, and willingly agreed to on both sides. But before its expiration this truce was broken by the lord of Liddesdale. He had shown his sympathy with Bullock by causing David de Berklay, who had arrested him, to be waylaid and murdered; and now, perhaps to hinder any suspicion of his own secret dealings with England, he determined to invade that kingdom. Collecting a numerous army,

he crossed the border, and burnt Carlisle and Penrith. The ultimate consequences of this inroad were disastrous to Scotland. The war recommenced with greater animosity between the two countries than ever; and king David thinking that Edward had carried all his forces into France, and that he had left no soldiers in England for its defence, gave orders for assembling the whole army of Scotland at Perth, and announced his intention of invading England in person.

In accordance with the king's summons, a larger army was collected on this occasion than had been seen in Scotland for many years, but it was composed of discordant materials. A considerable force had been drawn from the isles and from the northern districts, and the highland chiefs were no sooner brought together, than their mutual feuds broke out with alarming violence. A sanguinary deed soon threw the army into dismay. The earl of Ross revenged a fierce feud against another chief, Ronald of the isles, by murdering him in the monastery of Eleho, and then he sought his own safety by leading off his men to their native mountains. The men of the isles, deprived of their chief, followed the example, and hurried home, and many of the lesser highland chiefs did the same. The Scottish army was thus seriously diminished. The troops which remained, however, still made a formidable array, and with these, in the autumn of 1346, David marched from Perth to the English border. He there laid siege to a fortress called the mote of Liddel, the castle of Walter Selby, the same lawless chief who had been employed by Robert Bruce to waylay and plunder the messengers of the Roman cardinals, but who now slew and plundered in the cause of Baliol, from whom he had received a grant of lands in Roxburghshire. Liddel castle was soon taken, its governor Selby hanged, and his garrison put to the sword. The Scottish leaders seem now to have been uncertain as to their future plans. The knight of Liddesdale is said to have advised a retreat,*

* The Scottish metrical chronicler Winton, gives the following account of the way in which the knight of Liddesdale gave his counsel, and the reception it met with:—

Than consalyd Willame off Dowglas,
That off weris mast wys than was,
To turne agayne in thair cuntré;
He sayd that with thair honesté
Thai mycht agayne repayr rycht welle,
Syne thai off fors had tane that pelle (*fortress*).

But othir lordis that war by
Sayd he had fillyd fullyly
His baggis, and thairis all twme (*empty*) war
Thai sai that thai mycht rycht welle fare
Till Lwndyn, for in Ingland than
Off gret mycht was left na man;
For thai sayd all war in Frawns,
Bot sowteris, skynneris, or marchawns.
The Dowglas thare mycht nought be herd,
But on thaire way all furth thai ferd.

for what reason is not very evident, as there was something ridiculous in raising the whole force of Scotland to storm a petty border castle. But the ardour of the king was seconded by the greater part of his barons, who accused the knight of Liddesdale of wishing to return home to secure his own plunder, and deprive them of their own prospects of booty, although he knew, they said, "that the country was bare of fighting men, and that there were none but mean merchants and mechanics to stand between them and a march to London." Their advice prevailed, and the order was given to advance. They proceeded first to Hexham, and then marched into the bishopric of Durham, where, for many successive days, they committed the most dreadful devastation, carrying off everything of any value that was portable, and burning everything that remained, leaving the country they passed over a black and smoking desert. They did not even spare the sacred territory of St. Cuthbert, and the monkish writers seem to look upon their sacrilegious behaviour as the real cause of the disaster which followed. At last, weary for a moment of plundering and destroying, the whole Scottish army was collected together and encamped, at a place then called Beaurepair, which has since been corrupted into the name of Bear Park, at a short distance from Durham.

But the Scottish leaders had been grievously deceived in reckoning on the defenceless state of England. It is true that king Edward lay with a great army before Calais, and that he wanted more reinforcements than his kingdom would contentedly spare; but there were plenty left at home who knew well how to handle the sword or the bow, and the border barons had good experience in the art of war. Ralph Neville, of Raby, lord Henry Percy, with the lords Musgrave, Scrope, and Hastings, had collected their strength on the first news of the invasion, and they were joined by the ex-king of Scotland, Edward Baliol, and the earl of Angus. The archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the bishops of Durham, Carlisle, and Lincoln, who came with the military vassals of their sees; and a body of ten thousand men, who were ready to embark for Calais, were sent to join the muster. When assembled, the English army amounted to thirty thousand men, of which number twenty thousand were

English archers, and the other ten thousand included a large body of men-at-arms. At the moment when the Scots, not suspecting the presence of so formidable an enemy, were encamping at Beaurepair, the English army had arrived at Bishop Auckland, where they took up their position in the park only six miles distant from the Scottish camp.

At daybreak on the 17th of October, 1346, the knight of Liddesdale rode forth from the camp with a strong body of heavy armed cavalry, for the purpose of foraging, and he had proceeded as far as Ferry-on-the-hill, when he suddenly found himself in presence of the whole English army, which had quitted its position before Bishop Auckland, and was on its way towards Sunderland. The knight of Liddesdale was utterly astonished, and he made as rapid a retreat as possible, but he was so closely pursued, that he is said to have lost five hundred of his men before he reached the Scottish camp. There everything was hurry and alarm. With as little delay as possible, David drew up his army in three divisions, taking the command of the centre himself, and giving the command of the right wing to the earl of Moray, and that of the left to the knight of Liddesdale, the steward, and the earl of Dunbar.

The position of the Scottish camp had been badly chosen. It was a plain, intersected with ditches and hedges, which separated the divisions and subdivisions of the army, and hindered them from readily assisting each other, while the undulations of the country around made it easy for an enemy to approach without being observed. The Scottish army was hardly formed in order of battle, when it was announced that the English were close at hand, and their archers appeared within bow-shot. Sir John de Graham, remembering Bruce's manœuvre at Bannockburn, rode up to king David, and urged him to send the cavalry to take the English archers in flank, and by dispersing them, relieve his army from the greatest danger which threatened it. But the king would not listen to this advice, and, when Graham begged that he might have only a hundred men-at-arms to attack them, he was still refused. We must not necessarily suppose, as some historians have done, that Graham's request was a reasonable one; for, well arranged as the English army was on this occasion, with plenty of cavalry, it is not likely that the archers

were left unprotected. But the Scottish knight, in his impatience, called to his own followers, rushed upon the English archers, and was immediately overwhelmed with a deadly shower of arrows. His own horse was shot under him, and he escaped with difficulty on foot.

It was now about nine o'clock in the morning; the whole English force had come up, and the archers were discharging their missiles with fatal effect. The men-at-arms now rushed forward, and attacked the division commanded by the earl of Moray with great impetuosity, and, taking advantage of the breaks made by the nature of the ground, they broke in among them, threw them into disorder, and made fearful slaughter. The Scots stood their ground till their leader Moray was slain, and then this first division began to disperse, and was soon utterly routed. The whole force of the English men-at-arms now bore down on the centre, where David commanded in person, and where the battle raged for three hours with great fury. The young king fought with obstinate bravery, and after most of his great nobles had been slain round him in the attempt to save him, he still continued to struggle against his assailants, although dangerously wounded with two arrows. At length a knight, or, according to Froissart, an esquire of a good Northumbrian family, John of Copland, who had been governor of Roxburgh castle, grappled with the king, and, after losing two of his teeth by a blow of the royal dagger in the struggle, succeeded in securing his captive. The rout now became general, and the steward and the earl of March, convinced that the day was lost, and that any further resistance was hopeless, drew off their division, which had suffered least, and succeeded in making their way back to Scotland, while the English were too busy making prisoners to pursue them. Thus David's ill-fated expedition into England ended in a disaster far greater than any which Scotland had sustained since the days of Edward I. Nearly all the great nobility of Scotland were slain or captives. Among the former were the earls of Moray and Strathern, David de la Haye (the high constable of Scotland), sir Robert Keith (the great marshal), and the chamberlain and chancellor, with not less than thirty barons belonging to the principal families in Scotland. Among the long list of prisoners were, besides the king, the

knight of Liddesdale, the earls of Fife, Menteith, Sutherland, and Wigton, and fifty other barons and knights. The entire number of the Scots slain on the field of battle is said to have been at least fifteen thousand.

We are told by Froissart that as soon as Copland had secured his royal captive, he rode off the field with him, attended by eight of his own retainers, and never halted till he reached the castle of one of his friends at a distance of fifteen leagues from the field of battle, which this historian calls by the romantic name of *chastel orgueilleux*, which has been supposed to be a mistake for Ogle castle in Northumberland. Here king David was placed in safe custody. "When the queen of England understood how the journey was for her and her men," says Froissart, in the quaint language of his first translator, "and it was shown her how the king of Scots was taken by a squire called John Copland, and he had carried away the king no man knew whither, then the queen wrote to the squire, commanding him to bring his prisoner, and how he had not well done to depart with him without leave. When the queen's letter was brought to John Copland, he answered and said, that as for the king of Scots, his prisoner, he would not deliver him to no man nor woman living, but only to the king of England, his sovereign lord; as for the king of Scots, he said, he should be safely kept, so that he would give account for him. Then the queen sent letters to the king, to Calais, whereby the king was informed of the state of his realm. Then the king sent incontinent to John Copland, that he should come over the sea to him, to the siege before Calais. Then the said John did put his prisoner in safe keeping in a strong castle, and so rode through England till he came to Dover, and there took the sea, and arrived before Calais. When the king of England saw the squire, he took him by the hand, and said, 'Ha! welcome, my squire, that by your valiantness hath taken mine adversary the king of Scots.' The squire kneeled down and said, 'sir, if God by his grace hath suffered me to take the king of Scots by true conquest of arms, sir, I think no man ought to have any envy thereat; for as well God may send by his grace such a fortune to fall to a poor squire, as to a great lord. And, sir, I require your grace be not miscontent with me, though I did not deliver the king of Scots at the com-

mandment of the queen. Sir, I hold of you, as mine oath is to you, and not to her, but in all good manners.' The king said, 'John, the good service that ye have done and your valiantness is so much worth, that it must countervail your trespass, and be taken for your excuse; and shame have they that bear you any evil will therefore. Ye shall return again home to your house; and then my pleasure is that ye deliver your prisoner to the queen my wife; and in a reward I assign you, near to your house, where as ye think best yourself, five hundred pound sterling of yearly rent, to you and your heirs for ever; and here I make you squire for my body.' Then the third day he departed, and returned again into England; and when he came home to his own house, he assembled together his friends and kin, and so they took the king of Scots, and rode with him to the city of York, and there, from the king his lord, he presented the king of Scots to the queen, and excused him so largely, that the queen and her council were content."*

According to the tradition in the family of Copland, David's captor had another motive for refusing to deliver his prisoner to the queen. We are told that the Scottish king expressed extreme reluctance at being given up as a prisoner to a woman, and that he implored Copland to deliver him to nobody but the king. The readiness with which he complied with this request, and the attention which he showed to the comforts of his prisoner, are said to have gained so much upon David's favour, that he rewarded him with a grant of lands in Roxburghshire. King Edward had made Copland a banneret; and, in remembrance of his exploit at Neville's Cross, he is said to have changed the arms on his shield from a cross sable (St. George's) on a white field, to St. Andrew's Cross, with a mullet in the centre, and to have assumed for his crest a knight

* Froissart believed that queen Philippa herself was present in the north, that she assembled the army and reviewed it in person, that she went to Newcastle to wait the result, and that she returned to the field of battle after it was won. All this seems to be entirely contradicted by the contemporary accounts and the authentic chroniclers of these events.

† These are still the hearings claimed by his descendant, James Copland, M.D., F.R.S., &c., of London, from whom I have derived these traditionary anecdotes of his family. In Minot's song of exultation over the victory of Neville's Cross, written amid the triumph of his countrymen over this great event,

on horseback galloping, with the motto *vici*.†

Froissart's account that John of Copland delivered David to the queen in person is not correct. We know from the more accurate records, that the Scottish king had been surrendered to Ralph de Neville, probably as sheriff of Northumberland, who delivered his prisoner at York to Thomas de Rokeby, sheriff of Yorkshire. It was not till the 2nd of January, 1347, that Rokeby delivered him into the custody of John Darcy, the constable of the Tower of London. It is said that the delay was caused by the danger of moving the captive until he had recovered from his wounds. The king and the other prisoners were led in great pomp through London as a spectacle to the citizens. They were attended with a guard of twenty thousand men-at-arms, David himself being mounted on a tall black courser, to make him more conspicuous to the Londoners.

King David seems never to have forgiven the steward for his conduct in leaving the field of battle without attempting his rescue. But it was perhaps fortunate he acted as he did, for the few nobles who escaped slaughter or captivity immediately chose him guardian of Scotland, and his prudence and vigilance alone saved his country from utter ruin. Roxburgh castle was immediately surrendered to Henry Percy and Ralph de Neville, and the south of Scotland was soon overrun by the English, who now claimed the southern districts of Scotland, and advanced the line of the English frontier till it extended from Carlisle to Crosserbyne. Baliol, who had held a command in the English army at Neville's Cross, pushed forwards to the shores of the Solway, and made the castle of Caerlaverock his residence, whence, assisted by Percy and Neville, he carried his merciless ravages over the country as far as Glasgow.

we find the following rather ludicrous allusion to Copland's exploits in the field:—

When sir David the Bruce

Satt on his stede,

He said of all Ingland

Haved he no drede;

But hinde (*gentle*) John of Copland,

A wight (*good*) man in wede (*clothing*)

Talked to David,

And kend (*taught*) him his crede.

Thare was sir David

So dughty in his dede,

The faire toure of London

Haved he to mede.

CHAPTER X.

KING EDWARD'S DESIGNS UPON SCOTLAND; BORDER WARFARE; ATTEMPT ON BERWICK; INVASION OF SCOTLAND BY KING EDWARD; LIBERATION OF DAVID, AND A LONG TRUCE.

AFTER these successes, king Edward followed a bolder line of policy, and, although the name of Baliol was still used when it served his purposes, it was evident that his ultimate intention was to annex Scotland to his own dominions. He already treated it as a conquered country, and appointed an English justiciary to govern it. Three barons, the lords Lucy, Daere, and Umfraville, were appointed as a commission for receiving the fealty of the new subjects. To strike terror into those who refused, the English king caused two of the noblest prisoners taken at the battle of Neville's Cross to be brought to trial on a charge of high treason, pretending that they had been taken in arms against their liege lord, because they had formerly taken the oath of fealty to him. The court condemned them both, and Menteith suffered the penalty of treason, with all its revolting circumstances. The earl of Fife was pardoned on account of his relationship to Edward I. This was followed by other acts of sovereignty, such as the resumption into the hands of the crown of all estates in Scotland given to English subjects, and various other seizures and confiscations. It was only his distress for money, and his ambitious designs against France, that hindered Edward at this moment from marching with an army into Scotland, and taking formal possession of it.

Meanwhile the steward of Scotland, relinquishing all attempts to hold the southern counties, did all in his power to govern and place in security the country to the north of the Forth. He was, fortunately, assisted at this moment by William earl of Douglas, the nephew of the good sir James, who returned from France, where he had added experience in arms to the military talents which seemed so peculiar to his family. This chief, after expelling the English from Douglasdale, soon recovered also the districts of Ettrick and Teviotdale. Another fortunate circumstance for the steward was, that Edward, after some negotiation, agreed to a truce with Scotland, partly for the purpose of arranging the ransoms of his prisoners, from which he intended to recruit his exhausted coffers, and partly to allow him to

devote himself to his continental affairs. This truce was renewed from time to time during six years, and still David remained in captivity, for Edward demanded a greater sum for his liberty than the Scottish people were willing to bind themselves to pay. During this time Edward attempted with success to draw some of the principal captives into a plot for the subjugation of Scotland to his sovereignty, and a dark intrigue was carried on for the object of obtaining a surrender of their independence from the Scottish people. On this occasion David Bruce and the knight of Liddesdale joined in betraying their country. After six years of fruitless negotiation for his ransom, the Scottish king was allowed to revisit Scotland on his parole, seven youths of the noblest Scottish families having been delivered as hostages for his return to prison. It is believed that the object of David's mission to Scotland was to persuade his countrymen to submit to king Edward; but failing in this, he returned to England, and the documents are still preserved by which he now, in 1352, recognised the king of England as his lord paramount, and agreed to take the oaths of homage to him. The knight of Liddesdale followed the example of his sovereign, and in reward for the zeal with which he entered into these intrigues, he recovered his liberty, and received from the king of England a grant of the territory of Liddesdale and of other possessions in Annandale. In return he bound himself never to assist either Scotland or any other kingdom against the king of England, and to allow the English a free passage through his lands whenever they went to invade Scotland.

The knight of Liddesdale did not live long to serve his new master. He had reckoned upon no difficulty in prevailing on his kinsman, the earl of Douglas, to join in the intrigue, but in this he was disappointed; and that baron, fully informed of Liddesdale's designs, invaded the district of Galloway, while Roger Kirkpatrick overran Liddesdale, and reduced the castles of Caerlaverock and Dalswinton, and the steward himself established his head-quar-

ters in Annandale, to keep that district in obedience. The knight of Liddesdale thus found himself defeated in the very districts where his own influence chiefly lay, and the consequence was a deadly feud between him and his kinsman, the earl William. The latter is said further to have suspected his countess of a partiality for the knight, and he watched his opportunity when Liddesdale was hunting in Ettrick forest, and there suddenly beset and slew him at a place called Galford. The body of the murdered baron was carried to a chapel in the forest, where it lay till it was transported to Melrose for burial. The Douglasses had long been accustomed to look upon the knight of Liddesdale as the head of their clan, and, although his late treason to his country had diminished his general popularity, his murder produced a great sensation. Long afterwards his fate and the love of the countess continued to be sung in popular ballads.

Still negotiations were carried on for David's liberation, though they proceeded coldly and slowly. The Scots themselves, at least those who ruled the kingdom, seemed less anxious for his return. They knew that he had submitted to king Edward, and reports arrived from time to time how their king was dazzled with Edward's glory, and was becoming attached to the land of his captivity. They heard that he was habituating himself to the luxuries of the English capital, and that he had formed a connexion with an English lady named Catherine Mortimer. The steward looked forward with apprehension to the moment when he should be obliged to surrender the supreme power into the hands of a king whom he knew to be his enemy, and the great lords of his party, the Scottish patriots, partook in his alarm. Yet, although they were not willing to undergo the burthen which the payment of the king's ransom would entail upon them, the people in general wished for the return of their king. At length, in the July of 1354, it was agreed by a treaty concluded at Newcastle, that the king's ransom should be ninety thousand marks, and that it should be paid in nine annual payments of ten thousand marks each.

But before this treaty was ratified, a French ambassador, Eugène de Garencières, a man already known in Scotland, arrived at the head of a body of sixty knights, bringing a considerable sum of money,

which he distributed among the Scottish nobles. His object was to urge the Scots into a new war with England, and to stop the progress of the treaty. The latter was unpopular with the people and with the patriotic leaders, and had not been ratified by the regent; and the French envoy found no difficulty in persuading them to abandon the treaty altogether, and prepare for war as soon as the truce should be expired. The breaking off of negotiations under such circumstances, was much the same thing as an open declaration of hostilities, and the English, to show how they interpreted it, paid no further attention to the truce, but, crossing the border, proceeded to lay waste the territory of the earl of March. The earls of March and Douglas immediately raised their forces to retaliate on the English border, and, with Eugène de Garencières and his Frenchmen, marched to a strong pass near Nesbit Moor, where the nature of the country was favourable to an ambuscade. They sent thence sir William Ramsay, of Dalhousie, with four hundred men, to plunder the village of Norham and the country around. Norham castle, being one of the most important posts on the eastern marches, had always a strong garrison, and it was at this time commanded by a brave knight, sir Thomas Grey. It was a principal object of the expedition of the Scottish chiefs to draw Grey and his garrison into an ambush, and after plundering the neighbourhood, the small body of Scots returned with their booty under the walls of the castle, to provoke the governor. Grey, with sir James Dacre, and a select body of men-at-arms, immediately issued from the castle to attack the plundering party. Ramsay and his men made a feigned resistance, and then fled, and the English following them closely and eagerly, suddenly found themselves, on turning the foot of a mountain cliff, in face of an overwhelming force, marshalled under the banners of Douglas. To retreat was impossible, and to fight was little better than an act of desperation. But sir Thomas Grey was a man endued with all the chivalrous spirit of the age; he called for his son, and knighted him on the field, and then ordering his men-at-arms to dismount, he engaged the whole Scottish force, and only yielded after a gallant struggle. History has recorded an act of one of the French knights, more barbarous even than the most ferocious deeds of the Scottish chief

tains. He deliberately purchased from the Scots some of their prisoners, and leading them to a lone part of the mountain, murdered them in cold blood. When asked for the reason of this unknighly conduct, he said he did it to revenge the death of his father, who had been killed in the war with the English in France.

The Scots now resolved upon making an attempt upon Berwick. As that important town was too strong to be attacked openly, it was necessary again to resort to stratagem. The earls of Angus and March collected a strong naval force, and taking advantage of a dark night in the November of 1355, they ran their ships up the river, and landing not far from the town, reached the foot of the walls. Having prepared everything for the completion of their enterprise, they sealed the walls at daybreak, and after slaying the governor, sir Alexander Ogle, and some of his men, they gained possession of the town, which they plundered, and obtained an immense booty. The governor of the castle, Copland, made a sally to drive them out, but he was repulsed, and in his retreat through the Douglas tower, which formed the communication between the town and the castle, he was so closely pressed by the Scots, that they made themselves master of that outwork, and, flushed with their success, proceeded to attack the castle itself. But they found it impregnable, and the steward of Scotland arriving in haste to be a witness of the success of his party, was so convinced of the uselessness of attempting the castle, that he departed with his men, leaving only a small party to keep possession of the town.

The only effect of these exploits was to draw down on Scotland the full vengeance of king Edward. He hastened home from Calais, bringing with him many of the veteran officers who had served under him in the wars in France, and, halting for three days in his metropolis, appeared before Berwick at the head of an army said by the Scottish annalists to have numbered eighty thousand men. He immediately entered the castle, and made preparations for storming the town, when the small force left by the steward capitulated, and was permitted to retire into Scotland.

Edward now marched with this formidable army into Scotland; and he ordered the fleet to sail into the Forth, and there await his movements. The English monarch seems now to have resolved, without further dis-

simulation of his intentions, to reduce Scotland to an English province. On his arrival at Roxburgh, Baliol, who latterly had been allowed to play only a very secondary part, presented himself before him, and, with all the necessary ceremonies, resigned the kingdom of Scotland into his hands. In return he received from Edward a pension of two thousand pounds a-year, and during the few remaining years of his life, he held the rank of an English baron. Edward now laid claim to Scotland by a double title, the gift of one of its rival kings, and the acknowledgment of feudal sovereignty from the other, and he gave orders for increasing his force, in such a manner as to overcome all opposition. We are told, that when he encamped at Roxburgh, his army covered an extent of twenty leagues. To such a force Scotland had nothing to oppose in the field, and necessity, as well as wisdom, obliged the patriotic leaders to follow the advice of king Robert Bruce. Orders were given to the population to leave the open country, carrying away all their valuable property, and burning and destroying the provisions and forage which could not easily be removed, and all who were capable of bearing arms, were directed to assemble in the woods and mountain-passes, to watch the enemy, and be ready to attack his convoys and foraging parties. To gain time to carry these orders into effect, the earl of Douglas sought Edward's camp, and pretending that he hoped, by means of the steward, to prevail upon the whole Scottish nation to acknowledge his title, he succeeded in obtaining ten days' truce. After amusing the king with delusive promises, and pretended communications from the Scottish chieftains, until the truce was nearly expired, Douglas suddenly disappeared from the English camp. Edward, furious at being thus outwitted, ordered his army to advance, and wreaked his vengeance on the unhappy country through which he passed. Neither town nor village, nor even the churches and monastic buildings were spared, but all were remorselessly delivered to the flames, and this invasion, which took place in January and February, 1356, was long remembered as the "burnt candlemas." But the English army began soon to run short of provisions, and even to feel the effects of famine, for as to plunder there was none, so well had the Scottish inhabitants executed their orders to clear the country. The fleet, which was expected

to supply their wants, delayed its appearance, although it was known to have sailed from Berwick. After waiting ten days anxiously at Haddington, Edward pushed on to Edinburgh, hoping to hear some intelligence of it at Leith, and there, to his dismay, he learnt that his ships had been dispersed, and many of them destroyed by a tempest. There was now no alternative but a retreat, and orders were given for this purpose without delay. It was now that the Scots began to show themselves from the woods and mountains, and many of the English soldiers, who in the disorders of the retreat, had quitted the main body, were cut off and slain. The king himself had a narrow escape in passing through the forest of Melrose. At length, however, he reached Carlisle safely, and dismissed his army.

Edward's invasion had thus been totally unsuccessful, but it had nevertheless been a severe visitation for Scotland, the rulers of which seem, at this moment, to have been more desirous of obtaining peace than of attempting reprisals. Douglas, seeing no chance of further hostilities at home, passed over to France to seek that active service which seems to have become a necessary part of his existence, and fought in the French ranks at the battle of Poitiers. Escaping from the carnage of that dreadful defeat, he returned to Scotland, and found his countrymen busily occupied in their pacific negotiations. A meeting between commissioners of the two kingdoms, to arrange the question of David's ransom, had been appointed to take place at Berwick, preparatory to which the regent held a parliament at Edinburgh, on the 26th of September. Commissioners were there chosen, fully empowered to treat and conclude in the matter of the ransom of the king, and they proceeded in great state to Berwick on the appointed day. The Scottish commissioners were, on the part of the clergy, the bishops of St. Andrew's, Caithness, and Brechin, and, on the part of the regent and the barons, the earls of March, Angus, and Sutherland, sir Thomas de Moray, sir William Livingstone, and sir Robert Erskine. There came, as commissioners on the part of England, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Durham and Carlisle, and the lords Percy, Neville, Scrope, and Musgrave. The proceedings on this occasion were carried on with an ostentatious magnificence which had seldom been seen in the transactions between the two countries,

nor were the Scots, in this respect, behind-hand with their neighbours. The bishop of St. Andrew's alone had a train of thirty knights, with their squires and company, and the other commissioners had a similar attendance. To crown the whole, the captive monarch was carried to Berwick, escorted by the whole military array of Northumberland.

All these preparations showed that it was now the will and intention of both parties to bring the negotiation to a conclusion, and accordingly king David, after an imprisonment of eleven years, was at length restored to his kingdom. The ransom was now fixed at a hundred thousand pounds, a sum which was then equivalent to about twelve hundred thousand pounds of modern money; but it was made more easy to the Scots by the arrangement that it was to be paid by annual instalments of only four thousand pounds each. Twenty youths, heirs of the first families in Scotland, were delivered into Edward's hands as hostages for the regular payment of these sums of money. The son of the steward was one of these hostages. It was further stipulated, that three of the principal nobles of the kingdom should proceed to England by turns as additional hostages; and if, at any one of the terms fixed for payment of the instalments, the Scots should fail to pay, David was to return to his imprisonment. At the same time a ten years' truce was agreed to, during which free commercial intercourse was to take place between the two countries, no hostile attempt of any kind was to be made by one against the other, and no subject of the one was to be taken into allegiance by the other.

The treaty was in every respect an advantageous one for the king of England, not only in respect of the terms of the ransom, but because it was calculated to encourage a friendly intercourse between the two countries, which must facilitate his future intrigues.

David's first public act was to call a parliament at Scone. It was on this occasion that an incident occurred which exhibited strongly to the Scots the unpopular character of their king. As he was proceeding in state to the hall where the parliament assembled, the crowd pressed upon him to greet and welcome him on his return, until he was incommoded and interrupted in his progress. Instead of expressing his satisfaction at the hearty though rude

method in which his subjects expressed their joy, David burst into a fit of anger, and seizing a mace from one of his attendants, he brandished it furiously, threatening to beat down all who again approached his person. This action seems to have been long remembered by the Scots, and never forgiven. The first business of this parliament was to provide for the payment of the king's ransom. The first provision, imitated from what had been once attempted in England, was to make the king a wool merchant, by ordering that all the wool and wool-fells of the kingdom should be sold to him at the rate of four marks the sack of wool, upon which he, selling it again at a high price to the foreign merchants, realised a considerable sum of money by this traffic. Certain commissioners were then appointed on their oaths, to make a minute and accurate survey of the rents and produce of all the lands in the kingdom, with a list of the names of the proprietors. White sheep, domestic horses, oxen, and household furniture were excepted from the account to be given in by these commissioners; but the survey was to be so minute in its details, that the names of all mechanics, tradesmen, and artificers were to be entered in it, in such a manner that the government might ascertain what tax should be paid on the real value of their property, and what sum each person should be expected to contribute of his own free will. All persons were strictly forbidden, by proclamation, to sell or export any sheep or lambs during the time that the commissioners were occupied in making this survey; to prevent which, officers were stationed on the borders, who were to seize every hoof or fleece attempted to be carried off, and confiscate it to the king's use. Strong measures were also taken to hinder individuals from evading in any way this tax; and the king's officers and tax-gatherers who committed any deceit or fraud were threatened with heavy punishment. It was next provided that in each county there should be good and sufficient sheriffs, coroners, bailies, and other officers. All lands, rents, or customs which belonged originally to the king, to whatever persons they might have been granted, were

to be resumed, in order that the whole of the royal lands should continue untouched. This, and another enactment much to the same effect, were intended not only to enable the crown to support its dignity without further taxing the people, but also to recall the various grants of crown lands and appointments which the various individuals who had from time to time during the king's captivity made to their friends and followers. It appears from the old chroniclers that after the battle of Neville's Cross, the kingdom was thrown into such confusion, that the family feuds broke out with unrestrained violence, and nothing was heard of but private wars, homicides, and rapine. It is even intimated that these misdeeds were encouraged by the example of the steward himself, against whom some of the enactments of this parliament seem to have been partly directed. By one of these it was ordered, that all the lands, possessions, and goods of the homicides, after the battle just mentioned, who had not yet bound themselves to obey the law of the land, should be placed in the hands of the king, until they gave sufficient security to obey the law; and that all pardons or remissions granted to persons of this description by the governors of the kingdom during the absence of the king, should not be ratified, except at the royal pleasure. And it was also provided that, if any person, after the captivity of the king, had resigned to the regent any tenement which he held of the crown in chief, which property had been bestowed upon another who had alienated it in whole or in part without the royal permission, all such tenements should again revert to the crown. These enactments must have given great offence to many of the nobles and others who had enriched themselves during the late disorders, and they must have been in many respects disagreeable to the people, yet they appear to have been carried without any opposition. It has been supposed indeed that some of the nobles most affected by them kept away from the parliament, which approved entirely of the treaty settling the ransom of the king.

CHAPTER XI.

INTRIGUES OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE; MURDER OF THE KING'S MISTRESS; JEALOUSY BETWEEN DAVID AND THE STEWARD; MARGARET LOGY; NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE.

EDWARD had experienced the difficulty of reducing Scotland by force, and he now seems to have wished to unite it with England by a wiser policy of conciliation, and he sought by every method to ingratiate himself with its prelates and nobility, as well as with the people at large. He gave protections and immunities to the Scottish merchants trading with England, who were everywhere received with favour; and he encouraged the Scottish youths to frequent the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the monks to visit English shrines, and associate in friendly intercourse with their religious brethren in this country. But there was a concealed object under all Edward's pacific overtures, which has only been disclosed in modern times by examining and comparing such of the secret records of these transactions as remain. David had lost his feelings of patriotism during his long residence in foreign lands; he had no love for his people, whose rough manners seem to have disgusted him, and he secretly hated the steward, who had been appointed the next heir to the throne. On the other hand, he had formed an attachment for English manners and English society, and he had allowed king Edward gradually to gain a great influence over his mind. Of this Edward was not slow to take advantage, and we find that the Scottish king had already lent himself to a plot of which the object was to place the crown after his death on the head of one of the English princes. It was on this account that the king of England now encouraged with such apparent sincerity the friendly intercourse between the two countries, under cover of which he was secretly carrying on an intrigue to deprive the steward of a succession which had been assured to him by the Scottish parliament, in case of the death of David without children. There seems to be no reason for doubting that many of the Scottish prelates and nobility had been gained over to Edward's designs. Some of them made frequent and mysterious journeys to England, and had private interviews with the king. Within a short time after David's delivery from captivity,

Edward's sister, queen Joane, made two visits to the English court, for treating on certain subjects which are not specified, and her husband David soon afterwards repaired to England in person. After his return, the bishop of St. Andrew's, the earl of March, the earl of Douglas, sir Robert Erskine, and sir William Livingstone, were employed in frequent missions which were conducted with great secrecy; and there can be no doubt that some at least of these noblemen had entered fully into the designs of the English king.

One result of this intercourse was to give the young Scottish nobility and gentry a taste for travel and for chivalrous adventure, for the court of England was at this time the most chivalrous and splendid court in Europe. The barons sent by David on his missions thither, always led with them a numerous train of knights and esquires, and during the time the former were occupied in secret negotiations with the king, their followers joined cordially and joyfully in the fêtes and amusements of the court. It soon became fashionable among the Scottish knights to visit the continent and take part in the foreign wars. The earl of Mar, with a retinue of twenty-four knights and their esquires, entered the service of England, and accompanied Edward and his army to France. Sir William Keith (the marshal of Scotland), sir William Sinclair lord of Roslin, sir Alexander de Lindesay, sir Robert Gifford, and sir Alexander Montgomery, each with a train of sixty horse and a strong body of foot, had, a short time before, passed through England on their way to the continent to seek military service wherever they might find it to their liking. Scotland was thus deprived for a while of many of her best leaders, and their absence favoured the intrigues which were carried on against her independence.

The example of the earl of Mar found many imitators, and it may naturally be supposed that the jealousy of the French, whose king, captured at Poitiers, was now a prisoner in England, would be excited at seeing their great enemy not only relieved from the embarrassments of a Scottish war,

but actually recruiting his own army with Scottish combatants, and they soon began a series of counter-intrigues in Scotland. The party with whom the French regent secretly leagued himself was, as might be expected, that of the steward and his friends. David had already paid the first instalment of his ransom; the money had been raised not without difficulty, and now, as the term for the payment of the second approached, that difficulty was greatly increased. He had already given offence to the clergy, by levying taxes upon the ecclesiastical body, yet it seemed almost impossible to press from his exhausted subjects money sufficient to meet his demand. In despair, he yielded to the advice of the steward's party, and entered into a secret negotiation with the regent of France; and with a want of sincerity which he showed more than on other occasions, in spite of his secret transactions with king Edward and his leaning to England, he agreed to make war upon England, if France would advance him the money in which he was in present need. The French excused themselves from giving him full satisfaction in his demands, on account of the exhausted state of their country, and the captivity of their king and many of his principal nobles, but they agreed to contribute the sum of fifty thousand marks towards the payment of the ransom, on condition that the Scots should renew the war with England, and that the old treaty of alliance between France and England should be ratified. But this treaty, though apparently completed, was never executed by either party. In the ranks of the army which now invaded France were many of the bravest Scottish barons, and when this campaign ended in the treaty of Bretigny, the French, sacrificing the Scots, agreed to renounce all alliance they had already formed with them, and engaged never, in future, to enter into any treaty with Scotland against England. This transaction was a severe blow to the steward's party in Scotland, and gave strength to the party which was intriguing for the English succession.

An act of great atrocity was shortly afterwards perpetrated, that increased the bitterness of David's hatred to the party which supported the steward. Among the Scottish prisoners in England who had promised king Edward their allegiance and support, was the earl of Angus. This daring adventurer had been liberated on condition

of assisting Edward in his French expedition with four ships of war, which he commissioned from the Flemings, but when he was at liberty, he hurried to Scotland, and deserting king Edward, remained there to take an active part in the dark feuds and intrigues which then prevailed among his fellow barons. Scotland was soon afterwards visited successively by devastating floods, and by a still more fatal pestilence, and the latter made such havoc in the higher ranks of society, that David retired for his own safety and to avoid the melancholy sights which met his eyes on all sides in the south, as far north as Kinross, in Moray, where, for a while, he established his court. David had taken to Scotland with him his beautiful English mistress, Catherine Mortimer, who had incurred the hatred of the Scottish nobles opposed to England, and, as it appears, especially that of the earl of Angus. Perhaps she was suspected of exerting her influence over the king to bind him more and more to the English politics. Be this as it may, a design was formed against her life, and the earl of Angus hired two ruffians, named Hulle and Dewar, to carry their base purpose into effect. They went to the private residence of the lady, and, assuring her that they were sent by the king to bring her to court, they succeeded in persuading her to trust herself to their guidance. She accordingly mounted a horse, and rode forwards in their company. But when they had entered on the desolate moorlands to the north of Melrose, and had reached a solitary spot where her cries could bring none to her assistance, she was dragged from her horse, and Hulle dispatched her with his dagger. This barbarous deed exasperated the king in the highest degree, and he caused the earl of Angus to be immediately seized and thrown into prison in Dumbarton castle, where he was attacked by the plague and died.

This base murder occurred in the year 1360, and appears to have driven him to support more decidedly and more resolutely the plans of the English king, for towards the end of that year, the secret negotiations between David and Edward became more close and frequent. Men respected for integrity as well as talents, the bishops of St. Andrews and Brechin, the archdeacon of Lothian, the earls of March and Douglas, sir Robert Erskine, and sir John Preston, were sent on a secret mission to England

on matters which were never publicly stated. The steward, who had many reasons for suspecting the ultimate object of all these missions, and who was alarmed lest he should eventually be deprived of the succession, leagued strongly with his friends to oppose it, and their opposition was shown in the most uncompromising manner. Nevertheless, the feeling in favour of the English alliance had been decidedly gaining ground among the people generally, for it was evident to every body that Scotland had been rapidly improving during the free intercourse between the two countries. The Scottish merchants carried on a very lucrative traffic with England, and through England with the continent, and riches gradually flowed into the country, and gave encouragement to agriculture and manufactures; and while the gentry brought the refinements of civilization from the English court, their youths came home endued with the learning of the English schools and universities. In the Scottish districts which remained in the hands of the English, the population met with an indulgent treatment, which could not fail to make them feel grateful to English rule, while their ancient customs and privileges were preserved and respected. For some years this pacific intercourse between the two kingdoms was carried on without interruption, and the truce was respected and renewed. In 1362, the bishops of St. Andrews and Brechin, the archdeacon of Lothian, sir Robert Erskine, and sir Norman Lesley, were sent on another secret mission to England, and their arrival at the court of king Edward was followed by a public negotiation for a final and permanent peace between the two countries, but it led to no immediate results. At this time, Edward Baliol lay upon his death-bed; and queen Joane, who had been residing at her brother's court, died in Hlertford castle, leaving David a widower. It now appeared what had been, at least, partly the object of so many secret missions and negotiations; for the two kings determined to seize this as the moment for bringing forward a new plan for establishing the succession to the throne of Scotland, in case of David's death without children, which seemed a highly probable event.

In his jealousy of the steward, David appears to have been ready to adopt any plan that was likely to cut him off from the succession. He called a parliament which

met at Seone at the beginning of March, 1363, and laid before it the terms of peace which he said had been proposed by king Edward, and which he strongly recommended for their adoption. These were, that on his death childless, they should choose for his successor on the throne one of Edward's sons—he recommended especially Lionel, the third son of the English king, as the one best qualified to govern them according to the spirit of their own laws and to protect their independence. On this condition, he said, the English king would remit the ransom, and was ready to disclaim, on the part of himself and his heirs, all attempt, in future to establish a right to the kingdom of Scotland. The parliament at once met this proposal by an indignant refusal; they said they would never consent to an Englishman reigning over them; the estates of the realm had by a solemn act, which they would not break, placed the succession in the steward, if David had no heirs of his own body; yet they declared that peace was their earnest desire, and that they were willing to make every sacrifice to obtain it, consistent with their honour and independence. At first David could hardly conceal his anger at this reply, but he soon repressed his feelings, and affected to be satisfied. The parliament then proceeded to show that its desire for a lasting peace went further than empty words, and sir Robert Erskine, the archdeacon of Lothian (Wardlaw), and Gilbert Armstrong, were appointed the commissioners of the parliament to treat on this subject. The nobles at the same time declared that they would use every exertion to raise the sum required for payment of the ransom, and they would not only enforce the strict observance of the truce, but that they were ready to make amends for the infringement of it by the party hostile to the peace, meaning, no doubt, that which had the steward for its head.

This open declaration of the wish to change the succession had given the steward great alarm, and he lost no time in calling his friends together. They entered into a league for the purpose of forcing the king to relinquish all design of altering the succession, or, as they did not conceal, of driving him from the throne, and the nobles of this party, including several, such as the earl of Douglas, who had hitherto been acting with the king, entered into bonds of mutual defence. They then assembled their followers in arms, and invading the lands of those who remained faithful in their allegiance to

the king, they thrêw them into prison, and ravaged and plundered their possessions. They even carried their hostilities so far as to attack and oppress the towns and trading burghs which were flourishing in consequence of the encouragement that had been given them to trade with England. Provoked by this rebellion, David showed unusual activity and decision. With the assistance, it is supposed, of the king of England and of the English barons who held lands in the southern districts, he assembled an army much more numerous than the forces of the insurgent chiefs, and marched directly against them. The steward perceived now the danger in which he had placed himself. With little hopes of ultimate success if he pushed matters to extremities, he saw that if once proclaimed a rebel to the parliament, his hopes of the succession would be destroyed, while, as it was, all the chances were in his favour. Accordingly, on the approach of the royal army, the steward and his confederates laid down their arms, and submitted, and in a full assembly of the Scottish nobility at Inchmurdach, on the 14th of May, 1363, their bonds were renounced and cancelled, and the steward, renewing his oath of fealty to David, promised publicly that he would in future be obedient to the king, and defend him and his ministers against all opposition, under the penalty of forfeiting his lands and possessions and all title to the succession, and of being accounted a perjured knight. The king, rejoiced at having so easily suppressed a dangerous rebellion, made a formal recognition of the steward's title, and conferred the earldom of Carrick on his eldest son.

It was not long, however, before new causes of distrust between the king and his subjects arose. The former sunk quickly from his temporary exertion into the indulgence of his natural love of pleasure and quiet, and it was at this moment that he met with the beautiful Margaret Logie, the daughter of John de Logie, one of the lesser Scottish barons. David, who had never been taught to restrain his passions, became violently enamoured of this lady, and determined to possess her at any sacrifice. When he found that there was no other way of ensuring success, he made her, by a public marriage, queen of Scotland. The steward was again alarmed, for this new alliance might not only destroy all his prospect of the throne, but it might substitute in his place a boy who on one side, would be only

of plebeian origin; and the nobles were indignant at the disrespect shown to the high blood which they all boasted, by this low marriage. Some new confederacy seems to have been formed, but all we know of it is, that the king caused the steward of Scotland and his son, Alexander lord of Badenoch, to be seized and thrown into prison, and that he himself, disgusted with the turbulence of his subjects, went into England on a pilgrimage to our lady of Walsingham, while the queen, with an escort of thirty knights, proceeded on a similar errand to St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Other causes of uneasiness tormented David's mind at this time. With all the efforts of his parliament and subjects, he was unable to pay with punctuality the instalments of his ransom, and he was now so much in arrear, that it was only by king Edward's indulgence he was not remanded to his prison in the tower of London. This circumstance, joined with the consciousness that he was neither loved nor respected by his subjects, was galling to his spirit, and he was led again to attempt to relieve himself from the ransom by a new conspiracy with Edward to make Scotland an appendage of the crown of England. On this occasion the introductory steps were taken with more formality, though still with secrecy. The two kings, with their privy councillors on each side, held a meeting at Westminster on the 26th of November, 1363. The document recording the articles agreed to at this conference is preserved, and has been printed in that mass of valuable historical records, Rymer's *Fœdera*. It begins by stating, that the articles thus agreed to were to be considered as secret, and not binding to either party, but that David was to make another experiment on the sentiments of his countrymen, and if possible persuade them to accept them, as the best means of securing perpetual peace and union between the two countries. These articles were in substance that if David died without heirs male of his body, the king of England and his heirs should succeed to the throne of Scotland, upon which that kingdom was to be restored to its integrity as it existed at the time of the death of Robert Bruce, and the ransom was to be cancelled. Edward further engaged solemnly that he would preserve unimpaired the laws and usages of Scotland, which kingdom was to be preserved distinct and entire, by name and title of a separate state.

The kings of England were to be crowned kings of Scotland at Seone, upon the ancient stone seat, which was to be carried back from England, the ceremony to be performed by Scottish prelates; and all parliaments regarding Scottish affairs were to be called and held within the kingdom of Scotland. The subjects of Scotland were never to be called upon to answer to any suit except within their own courts, and according to the laws of their own country. The king of England was to take a solemn oath that, as king of Scotland, he would preserve inviolate the rights and immunities of the church of Scotland, which was to be subject to no other external jurisdiction but that of the pope. Edward promised further that he would give no ecclesiastical benefices or dignities, nor civil or military offices, in Scotland, to any but true subjects of the kingdom of Scotland, and that, for Scottish affairs, he would take his counsellors only from the nobles and lords of Scotland. He promised also to respect the present possessors of property, immunities, or privileges, and that he would make no revocations of former grants, especially of those made by Robert Bruce. Advantages were held out to the Scottish merchants; and baits were not spared to gain over the other classes of society.

David was to report to the king of England the sentiments of his people on the subject of this arrangement within fifteen days after the following Easter (1364), but we are quite ignorant if any further steps were taken. It is certain that this affair was never made public in either country, and that it was totally unknown to the old historians. During the time of this secret negotiation, a public conference was held with the Scottish commissioners, who had also repaired to England, for the establishment of a peace; and a parliament was called, to meet at Perth, in the beginning of the year, to hear their report of the proceedings. David, who had remained with his queen at London, to partake in the splendid festivities which celebrated the presence at the English court of three other kings, those of France, Cyprus, and Denmark, also returned to Scotland to meet his parliament, which assembled on the 13th of January, 1364. The embarrassments of the nation became there a subject of serious consideration, and the parliament showed an earnest desire to adopt any honourable means of relieving their country

from its burthens, and obtaining a permanent peace and alliance with England. They declared their readiness to restore their estates in Scotland to all the disinherited lords; and offered to settle on the youngest son of the king of England the Isle of Man and Edward Baliol's inheritance in Galloway, as an equivalent for the ransom. If this offer were accepted, they declared their readiness to assist Edward in his Irish war, by sending a strong force against the enemies of the English in that island. If these conditions were not accepted as the basis of a treaty, they said that, rather than renounce all hopes of a just and lasting peace, they were agreed that the ransom should be paid, if moderate intervals between each term of payment were allowed, and on the understanding that a perpetual union and alliance should take place between the two nations, if not on terms of a perfect equality of power, at least on such conditions as should in no degree compromise the freedom and independence of their country. They even agreed to combine with these conditions the restoration of the disinherited lords, the grant of the Isle of Man and Baliol's estates in Galloway to king Edward's son, and the invasion of Ireland, provided that a reasonable deduction were made from the sum total of the ransom. Provisions were made for raising additional taxes to meet the necessary payments towards the ransom; and the lords and barons assembled in parliament engaged solemnly to ratify any treaty which their plenipotentiaries should now make with the English king or his council. The steward of Scotland and his eldest son, with some of the principal lords of all parties, were present on this occasion, with a full attendance of the prelates, minor barons, and representatives of the burghs. They concluded their proceedings by all taking an oath that they would support and defend all these resolutions, and consider all who opposed them or refused to submit to them as rebels against the Scottish crown, and treat them as such.

The resolutions of the Scottish parliament naturally led to a new negotiation with England, and certain heads of a treaty of peace were agreed to as preliminaries, on the strength of which king Edward renewed the truce for four years, from the 20th of March, 1365. It was now proposed that there should be a twenty-five years' truce between the two kingdoms, and that Scotland

should pay a sum of a hundred thousand pounds in full of all demand for the ransom. Immediately after the renewal of the truce, a Scottish parliament was held at Perth, at which there was a large assembly of prelates with the greater earls and barons. The same anxious desire was again shown for the eventual conclusion of peace with England, with a willingness to make large concessions for the purpose of obtaining it. Edward believed that the earnestness shown in these negotiations by the Scots arose from their conscious weakness and from the helplessly exhausted state of the kingdom, and he became more oppressive in his demands. Yet, on the other hand, he redoubled his exertions to ingratiate himself with the middle and lower ranks of the Scottish people, by favouring their commerce and manufactures, and making them experience the advantages of peace over war, which to them especially had brought so many sufferings. The secret intercourse between the two kings continued as active as ever; and there appears to be no room for doubt that several of the greater barons had entered warmly into Edward's projects. They were continually drawn into England under pretence of pious pilgrimages or visits of pleasure, which, while they injured the resources of Scotland at the time by carrying its money out of the country, contributed to improve its people in politeness and civilization.

Still, in the negotiations, Edward assumed a tone which was calculated to offend the national pride of the Scottish people, and which did much towards counteracting his intrigues. He affected to speak of Robert Bruce as the person pretending to be king of Scotland, and in his various letters of protection to David he evaded the direct use of the royal title by calling him his dear brother and prisoner. He always

spoke of Scotland as though it were a part of his dominions, and never abated the rigour of his demands. The spirit of the Scottish people was thus roused into resistance, and on the 8th of May, 1366, during one of David's frequent visits to England, the Scottish parliament met in the monastery of Holyrood, and there declared in the strongest language that they would never listen to Edward's propositions relating to the homage, succession, and dismemberment of the kingdom. They at the same time declared their willingness to submit to still greater privations in order to pay the ransom of the king, and thus relieve the country from a grievous burthen, and one which placed it in a humiliating condition with regard to England. A new proposal for raising money was at the same time suggested, in the vain hope that at the conclusion of the four years' truce they would be able to pay the whole ransom money. At this time the apprehensions of the renewal of the war seem to have been gaining ground, and were increased by the orders sent to the English lords-marchers to put the borders in a state of defence, and to command an array of all fighting men between sixteen and sixty. Both sides were alarmed at these preparations, for while the Scots looked upon them as foreboding a renewal of the war by the English, the latter imagined that the Scots were going to break the truce and invade the border. Amid these symptoms of uneasiness, a very full parliament of the Scottish estates met at Secone, on the 20th of July, and began to discuss earnestly and anxiously the increase of their monetary difficulties by the extravagant expenditure of David and his queen in their continual visits to England, and by the less extravagant but still great expenses of the commissioners employed in negotiations for peace.

CHAPTER XII.

CONTINUED NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE; REBELLION OF THE NORTHERN CLANS; DAVID'S DIVORCE, AND DEATH.

THE truce of four years was now soon to expire, and no advance had been made towards establishing the mutual relations of the two countries on a satisfactory foundation. Under these circumstances the Scots determined to make another effort, and they sent the same commissioners to negotiate again. They were specially directed to obtain, if possible, a renewal of the truce for the long period of twenty-five years, and were authorized to make a condition that the Scots should pay annually four thousand pounds until the ransom was entirely cleared off. Arrangements were at the same time made for raising this money, in case their commissioners were successful. At the same time while the people of Scotland were thus heavily taxed to pay the ransom of a king whom they did not love, several acts were passed for the protection of their persons and liberties from oppression. One of these provided for the strict and impartial administration of justice; another provided that the sums of money collected for the king's ransom should not be applied to any other purposes; a third protected the immunities of the church; and a fourth was directed against the exactions of the king's officers and purveyors.

While the estates of the kingdom were thus anxiously exerting themselves for the relief of their exhausted country, some of the lords of the north were embarrassing the government by their turbulence. With the lawless independence of their forefathers, these highland barons set the king's authority at defiance, refusing to obey the summons to take their seat in parliament, or to pay their share of the taxes which it imposed. The principal leaders of this rebellion, which lasted with more or less force during the remainder of David's reign, were the earl of Ross, Hugh of Ross, John of the Isles, John of Lorn, and John de Haye, under whom and their less powerful confederates the extensive districts of Argyre, Athol, Badenoch, Lochaber, and Ross, were in open insurrection. Some of the less important acts of the parliament of Seone were directed against these rebels, and it was forbidden that the Scottish

nobles should ride through the land, as they had been accustomed to do, with large trains of armed followers, in an oppressive and extortionate manner, trampling over people's fields in the country, and destroying their crops, and in towns forcing themselves into lodgings, and not paying for their board. The measures now taken against the northern lords were of so little effect, that their rebellion continued unsuppressed two years afterwards, when, at a parliament held at Seone, in the summer of 1368, they were again made the subject of legislation. It is unfortunate that the historical records of the time throw very little light on the internal state of Scotland during this turbulent period. The king and his council seem designedly to have attempted to throw the responsibility of the northern rebellion on the steward of Scotland, the heir-apparent to the throne, whose daughter was married to John of the Isles, one of the most powerful and obstinate of the refractory chieftains. It is not improbable that the steward looked with an eye of satisfaction at a commotion which embarrassed and weakened the power of the king, who he knew was his enemy, and which was a hindrance to the peace with Edward, whose influence he dreaded. The steward's influence in the north was great, and, in accordance with the acts of the parliament of 1368, the king addressed a writ to him and his two sons, the lords of Kyle and Menteith, charging them personally to defend his northern subjects against the rebels. He told the steward that it was his duty to put down a rebellion which threatened to deprive the states of the kingdom of the only safe place of retreat in case of a war with England. John of the Isles, Gillespie Campbell, and John of Lorn, were at the same time summoned to appear before the king and give security for their future pacific conduct, and for their obedience to the acts of parliament. The two former chiefs now submitted; the earls of Mar and Ross with some of their confederates, convinced at last of the danger to which the whole kingdom was exposed, came forward to join heartily in supporting the government; and the steward and his

two sons came and made themselves answerable for the districts of Athol, Strathern, Menteith, and other lands over which their power extended. John of the Isles alone refused to submit, and, in the wild and almost inaccessible seat of his power he set the crown and the parliament at defiance, and continued for months afterwards to hold his own territory in proud independence. The steward undertook to reduce him to obedience, but he failed in the attempt; and, at length, late in the autumn of 1369, David called together his barons, assembled an army, and marched northward against the rebellious chieftain. The approach of the king seems at length to have alarmed the refractory islanders, and when David reached Inverness, he was met by John of the Isles and a numerous party of the highland chiefs who followed his banner, who submitted to his authority and entered into a treaty, binding themselves not only to obey the royal authority and to pay their share of the taxes, but also to assist in putting down by force all others who should at any time offer resistance to the royal authority. The high steward became security for his son-in-law, the lord of the Isles, who also gave three hostages, his son Donald, his grandson Angus, and a natural son also named Donald.

Meanwhile the negotiations with England continued, though with decreasing confidence. The deliberations of the parliament of 1366 had ended in a new attempt to obtain a peace, but with as little success as ever. Edward next ordered some warlike preparations on the border, with the intention, no doubt, of overawing the Scots into a more submissive temper, and for which it was easy to find an excuse in the continued feuds among the Scottish chiefs, and the internal weakness of the Scottish government, which could hardly restrain individual inroads upon the English territory. Some of these chieftains began to show their contempt of the government not much less openly than the rebels in the north. The earl of Douglas refused to attend in parliament or to join in the deliberations of the council, and he obtained from the king of England a safe conduct to proceed through his territories on his way to the continent. Another measure, which gave great offence to many of the Scottish lords, arose out of the necessities of the time. During the long period of confusion which followed the

capture of the king at Neville's Cross, much of the patrimony of the crown had been alienated, and there had not been left sufficient to support its ordinary wants, much less to answer the extravagant expenses of David and his young queen. The condition of the crown in this respect was brought under the consideration of a parliament held at Scone, on the 27th of September, 1367, and it was determined that the patrimony of the crown should be immediately restored to the condition in which it stood under Robert Bruce and Alexander III. This general resumption was made with great rigour, and in some instances with cruelty. Arrears were claimed, and in cases where there had been *bona fide* sales to third persons, those sales were declared to be null and void, and the resumption was made without any attention to the claims of the possessors. Provisions were also made against the future alienation of the possessions of the crown.

The parliament of 1367 recommended that the negotiations for peace should be renewed, and they went so far as to give the king and his privy council authority to name commissioners for so desirable an object, and to levy a tax to defray their expenses, without calling a parliament for the purpose. Now, however, these negotiations became every day more futile, and generally ended in new and more rigorous demands on the part of king Edward, and in a declaration of the Scottish parliament that they would not surrender their independence. In the middle of these transactions David, intent only on his own pleasures, and heedless of the cost which his extravagance was continually adding to the burthen which already weighed so heavily upon his country, went with his queen on his usual expensive pilgrimage to Canterbury, with a retinue of a hundred knights and a numerous body of followers. To David, indeed, a visit to England appears to have been a relief from the troubles and annoyances which he met with at home from the embarrassment of his finances and the turbulence of his nobles. Although, as stated before, we have very little information on the internal state of Scotland at this time, we know it was torn with private feuds as well as with public misfortunes. The personal feuds prevailed among almost all classes, from the least considerable chieftain to the royal palace, and the king's continued jealousy of the steward was so great, that through several years of the period of

which we are now speaking, we find that great officer and his sons sometimes in prison and sometimes at liberty. King Edward was well aware of all these causes of weakness, which encouraged him to believe that at last the Scots would be obliged to submit to whatever terms he chose to dictate; while on the other hand he seems to have been constantly apprehensive of an attack on the English borders by some of the turbulent chieftains who so often set the crown at defiance. At the very time when the king and queen of Scotland were making their ostentatious progress to the shrine of St. Thomas, king Edward was sending orders to the wardens of the English borders to strengthen their castles, to summon their vassals in arms, and to call out the array of all who were capable of bearing arms, that they might be ready to repel the enemy at a moment's warning.

David himself certainly looked forward to a renewal of the war with the greatest unwillingness. Everything seems to show that he was more and more resolved to set aside the steward, and deliver the crown over to the king of England, of whose intrigues he was a willing instrument. But he found his designs thwarted by the patriotism of the Scottish parliament. A parliament held at Seone in 1368 again declared their resolution to withstand Edward's renewed demands, which involved their subjection and dependence. The deliberations of this parliament, which was the same that had directed energetic measures to be taken against the northern rebels, turned chiefly on the private feuds which disturbed the internal peace of the kingdom, and on its defenceless state in case of foreign invasion. The nobles were earnestly recommended to compose all their dissensions and carry on their disputes in no other way but by a process at law, in which the king was bound to administer justice equally without any favour or acceptance of persons.* The king was to consult with the earls of March and Douglas, who were the wardens of the east marches, on the means of keeping peace on the border; but it was intimated at the same time that those noblemen were not well disposed towards the public good. The chamberlain of Scotland was to be sent with

four experienced knights, Walter de Lesley, Walter de Haliburton, Hugh de Eglintoun, and Walter Moygne, to visit the castles of Loehleven, Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dumbarton, and see that those important fortresses were properly repaired, garrisoned, victualled, and furnished with all the munitions of war, so that there might be nothing wanting for an obstinate defence in case of attack. They were then to visit the other castles of the realm, and cause them also to be put in a good state of defence.

The truce was now within a little more than a year of its termination, and Scotland, saved at this moment from the extremities of famine only by its liberty of purchasing the necessaries of life from England, was so little prepared for war, that the prolongation of the truce became an anxious matter of deliberation. Another attempt was made by the parliament to pay off the ransom, and the bishop of Glasgow and Sir Robert Erskine were sent to England to negotiate. It happened, fortunately for Scotland, that Edward was at this moment again involved in a war with France, and eager to concentrate all his strength, he suddenly became more moderate in his pretensions with regard to Scotland. After a short negotiation, a treaty was concluded, by which the truce between England and Scotland was renewed for fourteen years, to commence with the 24th of August, 1369. In spite of the great exertions of the Scottish parliament, fifty-six thousand marks of the king's ransom still remained unpaid, and it was agreed that this should be defrayed by an annual payment of four thousand marks. An arrangement was also made with regard to the estates in the county of Roxburgh, which were then in the possession of Englishmen, or whose possessors had come under the peace of the English king. It was agreed that one-half of the rents should be received by the Scottish proprietors who had been dispossessed, and that the lands and their tenantry should remain in fealty to Edward and his heirs, but they were to be governed by the advice of a council of English and Scottish subjects. Thus did Scotland at last obtain a longer breathing time from the uncertainties and anxieties which had lately embarrassed its councils,

* Item, deliberant quod, quia necessarium est providere atque disponere super et pro defensione regni, omnes dissensiones motæ inter magnates et nobiles aliter quam per viam justitiæ communis festinanter sopiri debeant et sedari per regem, ita

quod nullus inquietat alium aliter quam per processum communis justitiæ, quam quidem dominus noster rex unicuique debeat semper administrare æqualiter sine favore aliquo et acceptione per sonarum.

to consider of its internal troubles. It was on the conclusion of this truce that the submission of the northern chieftain, John of the Isles, put an end to the rebellion in the north, and thus relieved the government from another cause of uneasiness. On his return from the expedition against this chieftain, David held a parliament at Perth, which proceeded immediately to take into consideration the state of the kingdom, the expenses of the royal household, and the administration of justice, for the unsettled state of the country appears to have hitherto defeated every attempt to regulate these matters. Committees were formed to examine into each of these subjects, and that appointed to consider the subject of the king's debts was to hold its deliberations perfectly secret, and none of the representatives of the royal burghs were admitted to it. The reason of their exclusion was soon seen, for it ended in a mean and wanton breach of the good faith on the strength of which the money and goods of merchants were advanced for the king's use. It was declared that all the debts of the king throughout the realm, which had been contracted up to the period of the exchequer court held at Perth at the Epiphany in the year 1368, were cancelled; that whatever was borrowed subsequent to this date should be promptly paid; and that no customs should be levied by the king's officers for the aid of the crown, but according to the ancient and established practice of the realm. The next important measure of this parliament was an attempt to equalize the taxation over the whole country, for which an opportunity had been given by the submission of the highland chiefs. It was further ordained that no native subject, or foreigner, whatever might be his rank, should send or take money, gold or silver, out of the country, except the sums necessary for the travelling expenses of those who had been permitted to leave the realm, unless he paid to the exchequer forty pence on every pound. Another important enactment of this parliament was directed against the extortion and malversation of the officers of the crown in the different countries which were to be made the subject of a searching inquiry, and severe punishment was denounced against all who should be found guilty.

As the king was thus relieved from his debts and other embarrassments, he seems to have become weary of his wife. We

have no information whatever on the causes of the quarrel between David and his queen, but he demanded a divorce. She is said to have been extremely beautiful, and may possibly have had other admirers. All that we know of her leads to the conclusion that she was very extravagant in her expenditure, and she no doubt added considerably to the burthen of her husband's pecuniary embarrassments. She is said, nevertheless, to have laid by large sums of money, and to have amassed a considerable treasure. Perhaps, if we knew the simple truth, the king, who married her only to satisfy a sudden passion, had become satiated, and was willing to get rid of its object. She appears to have had a taste for political intrigue, and by her interference in state affairs, she had drawn upon herself the hatred of the Scottish nobility so extensively, that the application for a divorce appears to have been well supported by his subjects, and the sentence, which seems to have been given without hesitation, was pronounced in the Lent of 1369. Margaret is said to have incensed the king against the steward and his family, and to have been more than once the cause of their imprisonment. The steward and his sons were again in prison at the time of the divorce, but immediately afterwards they were not only released but restored to favour. The queen, who was not a consenting party to the divorce, secretly carried her treasures on board a ship in the Forth, and sailed for France. She directed her course to Avignon, and laid her appeal in person before the papal court which was then held there. David immediately sent envoys to the pope to counteract any impressions that her representations might make, but they were altogether unsuccessful; and the court of Rome took up the cause of the lady with so much zeal, that the kingdom of Scotland was thrown into great alarm, for it was at one time threatened with an interdict. The ex-queen died soon afterwards on her way to Rome, but this event was so far from putting an end to the process, that it was carried on through several years, to the great annoyance of David's successor, and it is not known when it was ended, or what was the final result.

David seems now to have been seized with a general disgust for the pleasures which had formed the chief object of his life—perhaps he was at last overtaken with repentance. He took a sudden resolution to set out on an expedition to the Holy Land,

and with this view, he assembled at his courts all the bravest of his knights, announced to them that it was his intention to appoint a regency, and invited them to accompany him to Palestine, where he was going to pass the remainder of his days in warring against the enemies of his Redeemer. But David was destined never to carry this design into execution; for he was suddenly attacked by a mortal disease, and after lingering awhile, he expired in the castle of Edinburgh, on the 22nd of February, 1370. He was then in the forty-seventh year of his age, and in the forty-first of his reign. Few kings have ever died less generally regretted by their subjects.

The death of the king threatened for a moment to involve the kingdom in a civil war. The earl of Douglas, who was at that time at Linlithgow, suddenly proclaimed his own title to the throne, and announced his intention of opposing the claim of the acknowledged heir, the steward of Scotland. This powerful and turbulent baron pretended to unite in his own person the claims of Comyn and Baliol, and some offence which had been given him by the party of the steward seems to have driven him into this hasty demonstration. But sir Robert Erskine, who had the command of the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dumbarton, marched against him without delay, and was joined on his way by the earls of March and Moray; and their united force was too great to allow the pretender any hope of success from an appeal to arms. Douglas met his opponents in a peaceful conference, and he declared himself satisfied by their arguments of the emptiness of his own title and of the justice of that of the steward. In reward for his prompt submission, the steward's daughter Isabella was promised in marriage to Douglas's son, with an annual pension. Douglas himself was appointed king's justiciar on the south of the Forth and warden of the east marches. A few well-applied gifts

to those who had come forward so zealously to support the steward's title to the throne cleared away all further opposition, and he was crowned in the abbey of Seone, in great pomp and splendour, on the 26th of March, 1371, and proclaimed as king Robert II. After the usual oaths of homage had been taken, the new king stood up and declared his eldest son, John earl of Carrick and steward of Scotland, heir to the throne in the event of his own death, and this nomination was approved by the whole assembled multitude, clergy and laity.

Thus did the crown of Scotland pass into a new race, for Robert derived royal blood only through his mother, the daughter of Robert Bruce. He was descended in the direct line from a branch of the Anglo-Norman family of the Fitz-Alans, who had left England to settle in Scotland in the twelfth century. Walter Fitz-Alan held the high office of steward of the king's household in the reign of David I., and the dignity having been made hereditary in the family, the title was at length converted into a surname, and thus originated the family of Stewart, or, as the name of the royal race is more usually spelt, Stuart. The power of this house had been strengthened by numerous and powerful alliances. Robert Stuart who now ascended the throne had been twice married. By his first wife he had four sons, John earl of Carrick, Walter earl of Fife, Robert earl of Menteith, and Alexander earl of Buchan, and six daughters, all married into the most powerful families in Scotland. By his second wife he had two sons, David earl of Strathern, and Walter earl of Athol, and four daughters, the eldest of whom was subsequently married to James earl of Douglas, and the other three were wedded into houses little less powerful. He had also eight natural sons, who also ranked among the nobility of the land, and lent their support to his throne.

BOOK III.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF STUART TO THE BATTLE OF FLODDEN.

CHAPTER I.

REIGN OF ROBERT II.; DEATH OF KING EDWARD; MASSACRE AT ROXBURGH; BORDER HOSTILITIES; FRENCH EXPEDITION TO SCOTLAND, AND WAR WITH ENGLAND.

ROBERT THE SECOND thus succeeded to a kingdom involved in great embarrassments, at an age (fifty-five) when he was already approaching the decline of life, and when the energy of his youth had given place to a love of peace and inactivity. This disadvantage, however, was balanced by his long experience in Scottish state affairs, and by the support of a numerous family; and his gentle and affable manners rendered him generally popular among his subjects, though he had not always the strength or influence to repress their turbulence. Fortunately, however, neither England nor Scotland were at this moment in a condition to wish for war. The former was gradually losing the possessions in France which had been secured by Edward's victories during the earlier part of his reign; and the heavy taxes which the wars in which he was already engaged required, joined with his own feeble health, made it necessary to avoid any measures that would call for new exertions. In addition to the other disadvantages of her position, Scotland was suffering from a famine of such a severe character, that its population was supported entirely on grain imported from England and Ireland. It was, therefore, determined on the part of the Scots to respect the truce, and fulfil punctually the obligations with regard to the ransom; and on the side of England the encouragement to friendly and commercial intercourse was not relaxed.

Still it was difficult to keep the turbulent borderers on either side in peace, and events occurred, in spite of all the precautions of the respective governments, which ended in a war between the two kingdoms, and some open acts of the governments themselves shewed but too clearly the feeling of national hostility which lurked beneath their peaceful professions. In the summer of 1371 a new treaty of amity was entered into

between Scotland and France, in which the two powers engaged to support each other against their common enemy, England. By this agreement the subjects of each power were to be hindered from serving in the English armies against the other; no truce or peace was to be concluded by one party without including the other; and in the event of any competition for the crown of Scotland, the king of France was to maintain by force of arms the right of the claimant approved by the majority of the Scottish estates. The French king also proposed certain secret articles, in which he engaged to obtain from the pope a dispensation for breaking the existing truce with England, to pay and furnish with arms a large body of Scottish knights, and to send a thousand French men-at-arms to co-operate with them, if king Robert would invade the English territory. This treaty was confirmed by the king of Scots at Edinburgh on the 28th of October, 1381, but he appears not to have agreed to the secret articles. About the same time great offence was given to the Scots by the omission of the title of king in the usual receipt for the payment of the ransom-money, which was looked upon as a proof that Edward still harboured designs against the national independence of Scotland.

In spite of these occurrences, the two countries remained at peace during several years, which were employed by king Robert in strengthening his family in the possession of the throne, in regulating the expenses of the royal household, and in introducing substantial reforms into the administration of justice. These objects constituted the main business of two parliaments held in March 1371, and April 1373. Little else occurred to arrest the pen of the historian until the death of Edward III. of England, which occurred on the 1st of June

1377. This event tended to increase the chances of peace between the two kingdoms, and there can be little doubt that the wishes of the two governments were directed towards a friendly alliance. But in Scotland, at least, the king had at this time but a precarious power over his subjects. During the troubles which had torn the kingdom to pieces since the death of Robert Bruce, the nobles had been increasing in power and turbulence, and many of them had individually the force and the will to involve their country in hostilities whenever it suited their interests or gratified their revenge. The latter feeling gave rise, soon after the accession of Richard II. to the English throne, to an outrage of a very atrocious character. The castle of Roxburgh was held by an English garrison, and the town was much frequented at this time by Englishmen. There was held at Roxburgh a rather celebrated fair on the feast of St. Lawrence (the 10th of August.) At this fair, in 1376, one of the retainers of the earl of March was slain by some Englishmen in one of the brawls so frequent on such occasions. The earl, who was one of the most powerful and turbulent of the Scottish nobles, demanded satisfaction from the garrison, with a threat that if it was not given, he, individually, would no longer respect the truce. The threat and demand were slighted, and a whole year passed by without any further notice being taken of the matter. At length the fair of St. Lawrence came round again, and English merchants and traders crowded into the town, and took up their lodgings without suspicion of treachery. But, early in the morning of the fair, the earl of March attacked the town with a strong armed force, and set fire to it. The English were dragged from their houses and booths, and murdered without respect of age or sex, or burnt in their dwellings, and, after collecting a rich booty, the earl marched off with his men as though he had performed a legitimate act of war.

The English borderers, provoked at the atrocity of this attack, flew to arms, and ravaged the lands of sir John Gordon, a baron of the earl of March's party, who had been very prominent in the massacre at Roxburgh. Gordon retaliated by collecting his vassals, and making a raid into England, from whence he returned with a large booty in cattle and prisoners. He was intercepted in his retreat by an English borderer, sir John Lilburn, with a superior force, and an

obstinate engagement took place in a mountain-pass, which ended in the defeat of the English. Sir John Gordon was himself seriously wounded, but he secured his booty, and carried off sir John Lilburn as his prisoner. Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, the warden of the English marches, incensed at this breach of the truce, raised an army of seven thousand men, and entered the possessions of the earl of March with the resolution of taking exemplary vengeance on the turbulent Scot. But while he lay encamped near Dunse, in Berwickshire, a trick was played upon his army which threw ridicule upon the expedition. In the dead of night the English camp was surrounded by a tumultuous rabble of Scots, armed with the rattles used by the peasantry to drive wild beasts away from their flocks, and with these and a horrible mixture of discordant yells and shouts, they threw the English into the utmost terror and confusion. The English force consisted chiefly of knights and men-at-arms, who had slept on their arms, leaving their horses picketed round the outside of the camp, in the care of their valets and camp-boys. The men stood to their arms, and prepared to resist an attack, but the horses, terrified at the noise, broke loose, and ran wild over the plain, whence most of them were carried off by the Scots. When daybreak at last appeared no enemy was visible, and the English soon discovered the stratagem by which they had been alarmed, and the loss of their horses. Angry and mortified, they were obliged to return into England on foot, though they first pillaged the lands of the earl of March, and carried away a considerable booty. The same hostilities were carried on by the Scots on the western borders, and a piratical fleet of Scottish, French, and Spanish ships, under a Scottish adventurer named Mercer, infested the seas. The Scottish government was too feeble to restrain these outrages, and that of England was at this moment wanting in the energy to resist them. It was left to an English merchant named Philpot to fit out a fleet at his own expense, with which he encountered and destroyed, or captured, the whole of Mercer's armament. Among these were fifteen Spanish vessels, and a considerable number of rich prizes.

These border raids continued for some time to exasperate the people of the two countries against each other, in spite of the repeated appointment of commissioners on

both sides to hold courts for the redress of grievances, which only ended in shewing how difficult it was to coerce the turbulent aristocracy of Scotland. The hostilities continued unchecked, and at length a party of adventurers, under Alexander Ramsay, surprised and captured the castle of Berwick. When the Scottish and English wardens summoned Ramsay to surrender, he set them both at defiance, telling them that he would give up his prize neither to king Richard nor to king Robert, but that he would keep it while he lived for the king of France. The earl of Northumberland, with a force of ten thousand men, laid siege to the castle, which was taken after an obstinate defence, in which Ramsay and his handful of borderers for some length of time held the whole English army at bay.

This event occurred in the year 1378. When the castle of Berwick was reduced, the earl of Northumberland marched with his army into Scotland, to ravage the southern districts, where the lands of the hostile borderers lay. As they advanced, sir Archibald Douglas, lord of Galloway, with a considerable force, though quite unequal to that of the English earl, encountered sir Thomas Musgrave with an advanced party of English at Melrose, and after a short but obstinate engagement defeated them, taking Musgrave and his son, with many knights and other prisoners. Douglas then fell back upon Edinburgh, and the Percy, when he had done all the mischief he could, returned to England. The following year presented a repetition of the same scenes of slaughter and devastation, until at length, in 1380, John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, whose influence at this time ruled England, marched to Scotland at the head of a powerful army, with the declared object of establishing peace and good order between the two countries. He was met by sir Archibald Douglas, the bishops of Dunkeld and Glasgow, and the earls of Douglas and March, and a cessation of all hostilities having been agreed to, the duke of Lancaster disbanded his army, and soon afterwards a conference was held between him and the earl of Carrick, the next heir to the Scottish throne, which ended in the renewal of the truce for three years, and an indulgence from the king of England with regard to the payment of arrears of the ransom of king David.

The English chroniclers tell us that the duke hurried the conclusion of this truce in

consequence of private intelligence of the breaking out of the popular insurrection in England under Wat Tyler, and that, when the public news of these events arrived, the Scots were furious at the loss of the opportunity of invading and plundering the English territory while the king was embarrassed with the rebellion of his subjects. Nevertheless, when the duke of Lancaster, apprehensive for his own safety if he returned immediately to England, asked permission to remain in Scotland, he was treated with the utmost hospitality. The abbey of Holyrood was fitted up for him, and he was escorted thither in great state by the earl of Douglas and Archibald lord of Galloway, with a numerous retinue; and when affairs in England had taken such a turn that he had nothing more to fear, he was accompanied on his way home with an honorary escort of eight hundred Scottish spears.

In spite, however, of the friendly feeling thus exhibited, and the undoubted wish of the two monarchs to preserve peace, the restless barons of Scotland urged their king into a new treaty with France. The secret articles proposed on the former occasion appear to have formed the foundation of this new treaty, and the Scottish nobles had been gained over by the promise of forty thousand francs of gold, and a thousand suits of armour, to be distributed among them, whilst a thousand French men-at-arms were to be sent over to their assistance in making war upon England. Accordingly, on the expiration of the truce in 1383, the Scots recommenced hostilities, and sir Archibald Douglas captured the castle of Lochmaben, which had remained in the hands of the English. On the other hand, the duke of Lancaster, with a numerous army, marched into Scotland, and a fleet of victualling ships attended on his progress. The inhabitants of the English counties on the border complained that this army, during its short halt before crossing the border, was as destructive as a Scottish invasion, and we may therefore imagine the havoc they would make in an enemy's country. But they found that the Scots had so completely cleared the country of everything moveable, that they had even carried away the straw that formed the roofs of their houses, and the English soldiers in a wasted country, with an unusually severe season (it was the month of March), suffered greatly. When they approached Edinburgh, eager

for the plunder of that rich city, the duke, mindful of the generous hospitality he had experienced there, gave strict orders that it should not be injured, and established his camp at some distance from it. The system of warfare so strongly recommended by Robert Bruce was thus successful under his son-in-law; the English army was obliged by its necessities to retreat, and king Robert issued orders for assembling the force of Scotland to intercept the English in their way home. At this moment messengers came from the king of France, to announce his truce with England, and a Scottish parliament was called to deliberate on the best course to pursue under these new circumstances. Thus the duke of Lancaster was allowed to make good his retreat without opposition, and before he left the Scottish territory he plundered and laid waste the vast estates of the great border earls whose turbulence had been one great cause of these hostilities.

The Scottish king was now anxious for peace, and he ordered his nobles to lay aside all further hostilities. The nobles, on the contrary, were eager for war, and, long habituated to respect the commands of the crown only when they had no inducement to do otherwise, they declared openly their disapprobation of the decision of their sovereign. While they were in this humour, and the parliament was still deliberating, there arrived a party of French knights and esquires, who, tired of remaining idle at home, had come to Scotland in search of employment, and their presence increased the military ardour of the Scottish chiefs. It was agreed between the earls of Mar and Douglas and the lord of Galloway, that the French knights should be treated with an inroad on the English border, and they were privately invited to the castle of Dalkeith, where the earl of Douglas treated them with great hospitality. They all took horse at Dalkeith, and after three days' riding reached the border, and found an army of fifteen thousand Scots mounted as usual on hardy and active ponies, ready to receive them. With this force they broke into the northern counties of England, and ravaged and plundered the extensive estates of the earls of Northumberland and Nottingham. The king of Scotland immediately sent a herald to England to disavow the outrage, which he declared had been done entirely without his knowledge. But it was evident that his nobles were no longer under his control.

The earl of Northumberland retaliated by an inroad into Scotland, and the borders continued to be the scene of continual hostilities. The turbulence of the barons seemed, indeed, to be increasing throughout the country; and amid the confusion lesser chiefs, and even men of low extraction, collected together bands of ruffians, and under pretence of making war upon each other, plundered and massacred without respect of persons. This was especially the case in the Highlands, and the disorders had reached such a head, that they were made the subject of a parliamentary investigation in 1385, and the earl of Carrick, the heir to the throne, was sent with an army to the disturbed districts, to take strong measures for enforcing order and obedience. This parliament was chiefly occupied with the disorders of the kingdom, which appeared to have been overrun with every species of violence and injustice. Lesser barons were expelled from their estates by those who were more powerful, and their possessions were withheld from them in spite of the decisions of courts of justice, or the commands of the sovereign. Private feuds more often ended in private war than in an appeal to the decision of the laws, which were only respected by those who were weak. And the greater barons unhesitatingly plunged into war with England, without consulting king or parliament. It was during this period of turbulence that the earl of Douglas expelled the English from the extensive district of Teviotdale, which was restored to its Scottish owners.

While affairs were in this state in Scotland, a new element of hostility was in preparation abroad to plunge the Scots into a war with England. The knights who had taken part with the Douglas in his great border raid, had returned to France delighted with this scene of turbulence, and the facility with which it was executed, and, not remarking that the cause of their success was the occasion chosen by the earl when the English army, deceived by the truce, had disbanded, and that they had retreated before another army could be got together to attack them, they carried home extraordinary reports of the vulnerability of England at home. They said that the English, who had proved themselves such terrible combatants abroad, when attacked at home shewed neither courage nor conduct, and might easily be conquered. The government of France was seduced by these

representations, and, after some reflection, determined to put in force the late treaty with the Scots, by sending an army into Scotland to invade England from the north. John de Vienne, admiral of France, and one of the most experienced captains of the age, was chosen to command this expedition, and he carried over into Scotland a thousand knights, esquires, and men-at-arms, the flower of the French army, with about the same number of crossbow men and common soldiers. A naval armament was at the same time prepared to attack the English coasts, and take off attention from the attack on Scotland.

The French fleet never sailed, but John de Vienne and his small but brilliant army, came to anchor in the ports of Leith and Dunbar in the May of 1385. They were received with great joy by the Scottish nobles, who shared in a liberal distribution of French gold and of foreign armour, for the French commander had brought with him fourteen hundred suits of the latter, and fifty thousand francs of gold. But these visitors were destined to take home a very different account of the pleasures of Scottish warfare from that which had been given by the small party of French knights whose representations had been the cause of their mission. On their arrival at Edinburgh, the king was absent in a distant part of the country, and they were received by the earls of Moray and Douglas. It was quite impossible to find room for them all in the capital, so that it was found necessary to seek lodgings in the villages around. Comforts were rare in Scotland at this time, and when the French knights, fresh from the luxurious hotels of Paris, found themselves billeted amid poverty and privations, it is not to be surprised if there was much murmuring and discontent. Nor were the complaints all on their side, for the people were prejudiced against the foreign language and the loose manners of their guests, who appropriated to themselves whatever they liked, and assumed an air of haughty superiority which was particularly disagreeable to the Scots. The lesser barons and the people soon quarrelled with these visitors, and did everything they could to give them annoyance. "What evil spirit brought you here?" they said to them; "who sent for you? Cannot we maintain our war with England well enough without your help? Pack up your goods and begone! for no good will be done as

long as you are here. We neither understand you, nor you us. We cannot converse together, and in a short time we shall be completely wasted and eaten up by such troops of locusts. What signifies a war with England? The English never occasioned so much mischief as you do. They burnt our houses, it is true, but that was all, and with four or five stakes, and plenty of green boughs to cover them, they were rebuilt almost as soon as they were destroyed." Such was the language which, according to Froissart, from whom we learn these incidents, the Scots soon began to use towards their troublesome visitors, and the hostility increased to such a degree, that their foraging parties were frequently cut off by the peasantry, so that more than a hundred men were slain in the space of a month.

The king at length arrived in Edinburgh, and received the French admiral with courtesy, but he soon shewed an evident disinclination to enter into a war with England, and seemed rather to partake in the feelings of his people. But the earls of Douglas and Moray, and the other greater nobles who had received French money, and expected in addition to enrich themselves with plunder in England, took part with the Frenchmen, and were urgent for war. At length, after much reluctance on the part of the king, the nobles prevailed, and an army of thirty thousand horsemen was soon assembled in the neighbourhood of the capital. The Scottish soldiers, however, seem to have been as little inclined to act cordially with the Frenchmen as the rest of their countrymen, and a series of regulations for the government of the army, drawn up on this occasion by a council of officers and still preserved, seems to show how difficult it was to appease their animosity. Amongst these articles, the following have been pointed out as peculiarly characteristic. No one was to plunder in Scotland under pain of death; the merchants and victualers who supplied the camp were to be protected from injury, and to be paid promptly; a soldier who killed another was to be hanged; a varlet who defied a gentleman was to lose his ears, and a gentleman challenging another was to be placed under arrest and brought before a court-martial. In cases of riots between the Scots and French, they were strictly forbidden from appealing to arms, but the ringleaders were to be taken and judged also by a court-martial. Perhaps the article which forbade

the burning of churches and the ravishing or slaughter of women and infants, was also directed against the French. It was further directed that every Frenchman or Scot was to have half the ransom of a prisoner taken with his own hand, and that every French and Scottish soldier was to wear a white St. Andrew's cross on his back and breast.

It seems evident that king Robert was himself averse to the war, and his infirmities hindered him from being an eye-witness of its ravages. While he remained at Edinburgh, his sons, with the earls of Douglas, Moray, Mar, and Sutherland, marched at the head of the army. The combined forces first sat down before the castle of Roxburgh, but they were soon convinced that it would be in vain to lay siege to it. They marched thence towards Berwick, capturing in their way the two small forts of Ford and Cornal, the garrisons of which made a desperate defence. The castle of Wark was also taken by storm, but it cost the assailants a severe loss. The country was everywhere ravaged with fire and sword, and an accumulating mass of plunder and prisoners accompanied the march of the army as it proceeded by Alnwick to the gates of Newcastle. Here intelligence reached the Scottish leaders that the barons of England had assembled their forces and were marching rapidly against them. It had always been the policy of the Scots to avoid great battles, and they now prepared to retreat with their booty. The proud admiral of France was shocked at the Scottish mode of making war, and he urged strongly and vainly the earls of Douglas and Moray to remain where they were, and give battle to their opponents.

While the invaders fell back upon Berwick, the king of England was marching to the north, with a numerous and well equipped army. Instead of seeking out the Scottish plunderers, he marched directly through Liddesdale and Teviotdale into Scotland. Douglas and the French admiral, when they heard of this formidable expedition, moved nearer to watch the progress of their enemies, taking strong positions where they were not likely to be in danger, which the Scots were easily able to do from their superior knowledge of the country. The French commander was still impatient for a battle, insisting that their united force was sufficient to encounter the English. According to an anecdote given by Froissart,

the earl of Douglas, wearied with the admiral's importunities, invited him to ride with him to a neighbouring eminence, that they might argue the matter calmly on the way. As they reached the eminence, the sound of martial music and the tramp of horses suddenly broke upon their ears, and John de Vienne found that Douglas had brought him to a height which overhung a mountain pass, through which the English army was at that moment defiling, and from which he could count the enemy's banners and estimate their force. There needed no further proof of the folly of risking an engagement with a force so much superior in numbers and discipline.

The English army pursued its devastating course, through a country in which the inhabitants had left nothing to destroy except bare walls and green crops, and the churches and monasteries. Melrose and Dryburgh were delivered to the flames. Edinburgh itself was plundered and burnt. The monastery of Holyrood was spared at the intercession of the duke of Lancaster, who had been hospitably lodged in it. Many other towns and villages were burnt by the English army, which now began to run short of provisions. The duke of Lancaster recommended the bold but somewhat perilous measure of passing the Forth and leading the army into the northern provinces which had not been stripped by the Scots, but the king was so much alarmed at this proposal, that he accused his uncle of treasonable motives in suggesting it. It only now remained for the English army to retreat, and as usual they experienced the inevitable consequence of the destruction which had attended their progress. Multitudes of the soldiers died on their way home from the hardships and privations they endured in a country utterly stripped and wasted.

Meanwhile the army under Douglas and the admiral had not been idle. Instead of following the English army, they turned off into the western marshes, and there, joined by the forces of sir Archibald Douglas, they overrun and ravaged Cumberland with dreadful ferocity. After having laid waste the lands of the principal border barons, they made an attack upon Carlisle, but were beaten off with loss. The jealousies between the Scots and their foreign allies now broke out anew, and with an increase of bitterness. From all we gather from the historian, the French believed that every exploit which required superior bravery or military skill

was performed by themselves, and that they were embarrassed by a tumultuous army which was either unwilling or unable to second them. The Scots seem to have regarded their allies as a parcel of adventurers come to share in the plunder which they might just as well have had all to themselves. When they returned to Edinburgh, to their old quarters, the mutual ill-feeling became more intense. The Scottish inhabitants of own and country returned from their hiding-places in the woods and mountains with a rapidity and cheerfulness which astonished their French allies, and they had soon taken possession of their dwellings and restored them to a condition to be habitable. But the presence of two thousand Frenchmen, who were not used to live so hardily as themselves, was at this moment a heavy burthen, and gave rise to loud complaints. John de Vienne had calculated on another raid into England, and he probably expected that as king Richard's great army was disbanded they might have had the chance of meeting with and engaging an English force more proportionate to their own; but he was now distressed by the hostility of the Scottish people, and he abandoned that design to send away a part of his force to France, and thus relieve the Scots of some portion of their burthen. But the Scots only saw in this proceeding a new subject of complaint. They said that the French wanted to escape without paying for the manifold injuries they had done in riding

through the country, trampling and destroying their crops, cutting down their woods to build lodgings, and plundering their markets, and they refused to let a single vessel leave their ports with a Frenchman on board until they had received full satisfaction. Most of the French knights were anxious to depart; for they were by this time reduced to a wretched condition by sickness and privation, and they were nearly all without horses, so that it would have been dangerous to provoke their hosts too far. The admiral, accordingly, entered into an agreement, by which he bound himself to discharge all claims of damage and reparation which were made against his soldiers, and not to leave the country himself till they were fully satisfied. The French knights were thus allowed to depart, and Froissart quaintly informs us that "divers knights and squires had passage and returned into Flanders, as wind and weather drove them, with neither horse nor harness, right poor and feeble, cursing the day that ever they came upon such an adventure, and fervently desiring that the kings of France and England would conclude a peace for a year or two, were it only to have the satisfaction of uniting their armies and utterly destroying the realm of Scotland." John de Vienne himself discharged his responsibilities as quickly as possible, and returned to France. Thus ended an expedition on the great effects of which the French reckoned so much, and were so grievously disappointed.

CHAPTER II.

CONTINUATION OF THE WAR; BATTLE OF OTTERBURN; THE EARL OF FIFE REGENT; DEATH OF ROBERT II. AND ACCESSION OF ROBERT III.

THE nation was now plunged into war, and hostilities continued to be carried on with great animosity. The government of Richard II. became weaker and weaker, and no combined measures were taken to suppress the inroads of the Scots, who began systematically to ravage the English counties on the border. The booty that was thus successively carried off from the English territory was immense. Soon after the departure of the French, the king's second son, Robert, earl

of Fife, with the earl of Douglas, and the lord of Galloway, raised an army of thirty thousand men, and marching rapidly and unexpectedly through the intervening country, threw themselves suddenly on the rich and beautiful district of Cockermouth and the adjacent parts, which had not been visited in this way since the days of Robert Bruce. During three days they plundered and wasted, without the slightest opposition.

In the resolution of the Scots to carry on the war, the wishes of king Robert had again been overruled by his nobles. It was decided at a council held in Edinburgh, that the whole military force of the kingdom should be mustered at Jedburgh, in order to invade England on an extensive scale. The king's eldest son, the earl of Carrick, was feeble of body, and apparently not very strong of mind, and his next brother, the earl of Fife, was appointed to command in this important expedition. On the day appointed for the muster, the Scottish army assembled at Yetholm, a small town at the foot of the Cheviot hills, about twelve miles from Jedburgh. It consisted of twelve hundred men-at-arms, and forty thousand infantry, including a small body of archers, forming together such a force as had not been gathered together in Scotland for a long time. While the leaders were deliberating on the direction in which they would march, an English spy was taken prisoner, from whom they learnt that the wardens of the English marches, not able to collect on the sudden any force sufficient to oppose to the Scottish army, had determined to remain quiet until they knew that the Scots had entered England, and then to pass the border into Scotland, and there plunder and destroy, in retaliation for the destruction made by the Scots. The earl of Fife immediately determined to separate his force, and while one division, consisting of nearly two-thirds of his whole force, under his own command, with Archibald, lord of Galloway, and the earls of Sutherland, Menteith, Mar, and Strathern, marched through Liddesdale towards Carlisle, the smaller division, commanded by the earl of Douglas, in whom all the valour and warlike abilities of his family seemed to be concentrated, was directed to invade the eastern marches, and divert the attention of the English wardens from the more important inroad. The earl of Douglas had with him a noble band of warriors, including the earls of March and Moray, sir James Lindesay, sir Alexander Ramsay, sir John Sinclair, sir Patrick Hepburn and his two sons, sir John Haliburton, sir John Maxwell, sir Alexander Fraser, sir Adam Glendinning, sir David Fleming, and sir Thomas Erskine, with many other knights and esquires.

Another expedition at this moment occupied one of the Douglasses, sir Archibald, popularly known as the Black Douglas, the

natural son of sir Archibald of Galloway, a man of great celebrity among the Scots for his strength and valour in war, as well as for his gentleness and courtesy in time of peace. He had married one of the king's daughters, Egidia, who was as much celebrated for her beauty, as her husband was renowned for his warlike qualities. The Black Douglas had been provoked by the piracies of the Irish shipping on the coast of Galloway, and with five hundred lances he made a retaliatory descent on the Irish coast, at Carlingford. At first, as he had some difficulty in procuring boats to land his whole force, he attacked the town with only a part, but he willingly agreed to an armistice, when the citizens promised to buy off his vengeance with a large sum of money. The townsmen sent secretly in the night, a messenger to the English garrison at Dundalk, to inform them of their danger, and of the small number of the invaders; and the Scots were attacked suddenly by a body of English from Dundalk, and by a sally from the town. Though inferior in numbers, the Scots succeeded, after a desperate struggle, in dispersing their opponents, and the town was immediately captured and burnt to the ground. The castle was also taken and demolished, and fifteen merchant-men laden with goods also fell into the hands of the victors. On their return from this successful expedition, Douglas took horse and rode in all haste to join the army which had crossed the English border.

Meanwhile the earl of Douglas, with the division of the army under his command, had marched rapidly through Northumberland without giving any of the usual signs of the presence of the invaders, and passing the Tyne at Branspeth, thrown himself into the heart of the bishopric of Durham before any one was aware of his approach. There the Scots began immediately their usual course of devastation, and burnt and slew without opposition over the whole country between Durham and Newcastle, and then led their army before the latter town. The English barons on the border had been completely surprised by this sudden invasion, and in the uncertainty in which the capture of their spy had left them they imagined that the small army under Douglas was only the van of the Scottish forces, which they supposed were following after, and they were therefore more cautious in their movements. On the first intimation of danger, the earl of

Northumberland began to collect a force at Alnwick, and sent his two sons, Henry and Ralph, to Newcastle, where they had assembled the principal gentry of Yorkshire. Froissart, who had received his information from men of both sides who were present, gives a detailed and interesting account of the events which followed, and which forms one of the most chivalrous episodes of the wars of this turbulent age. "All the knights and esquires of Yorkshire," he tells us, "were collected at Newcastle, and with the rest came the seneschal of York, sir Ralph Mowbray, the captain of Berwick, sir Matthew Redman, sir Robert Angle (Langley), sir Thomas Gray, sir Thomas Holton, sir John Felton, sir John Lierbon, (Lilburn), sir William Warrichon (supposed to be Widrington), sir Thomas Boynton, the baron of Halton, sir John Colpedie (Copland), and so many others, that the town was filled with more than it could lodge. The Scots lay three days before Newcastle, engaged in continual skirmishes; and the two sons of the earl of Northumberland were so courageous that they were always the first at the barriers, where many valiant deeds were done with lances hand to hand. There was a long conflict between the earl of Douglas and sir Henry Percy, in which the former by his gallantry captured the pennon of the Percy, to the great mortification of sir Henry and the English in general. The earl of Douglas then said vauntingly, 'I will carry this token of your prowess with me to Scotland, and place it on the tower of my castle at Dalkeith, that it may be seen from afar.' 'Pardieu! earl of Douglas,' replied sir Henry, 'you shall never carry it out of Northumberland—he assured that you shall not long have that pennon to boast of.' 'Then,' answered the earl, 'you must come this night and seek for it. I will establish your pennon before my tent, and shall see if you will have the courage to take it away.' As it was now late, the skirmish ended, and each party retired to their quarters to disarm and comfort themselves; for they had plenty of everything, especially of flesh meat. The Scotch kept up a very strict watch, concluding, from sir Henry Percy's words, that they should have their quarters broken up this night; but they were disappointed, for sir Henry was advised to defer his attack.

"On the morrow," continues Froissart, "the Scots dislodged from before Newcastle, and, taking the road to their own

country, they came to a town and castle called Pentland, of which sir Haymon d'Alphel (sir Raymond Delaval), a very valiant Northumbrian knight, was the lord. They arrived there about four o'clock in the morning, and learning that the knight was in it, they made preparations for the assault, which was executed with so much courage that the place was won and the knight made prisoner. After they had burnt the town and castle, they marched to Otterbourne, which was eight English leagues from Newcastle, and there encamped. This day they lay still; but, very early on the morrow, their trumpets sounded, and they made ready for the assault, advancing towards the castle, which was tolerably strong and situated among marshes. They attacked it long and unsuccessfully, until they were weary, and sounded a retreat. After they had returned to their camp, the chiefs held a council, and the greater part were of opinion that they should decamp on the morrow, without any further attempt on the castle, in order to rejoin their main army in the neighbourhood of Carlisle. But the earl of Douglas overruled this by saying, 'In despite of sir Henry Percy, who the day before yesterday declared that he would take from me his pennon which I conquered by fair deeds of arms before the gates of Newcastle, I will not depart hence for two or three days; and we will renew our attack on the castle, for it is to be taken. We shall thus gain double honour, and see if within that time he will come for his pennon. If he do, it shall be well defended.' Every one agreed to what earl Douglas had said, for it was not only honourable, but he was the principal commander; and, from affection to him, they all quietly returned to their quarters. They there made huts of trees and branches, and fortified themselves strongly. They placed their baggage and servants at the entrance of the marsh on the road to Newcastle, and the cattle they drove into the marsh lands.

"I will now," says Froissart, "return to sir Henry and sir Ralph Percy, who were greatly mortified that the earl of Douglas should have conquered their pennon in the skirmish before Newcastle. They felt the more for this disgrace, because sir Henry had not kept his word; for he had told the earl that he should never carry his pennon out of England, and this he represented to the knights who were with him in Newcastle. The English imagined that the

army under the earl of Douglas was only the van of the Scots, and that the main body was behind; for which reason those knights who had the most experience in arms, and were the best acquainted with military affairs, strongly opposed the proposal of sir Henry Percy to pursue the enemy. They said, 'sir, many losses happen in war; if the earl of Douglas has won your pennon, he has bought it dear enough, for he has come to the gates to seek it, and has been well fought with. Another time you will gain from him as much, if not more. We say so, because you know as well as we do that the whole power of Scotland has taken the field. We are not sufficiently strong to offer them battle, and perhaps this skirmish may be only a trick to draw us out of the town; and if they be, as reported, forty thousand strong, they will surround us and have us at their mercy. It is much better to lose a pennon, than two or three hundred knights and esquires, and leave our country in a defenceless state.' This speech checked the eagerness of the two brothers Percy, for they would not act contrary to the opinion of the council. But other news was soon brought them by some knights and esquires, who had followed and observed the Scots, and remarked their numbers, disposition, and where they had halted. This was all fully related by knights who had traversed the whole extent of country through which the Scots had passed, with the object of gathering the most exact information for their lords. They spoke thus, 'sir Henry and sir Ralph Percy, we come to tell you that we have followed the Scottish army, and that we have observed all the country where they now are. They first halted at Pentland, and took sir Haymon d'Alphel in his castle; thence they went to Otterbourne and took up their quarters for the night. We are ignorant of what they did on the morrow, but they seemed to have taken measures for a long stay. We know for certain that their army does not consist of more than three thousand men, including all sorts.' Sir Henry Percy, on hearing this, was greatly rejoiced, and cried out, 'To horse! to horse! for by the faith I owe to my God and to my lord and father, I will seek to recover my pennon, and I will beat up their quarters this night!' All the knights and esquires in Newcastle who heard of this design, were desirous of being of the party, and made themselves ready. The bishop of Durham

was expected daily in Newcastle; for he had heard of the irruption of the Scots, and that they were before that town, in which were the sons of the earl of Northumberland preparing to offer them battle. The bishop had collected a number of men, and was hastening to their assistance, but sir Henry Percy would not wait; for he was accompanied by six hundred spears of knights and esquires, and upwards of eight thousand infantry, which, he said, would be more than enough to fight the Scots, who were but three hundred lances and two thousand others. When they were all assembled, they left Newcastle after dinner, and took the field in good array, following the road the Scots had taken, and making for Otterbourne, which was eight short leagues distant. But, as they were desirous that their infantry should keep up with them, they could not advance very fast.

"The Scots were supping, and some had gone to sleep, for they had laboured hard during the day at the attack on the castle, and intended to renew it in the cool of the morning, when the English unexpectedly came upon their camp, and mistook at their entrance the huts of the servants for those of their masters. They forced their way into the camp, in spite of its strength, and raised their cry of a Percy! a Percy! In such cases, as you may suppose, an alarm is soon given, and it was fortunate for the Scots that the English had made their first attack on the quarters of their servants, which checked them a little. The Scots, apprehensive of an attack, were not unprepared for it; and, while the lords were arming themselves, they sent a body of their infantry to join their servants and keep up the skirmish. As their men were armed, they formed under the pennons of the three principal barons, who each had his particular appointment. In the mean time the night advanced; but it was sufficiently light, for the moon shone, and it was the month of August when the weather is temperate and serene. When the Scots were quite ready, and properly arrayed, they left their camp in silence, but instead of marching to meet the English, they proceeded along the side of a mountain which was hard by. During the preceding day they had well examined the country around, and said among themselves, 'should the English come to beat up our quarters, we will do so and so.' Thus they had settled their plans before hand, which was the saving of them.

for it is of the greatest advantage to men-at-arms, when attacked in the night, to have previously arranged their mode of defence, and to have weighed well the chance of victory or defeat."

The English had soon overpowered the servants; but, as they advanced into the camp, they found fresh bodies of men ready to oppose them, and to continue the fight. The Scots, meanwhile, marched along the mountain side, and fell on the flank of their enemies quite unexpectedly, shouting their war cries. This was a great surprise to the English, who, however, formed themselves in better order, and reinforced that part of their army. The cries of Percy and Douglas resounded on every side. The battle now raged with fury; great was the pushing of lances, and very many of each party were struck down at the first onset. The English being more numerous, and eager to defeat their enemy, kept in a compact body, and forced the Scots to retire, who were on the point of being discomfited. The earl of Douglas, being young and impatient to gain renown in arms, ordered his banner to advance, shouting a Douglas! a Douglas! Sir Henry and sir Ralph Percy, indignant at the affront the earl of Douglas had put upon them by conquering their pennon, and desirous of meeting him, hastened to the place from which these shouts came, calling out loudly, a Percy! a Percy! The two banners soon met, and many gallant deeds of arms were done. The English were superior in strength, and fought so sturdily that they drove the Scots back. Sir Patrick Hepburne, and his son who bore the same name, were Douglas's standard bearers, and it was only by the most extraordinary bravery that they hindered it from falling into the hands of the English.

The two parties were now mixed together in desperate conflict, hand to hand, and the Scots were beginning to give way, when the earl of Douglas, seeing his men repulsed, seized a heavy battle-axe with both his hands, and rushed into the midst of his enemies, clearing a way before him with his terrible weapon. He advanced thus, till he was met by three spears, pointed at him at the same moment, one of which struck him in the shoulder, the other entered his body between the stomach and the belly, and the third pierced his thigh. He was in an instant borne to the ground, and at the same moment some one struck him on the head with a battle-axe. The Scots who had fol-

lowed, fell around him, and the main body of the English combatants marched over body, ignorant of the quality of the person on whom they trampled. The battle continued to rage as if nothing had occurred, with varied successes in different parts of the field, for while in one place the earl of March bravely but with difficulty maintained his ground, in another the earl of Moray drove before him the English to whom he was opposed. "Of all the battles that have been described in this history," says Froissart, "great and small, this of which I am now speaking was the best fought and the most severe; for there was not a man, knight or esquire, who did not acquit himself gallantly, hand to hand with his enemy."

Few acquitted themselves more bravely than the two sons of the duke of Northumberland. In the midst of the tumult and confusion, sir Ralph Percy, having advanced too far into the ranks of his enemies, was surrounded and overpowered. Breathless with fatigue, and severely wounded, he surrendered himself to a Scottish knight named sir John Maxwell, one of the household retainers of the earl of Moray. When sir Ralph was made prisoner, his captor asked him who he was, for the increasing darkness made it now difficult to distinguish individuals. The Percy was so much weakened by loss of blood, that he had hardly the force to utter his name. "Well!" replied the knight, "rescue or no rescue, sir Ralph, you are my prisoner; my name is Maxwell." "I agree to it," said sir Ralph, "but pray attend to my condition; for I am so desperately wounded, that my drawers and greaves are full of blood." Upon this, the Scottish knight proceeded to render him every assistance; and at the same instant hearing the cry of Moray, and seeing the earl approach with his banner, he addressed him with the words, "my lord, I present you with sir Ralph Percy as a prisoner; but let good care be taken of him, for he is very badly wounded." The earl was much pleased at this, and replied, "Maxwell, thou hast well earned thy spurs this day." He then ordered his men to take care of sir Ralph, and they bound up and stanchd his wounds. The battle still continued to rage, and no one could tell at that moment to which side the victory leaned.

The friends and followers of the earl of Douglas now made their way to their lord, and they found him stretched help-

lessly on the ground, with one of his knights, sir Robert Hart, laying by his side, covered with fifteen wounds, and his warlike chaplain, William of North Berwick, vainly endeavouring to protect him. Three of the earl's cousins, sir James Lindsay, and sir John and sir Walter Sinclair, with other knights and squires, made their way to the earl, and sir John Sinclair asked, "Cousin, how fares it with you?" "But poorly," replied Douglas. "Thanks to God, there are but few of my ancestors who have died in chambers, or in their beds. I bid you, therefore, revenge my death, for I have but little hope of living, as my heart becomes every minute more faint. Do you, Walter, and sir John Sinclair, raise up my banner, for certainly it is on the ground, from the death of David Collamine, that valiant esquire who bore it, and who refused knighthood from my hands this day, though he was equal to the most eminent knights for courage and loyalty, and do you continue to raise the cry of Douglas, but tell neither friend nor foe whether I am in your company or not; for, if the enemy knew the truth, they would be greatly rejoiced."

The two brothers Sinclair and sir James Lindsay, obeyed the last orders of their chieftain, and, raising his well-known banner, they shouted, a Douglas! a Douglas! and pressed onwards. Their followers, who had remained behind, hearing the war-cry of their clan so often repeated, ascended a small eminence, and pushed their spears with such courage, that the English were repulsed, and many killed or struck to the ground. The latter were thus driven beyond the spot where the earl of Douglas now lay dead, and they thus reached his banner, which was borne by sir John Sinclair. Their numbers were continually increasing, as the shout of a Douglas! was repeated and passed from mouth to mouth, and the greatest part of the Scottish knights and esquires were now assembled at this point. The earls of Moray and March came thither also, with their banners and men. When they were all thus collected, perceiving the English retreat, they renewed the battle with greater vigour than before. To tell the truth, says the narrator, the English had harder work than the Scots, for they had come by a forced march that evening from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which was eight English leagues distant, whereby the greater

part were exceedingly fatigued before the combat began. The Scots, on the contrary, had reposed themselves, which was, to them, of the utmost advantage, as was apparent from the event of the battle. In this last attack they so completely repulsed the English, that the latter never rallied again, and they were already driven far beyond the spot where the body of the Douglas lay. It was in this last struggle that the English leader, sir Henry Percy, so well known in subsequent history by his popular name of Hotspur, was taken prisoner by the lord Montgomery, after a personal engagement of long duration and great obstinacy. In these personal encounters the battle seems chiefly to have consisted, which gave it that chivalrous character so much admired by the knightly Froissart, and which made the defeat at last more fatal. Among the prisoners were sir Ralph de Langley, sir Robert of Ogle, sir Thomas Gray, sir Thomas Halton, sir Thomas Abington, sir John Lilburn, sir William Walsingham, sir John de Copland, and many others of the heads of northern families. Sir Matthew Redman, governor of Berwick, is mentioned as the only English knight who escaped from the field. The valour of an English esquire, named Thomas Felton, merited the admiration of both parties. This man, who was attached to the household of lord Percy, boldly attacked the banner of the earl of Moray, in the last struggle before the English gave way, and he was instantly surrounded by the Scots. "He was," says Froissart, "a handsome man, and, as he showed, valiant in arms. He had on that and the preceding nights been employed in collecting the best arms, and would neither surrender nor deign to fly. It was told me that he had made a vow to that purpose, and had declared at some feast in Northumberland, that at the very first meeting of the Scots and English, he would acquit himself so loyally that, for having stood his ground, he should be renowned as the best combatant of both parties. I also heard, for I never saw him, that I know of, that his body and limbs were of a strength befitting a vigorous combatant; and he performed such deeds of valour, when engaged with the banner of the earl of Moray, as astonished the Scots, but he was slain while thus valiantly fighting. They would willingly have made him prisoner for his courage; and several knights proposed it

to him, but in vain, for he thought he should be assisted by his friends.

"According to what I have heard," Froissart continues, "this battle was very bloody from its commencement to the defeat; but when the Scots saw that the English were discomfited, and surrendering on all sides, they behaved courteously to them, saying, 'sit down and disarm yourselves, for I am your master,' but they never insulted them more than if they had been brothers. The pursuit lasted a long time, and to the length of five English miles. Had the Scots been in sufficient numbers, none would have escaped death or captivity."

* There are several versions, Scotch and English, of the ancient ballad on the battle of Otterburn, but the oldest is certainly the English ballad printed by bishop Percy from a manuscript in the Cottonian Library. (M.S. Cotton. Cleopatra, c. iv.) It is in many respects so curious an illustration of Scottish history, that it deserves to be given entire:—

THE BATTLE OF OTTERBOURNE.

Yt felle abowght the Lamass tyde,
When husbonds wynn ther hays,
The dowhtye Douglass bowyed hym to ryde,
In Ynglond to take a praye;
The yerlle of Fyffe, withowghten stryffe,
He bowynd hym over Sulway:
The grete wolde ever together ryde;
That race they may rue for aye.
Over Ottercap hyll they came in,
And so dowyn by Rodelyffecragge,
Upon Grene Leyton they lighted dowyn,
Styrande many a stagge;
And boldely brente Northomberlonde,
And haryed many a towyn;
They dyd owr Ynglyssh men grete wrange,
To battell that were not bowyn.
Than spake a berne upon the bent,
Of comferte that was not colde,
And sayd, "We have brent Northomberlonde,
We have all welth in holde.
Now we have haryed all Bamboroweshyre,
All the welth in the worlde have wee;
I rede we ryde to New Castelle,
So still and stalwurthlye."
Uppon the morowe, when it was daye,
The standarde schone fulle bryght;
To the Newe Castelle the toke the waye,
And thether they cam fulle ryght.
Sir Henry Percy laye at the Newe Castelle,
I telle yow withowtten drede;
He had byn a march-man all hys dayes,
And kepte Barwycke upon Twede.
To the Newe Castelle when they cam,
The Skottes they cryde on hyght,
"Sir Harye Percy, and thaw byste within,
Com to the fylde, and fyghte:
For we have brente Northomberlonde,
Thy eritage good and ryght;
And syne my logeyng I have take,
With my brande dubbyd many a knyght"

Such was the more romantic than important battle of Otterburn, which cost the Scots one of their bravest chieftains, and was perpetuated in a lasting feud between the houses of Percy and Douglas. For ages afterwards, this engagement continued to be celebrated by the borders on both sides, as that in which the valour of each had been put to its greatest trial, and had passed through the trial with the least blot.* It has been here described almost in the words of Froissart, and even the minutest incidents of this eventful field, as told by the contemporary historian, afford us too vivid a picture of the manners

Sir Harry Percy cam to the walles,
The Skottyssh oste for to se;
"And thow hast brente Northomberlonde,
Full sore it rewyth me.

Yf thou has haryed all Bamboroweshyre,
Thow hast done me grete envye;
For the trespasse thow hast me done,
The tone of us schalle dye."

"Where schall I byde the?" sayd the Dowglas,
Or where wylte thow come to me?

"At Otterborne in the high way,
Ther maist thow well logeed he.

The roo full rekeles ther sche rinnes,
To make the game and glee:
The fawkon and the fesaunt both,
Amonge on the holtes on hee.

Ther maist thow have thy welth at wyll,
Well loged ther maist be.
Yt schall not be long, or I com the tyll,"
Sayd syr Harry Percy.

"Ther schall I byde the," sayd the Dowglas,
"By the fayth of my bodye."
"Thether schall I com," sayd syr Harry Percy
My trowth I plyght to the."

A pype of wyne he gave them over the walles,
For soth, as I yow saye:
Ther he mayd the Douglas drynke,
And all hys oste that daye.

The Dowglas turnyd hym homewarde agayne,
For soth withowghten naye,
He tooke his logeyng at Oterborne
Uppon a Wedynsday:

And there he pyght hys stander down,
Hys gettyng more and lesse,
And syne he warned hys men to goo
To chose ther geldyngs gresse.

A Skottysshe knyght hovev upon the bent,
A wache I dere well saye:
So was he ware on the noble Percy
In the dawnsyng of the daye.

He prycked to his payleyn dore,
As faste as he myght ronne,
"Awaken, Dowglas!" cryed the knyght,
"For hys love, that syttes yn trone.

Awaken, Douglas!" cryed the knyght,
"For thow maiste waken wyth wyne:
Yender have I spyed the prowde Percy,
And seven standarde wyth hym."

and sentiments of the times, to be passed over in neglect.

Sir Matthew Redman, as already stated, when he saw that the English were defeated, mounted his horse and rode from the field. But he had been observed by sir James Lindesay, who also, having his horse at hand, mounted it, and, with his battle-axe hung to his neck, and his spear in his hand, galloped after him, leaving his men and the battle behind. He soon came so near to Redman, that he might have hit him with his lance, and then he shouted out, "Ha! sir knight, turn about; it is disgraceful to fly thus; I am James Linde-

"Nay by my trowth," the Douglas sayed,

"It ys but a fained taylle:

He durste not loke on my bred banner,
For all Ynglonde so haylle.

Was I not yesterdaye at the Newe Castell,
That stonds so fayre on Tyne?

For all the men the Percy hade,
He cowde not garre me ones to dyne."

He stepped owt at hys payyleon dore,
To loke and it were lesse;

"Araye yow, lordyngs, one and all!
For here begynnes no peysse.

The yerle of Mentayne, thow arte my eme
The forwarde I gyve to the:

The yerlle of Huntlay cawte and kene,
He schall wyth the be.

The lorde of Bowghan in armure bryght
On the other hand he schall be;
Lord Jhonstone and lorde Maxwell,
They to schall be with me.

Swinton, fayre fylde upon your pryde
To batell make your bower:

Syr Davy Scotte, syr Walter Stewarde,
Syr Jhon of Agurstone."

A FYTTE.

THE Perssy came byfore hys oste,
Wych was ever a gentyll knyght,
Upon the Dowglas lowde can he crye,
"I wyll holde that I have hyght:

For thow haste brente Northumberlande,
And done me grete envye;
For thys trespasse thou hast me done,
The tone of us schall die."

The Dowglas answerde hym agayne
With grete wurdys up on hee,
And sayd, "I have twenty agaynst thy one,
Byholde and thow maiste see."

Wyth that the Percy was grevyd sore,
For sothe as I yow saye:
He lyghted downyn upon his fote,
And schoote his horsse clene away.

Every man sawe that he dyd soo,
That ryall was ever in rowght;
Every man schoote hys horsse him froo,
And lyght hym rowynde abowght.

Thus syr Hary Percy toke the fylde,
For soth, as I yow saye:
Jesu Cryste in hevyn on hyght
Dyd helpe hym well that daye

say, and if you do not turn, I will drive my spear into your back." Sir Matthew made no reply, but stuck spurs harder into his horse than before. In this manner the chase lasted for three miles, when sir Matthew's horse stumbling under him, he leaped off, drew his sword from the scabbard, and put himself in a posture of defence. The Scottish knight made a thrust at him with his lance, thinking to strike him on the breast; but, by a sudden movement of his body, he avoided the blow, and the point of the lance was buried in the ground, and there remained fixed. The English knight immediately stepped for-

But nyne thowzand, ther was no moo;

The cronykle wyll not layne:

Forty thowsande Skottes and fowre
That day fowght them agayne.

But when the batell byganne to joyne,

In hast ther came a knyght,

Then letters fayre furth hath he tayne,
And thus he sayd full ryght:

"My lorde, your father he gretes yow well,

Wyth many a noble knyght;

He desyres yow to bide

That he may see this fyght.

The baron of Grastoke ys com owt of the west,

With him a noble companye;

All they loge at your fathers thys nyghte
And the battel fayne wold they see."

"For Jesus love," sayd syr Harye Percy,

"That dyed for yow and me,

Wende to my lorde my father agayne,
And saye thou saw me not with yee:

My trowth ys plight to yonne Skottysch knight,

It nedes me not to layne,

That I schulde byde hym upon thys bent,

And I have hys trowth agayne:

And if that I wende off this grownde

For soth unfoughten awaye,

He wolde me call but a kowarde knyght
In hys londe another daye.

Yet had I lever to be rynde and rente,

By Mary, that mykel maye;

Then ever my manhood schulde be reprovyd
Wyth a Skotte another daye.

Wherefore schote, archars, for my sake,

And let scharpe arrowes flee:

Mynstrells, play up for your waryson,
And well quyit it schall be.

Every man thynke on hys trewe love,

And marke hym to the Trenité:

For to God I make myne avowe

Thys day wyll I not fle."

The bloody harte in the Dowglas armes

Hys standerde stode on hye,

That every man myght full well knowe:

Bysyde stode Starres thre;

The whyte Lyon on the Ynglysh parte,

Forsoth as I yow sayne,

The Lucetts and the Cressawnts both

The Skotts fought them agayne.

ward, and cut the spear in two with his sword; upon which sir David Lindesay, finding that he had lost his lance, threw the shaft on the ground, and dismounting, grasped his battle-axe, which was flung across his shoulder, a weapon in the use of which the Scots were extremely dexterous. This single combat lasted for a long time, one with the sword, and the other with a battle-axe, and there was no person near to interfere. But at length the Englishman, hard pressed, was obliged to surrender, and he said, "Lindesay, I yield myself unto you." "Indeed!" replied the Scottish knight, "rescued or not?" "I consent,"

Uppon sent Andrewe lowde cane they crye,
And thrysse they schowte on hight,
And syne marked them one owr Ynglysshe men,
As I have told yow right.

Sent George the bryght, owr ladies knight,
To name they were full fayne,
Owr Ynglysshe men they cryde on hyght,
And thrysse the schowtte agayne.

Wyth that scharpe arowes bygan to flee,
I tell yow in sertayne;
Men of armes byganne to joyne;
Many a dowghty man was ther slayne.

The Percy and the Dowglass mette,
That ether of other was fayne;
They schapped together, whyll that the swette,
With swords of fyne Collayne;

Tyll the bloode from ther bassonnets ranne
As the roke doth in the rayne.
"Yelde the to me," sayd the Douglàs,
Or els thow schalt be slayne:

For I see, by thy bryght bassonet,
Thow arte sum man of myght,
And so I do by thy burnysshed brande,
Thow art an yerle, or ells a knyght."

"By my good faythe!" sayd the noble Percy,
"Now haste thou rede full right,
Yet wyll I never yielde me to the,
Whyll I may stonde and fyght."

They swapped together, whyll that they swette,
Wyth swordes scharpe and long;
Yeh on other so faste they beette,
Tyll ther helmes cam in peyses downyn.

The Percy was a man of strength,
I tell yow in thys stounde,
He smote the Dowglas at the swordes length,
That he felle to the growynde.

The sworde was scharpe and sore can byte.
I tell yow in sertaine;
To the harte he cowde hym smyte,
Thus was the Dowglas slayne.

The stonderdes stode styll on eke side,
With many a grevous grone!
Ther the fowght the day, and all the nyght,
And many a dowghty man was slone.

Ther was no freke, that ther wolde flye,
But styfly in stowre can stond,
Ycone hewing on other whyll they myght drye,
Wyth many a bayllefull bronde.

said sir Matthew Redman; "you will take good care of me." "That I will," answered sir James. Sir Matthew then put his sword into its scabbard, and said, "Now, what do you require of me, for I am your prisoner by fair conquest?" "And what is it you would wish me to do?" replied sir James. "I should like," said the other, "to return to Newcastle; and within fifteen days I will come to you in any part of Scotland you shall appoint." "I agree," said sir James, "if you will pledge yourself that in three weeks you will be in Edinburgh, and that wherever you go, you will acknowledge yourself as my prisoner." Sir Matthew having

Ther was slayne upon the Skottes syde,
For soth and sertenly,
Syr James a Dowglas ther was slayne,
That daye that he cowde dye.

The yerle Mentaye of he was slayne,
Grysely groned upon the growynd;
Syr Dayy Scotte, syr Walter Steward,
Syr John of Agusstonne.

Syr Charles Morrey in that place,
That never a fote wold flye;
Sir Hughe Maxwelle, a lord he was,
With the Dowgles dyd he dye.

Ther was slayne upon the Skottes syde,
For soth as I yow saye,
Of fowre and forty thowsande Scottis
Went but eyghtene awaye.

Ther was slayne upon the Ynglysshe syde,
For soth and sertenlye,
A gentell knyght, sir John Fitz-hughe,
Yt was the more petye,

Syr James Harebotell ther was slayne,
For hym ther hartes were sore,
The gentyll Lovelle ther was slayne,
That the Percyes standerd bore.

Ther was slayne uppon the Ynglyssh parte,
For soth as I yow saye,
Of nyne thowsand Ynglyssh men
Fyve hondert cam awaye:

The other were slayne in the fylde,
Cryste kepe their sowles from wo,
Seyng ther was so few fryndes
Agaynst so many a foo.

Ihen one the morne they mayd them beeres
Of byrch, and haysell graye;
Many a wydowe with wepyng teyres
Ther makes they fette awaye.

Thys fraye bygan at Otterborne,
Bytwene the nyghte and the day:
Ther the Dowglas lost hys lyfe,
And the Percy was lede awaye.

Then was ther a Scottyshe prisoner tayne,
Syr Hughe Montgomery was hys name,
For soth as I yow saye,
He borrowed the Percy home agayne.

Now let us all for the Percy praye
To Jesu most of myght,
To bryng his sowle to the blysse of heven,
For he was a gentyll knight.

sworn to observe these conditions, the two knights remounted their horses and parted, the one pursuing his way to Newcastle, and the other returning towards the field of battle.

But the night was now getting darker, and sir James Lindesay took the wrong road, in consequence of which he had not proceeded half-a-league before he fell in with the bishop of Durham, and more than five hundred English. Supposing them to be his friends in pursuit of the fugitives, he rode incautiously among them, upon which one asked who he was. He replied, "I am sir James Lindesay." The bishop, who was near and heard this, pushed forwards and said, "Lindesay, you are taken; surrender yourself to me." "And who are you?" said Lindesay. "I am the bishop of Durham," was the reply. "And where do you come from?" said Lindesay. "By my faith, friend," said the bishop, "I intended being at the battle, but I was unfortunately too late; and in despair I am returning to Newcastle, whither you shall accompany me." "If you insist upon it, I must comply," answered sir James; "but I have made a prisoner, and am now one myself—such is the chance of war." "Whom have you taken?" asked the bishop. "After a long pursuit, I captured and ransomed sir Matthew Redman." "And where is he?" said the bishop. "On my faith," replied sir James, "he is returned to Newcastle; he entreated I would allow him three weeks' liberty, which I agreed to." "Well, well!" said the bishop, "let us go on to Newcastle, where you shall converse with him." Thus sir James proceeded to Newcastle as the prisoner of the bishop of Durham.

In consequence of the sudden invasion and rapid movements of the Scots, the English had done everything in hurry and confusion. Newcastle had been the rallying point in the east, but only a part of the military force of the surrounding districts had been able to assemble there under the banners of the Percies. The bishop of Durham exerted himself to collect the remainder, and he reached Newcastle at the head of about two thousand horse and five thousand foot, in time to sup there the same evening that the two Percies had marched to Otterburn. While at supper, the bishop was informed of the march of the English, and of the route they had taken, and he immediately rose from table,

and ordered his horses to be drawn out, and march, although it was now night, and they had already marched some distance. They took the road towards Otterburne, and had advanced about a league from Newcastle, when news was brought that the English and Scots were fighting. The bishop now ordered his men to halt, that he might obtain more certain intelligence, and at the same moment several fugitives arrived breathless from the combat. When asked how the affair went, they said, "Ill, and unfortunately, for we are defeated, and here are the Scots close at our heels." The bishop's men were alarmed at this news, and began to leave their ranks, when the first messengers of evil were followed by crowds of fugitives, and then struck with a sudden panic they all joined in the flight, and never stopped till they reached Newcastle. No more than five hundred of his knights and men-at-arms remained with the bishop, and with these, after a moment's consultation, he determined also to return to Newcastle, to learn with more certainty the circumstances of the defeat, and be prepared to march against the enemy on the morrow. They were putting this resolution in practice, when they met and captured the Scottish knight, sir James Lindesay, who reached Newcastle almost as soon as his prisoner, sir Matthew Redman. The latter proceeded, on his arrival, to announce the fate of the battle, and to tell how he had himself been made prisoner by Lindesay, when, to his surprise, he was informed by the bishop, or by some of his people, how sir James had been taken. Next morning, when the bishop and his troops had marched out of the town, sir Matthew went to his lodgings in search of his master, whom he found very melancholy, looking out of a window. "What has brought you here, sir James?" was the first salute of sir Matthew. Sir James, interrupting his melancholy thoughts, advanced to meet him, bid him good day, and replied, "By my faith, Redman, ill luck; for I had no sooner parted with you, and was returning home, than I fell in with the bishop of Durham, to whom I am prisoner, in like manner as you are to me. I believe there will be no need of your coming to Edinburgh to obtain your ransom, for we may finish the business here, if my master consent to it." "We shall soon agree to that," replied Redman; "but you must come and dine with me; for the bishop and his men have marched to attack

your countrymen: I know not what success they will have, nor shall we be informed till their return." "I accept your invitation," answered Lindesay. "In such manner," says the narrator, "did these two enjoy each other's company in Newcastle."

Meanwhile the bishop had collected all the forces in Newcastle, which, including his own men and those who had fled from the battle, amounted to about ten thousand, and with these he marched out at day-break, and took the road to Otterburne. They had not advanced two leagues, when it was announced to the Scots that the bishop of Durham had rallied his troops, and was on his march to give them battle, and this news was soon confirmed by the return of their scouts. "The barons and knights of Scotland, on being thus informed of the bishop of Durham's approach with ten thousand men, held a council whether to march away or abide the event. On mature consideration, they resolved on the latter, on account of the difficulty of finding another position so strong as that they then held for defending themselves and guarding their prisoners, of whom they had many. These they could not carry with them, on account of the wounded, nor were they willing to leave them behind. They formed themselves in a strong body, and had fortified their camp in such a manner that it could be entered by only one pass. They then made their prisoners swear that, rescued or not, they would acknowledge themselves prisoners. When this was all done, they ordered their minstrels to play as merrily as they could. The Scots have a custom, when assembled in arms, for those who are on foot to be well dressed, each having a large horn slung round his neck, in the manner of hunters, and when they blow all together, the horns being of different sizes, the noise is so great that it may be heard four miles off, to the great dismay of their enemies and their own delight. The Scottish commanders ordered this sort of music now to be played. The bishop of Durham with his banner, under which were at least ten thousand men, had scarcely approached within a league of the Scots, when they began to play such a concert, that it seemed as if all the devils in hell had come thither to join in the noise, so that those of the English who had never before heard it were much frightened. This concert lasted a considerable time, and then ceased. After

a pause, when they thought the English were within half a league, they recommenced it, continuing it as long as before, when it again ceased. The bishop, however, kept advancing with his men in battle array, until they came within sight of the enemy, two bow-shots off. The Scots then began to play louder than before, and for a longer time, during which the bishop examined with surprise how well they had chosen their encampment, and how they had strengthened it to their advantage. Some knights held a council how they should act, and it seemed that, after much deliberation, they thought it not advisable to risk an attack, for there were greater chances of loss than gain, and so they determined to return again to Newcastle. The Scots, perceiving that the English were retreating, and that there was no promise of any battle, retired within their camp to refresh themselves with meat and drink. They then made preparations for departure; but because sir Ralph Percy had been dangerously wounded, he begged of his master to allow him to return to Newcastle, or wherever else in Northumberland he might have his wounds better attended to, and remain there until cured; and in case this favour were granted him, he pledged himself, as soon as he should be able to mount a horse, to surrender himself at Edinburgh, or in any other part of Scotland. The earl of Moray, under whose banner he had been taken, readily assented to this request, and had a litter prepared for him. In a similar manner several knights and esquires obtained their liberty, a time being fixed for them to return in person to those who had captured them, or to send the amount of their ransoms. I was told by those who were of the victorious party, that at this battle, which was fought in the year of grace 1388, between Newcastle and Otterburne, on the 19th day of August, there were taken or left dead on the field, on the side of the English, one thousand and forty men of all descriptions; in the pursuit, eight hundred and forty; and more than one thousand wounded. Of the Scots there were only about one hundred slain, and two hundred made prisoners. As the English were flying, they at times rallied, and returned to combat those who were pursuing them, whenever they thought they had a favourable opportunity, and it was thus their loss was so considerable in the pursuit. You may judge from the number of killed

and prisoners on each side, if this battle were not hardily fought. When everything had been arranged, and the dead bodies of the earl of Douglas, sir Robert Hart, and sir Simon Glendenning, were enclosed within coffins and placed on ears, they began their march, carrying with them sir Henry Percy and upwards of forty English knights. They took the road to Melrose on the Tweed, and on their departure they set fire to their huts. They lodged this night in England, without any opposition, and on the morrow decamped very early, and arrived at Melrose, which is an abbey of black monks, situated on the borders of the two kingdoms. They there halted, and gave directions to the brethren for the burial of the earl of Douglas, whose obsequies were very reverently performed on the second day after their arrival. His body was placed in a tomb of stone, with the banner of Douglas suspended over it." "When they had finished the business which had brought them to Melrose," Froissart continues, "they departed each to his own country; and those who had prisoners carried them with them, or ransomed them before they left Melrose. In this matter the English found the Scots very courteous and accommodating, which pleased them much, as I learnt at the castle of the count de Foix, from John de Chasteauneuf, who had been made prisoner under the banner of the earl of March and Dunbar; he praised the earl exceedingly for his generosity in allowing him to fix his ransom at his pleasure. Thus did these men-at-arms separate, having very soon and handsomely settled the amount of the ransoms

* I cannot tell why, in this matter, Mr. Tytler should prefer the authority of Froissart to that of the Scottish historians. Andrew Winton makes the number of the Scots at Otterburn much greater. The English ballad, naturally enough, makes them more numerous than the English, which seems improbable. The death of Douglas was lamented in Scotland, and became the subject of various traditions. According to one of these, he was killed treacherously by one of his own grooms. According to another story, a prophecy in Douglas' family foretold that he should gain a victory by his death. This is changed into a dream in the Scottish ballad, which describes his death as follows:—

When Percy wi' the Douglas met,
I wat he was fu' fain!
They swakked their swords, till sair they swat,
And the blood ran down like rain.

But Percy, with his good broad sword,
That could so sharply wound,
Has wounded Douglas on the brow,
Till he fell to the ground

for their prisoners, who by degrees returned to their homes. It was told me, and I believe it, that the Scots gained two hundred thousand francs from the ransoms, and that never since the battle of Bannockburn, when the Bruce, sir William Douglas, sir Robert de Versy, and sir Simon Frazer, pursued the English for three days, have they had so complete or so gainful a victory. When the news of it was brought to sir Archibald Douglas and the earls of Fife and Sutherland, before Carlisle, where they were with the larger division of the army, they were greatly rejoiced, but at the same time vexed that they had not been present. They held a council, and determined to retreat into Scotland, since their companions had already marched thither. They accordingly broke up their camp, and re-entered Scotland."

Froissart's account of the chivalrous battle of Otterburn is no doubt in general correct, though on some parts he was certainly wrongly informed, and he appears to have been a little prejudiced by the circumstance that his informants were, as he confesses, either Scots or Frenchmen. As he informs us that about a third part of the whole Scottish army had marched under Douglas into the county of Durham, Froissart's account of the disparity of numbers must be exaggerated,* and it is not easy to understand from his account the still greater disparity of the numbers of killed and wounded. He was mistaken even in the date of the battle, which was fought on Wednesday, the 5th of August, 1388. The Scots were long proud of this victory, though it added nothing to their national glory, like the

Then he call'd on his little foot-page,
And said, "Run speedilie,
And fetch my ain dear sister's son,
Sir Hugh Montgomerie."

"My nephew good," the Douglas said,
"What recks the death of ane?
Last night I dream'd a dreary dream,
And I ken the day's thy ain."

My wound is deep; I fain would sleep;
Take thou the vanguard of the three
And hide me by the braken bush
That grows on yonder lilye lee.

O bury me by the braken bush,
Beneath the blooming brier,
Let never living mortal ken
That ere a kindly Scot lies here.

He lifted up that noble lord,
Wi' the saut tear in his ee;
He hid him in the braken bush,
That his merry men might not see.

battle of Stirling and Bannockburn; for it was but the result of a border foray, in a war undertaken against the will of their king, to gratify the restless feelings of the feudal barons.

King Robert remained still adverse to war, and as years and infirmities gained upon him, and the turbulence of his subjects increased, he now agreed to yield up, at least, the power of a king, and in a parliament held at Edinburgh, in 1389, the earl of Fife, Robert's second son, an ambitious and intriguing man, was chosen regent of the kingdom. The earl of Carrick, who was the next heir to the crown, was passed over on account of his alleged incapacity, for he had been lamed by the kick of a horse, and it was pretended that he was no longer fitted for the active management of affairs. Perhaps this pretence was but a cover for the intrigues of his younger brother. The first acts of the new regent gave no great promise of future statesmanship; for he lowered the dignity of the ruler of Scotland, to embark in a petty quarrel with the English borderers. The English warden of the marches was now the earl marshal, who, since the battle of Otterburn, had endeavoured to conceal the disgrace of that defeat, by boasting of his readiness to revenge it. He publicly challenged the Scottish borderers to meet him in battle, and offered to fight them in a fair field, were they even double his numbers. The condition of Scotland at this time required peace; yet the earl of Fife ran the risk of sacrificing the interests of his country to accept this vain and unauthorized bravado. He summoned the

Scottish nobles to assemble under his banner, and led in person a considerable army across the English border, where he encamped, and sent a messenger to the earl marshal, to inform him that he had accepted his challenge, and would wait for him to come out to battle. The earl marshal declined the defiance, and entrenching himself in a strong position, waited to be attacked. On this, the regent returned into Scotland with his army, with the credit, or rather discredit, of having wasted the strength of the kingdom in a useless, if not ridiculous expedition. Soon afterwards a truce of three years was concluded between England and France, and Scotland was prevailed upon to be a party to the cessation of hostilities.

The earl of Fife was not destined to enjoy long the honours of the regency. Soon after the truce, just mentioned, king Robert retired to his castle of Dundonald, in Ayrshire, to enjoy the repose to which he was becoming daily more attached; and his love of which had now been increased by sickness. He died there on the 13th of May, 1390, at the age of seventy-four, and his remains were deposited in the abbey of Seone. His eldest son, John earl of Carrick, was crowned with great solemnity, on the morning of the 14th of August, the day after his father's funeral; and his wife, Annabella Drummond, was crowned queen on the following day. The name of John was unpopular, because it reminded the Scots of their king, John Baliol, and to appease the popular prejudice, the new king took the more popular name of Robert the Third.

CHAPTER III.

FIRST ACTS OF ROBERT III.; THE "WOLF OF BADENOCH;" THE DUKES OF ALBANY AND ROTHESAY; FLIGHT OF THE EARL OF MARCH; HENRY IV. INVADERS SCOTLAND; MURDER OF THE DUKE OF ROTHESAY.

Scotland seemed for a while hardly to have changed its ruler, for the earl of Fife, into whose hands the late king had resigned the reins of government, still held them in his grasp, and the mild and gentle temper of the new monarch offered but a feeble resistance. The third Robert was eminently

a just and patriotic king, but he was entirely wanting in that sternness of character which was necessary to coerce the turbulent barons over whom he had been called to reign. Never, perhaps, had the power of the barons been individually so great as at this moment, and they had, for some years.

been accustomed to commit outrages of every description without restraint. The ambition and intrigues of the brother who virtually ruled the kingdom at this moment were beginning to show a darker character, while another brother, the earl of Buchan, whose ferocity had obtained for him the popular title of the Wolf of Badenoch, had been permitted by his father to rule with an absolute power over the northern parts of the kingdom. This man gave a fearful proof of his contempt for the royal authority, it is said even before the crown had been placed on his brother's head. In consequence of some quarrel with the bishop of Moray, the "Wolf" rushed down with his highlanders from the mountains, ravaged the country around, and then sacked and plundered the cathedral of Elgin, not sparing even the sacred vessels and vestments, and after polluting it with blood, finally committed it to the flames, and not only the church but the town adjoining was burnt to the ground. The sacrilegious character of this deed excited a general feeling of horror, yet the perpetrator remained untouched in his den. An incident which happened on the morning after the coronation shows at once the oppressive conduct of the nobles, and the amiable character of their king. The barons and their retinues who attended at the coronation had recklessly destroyed the crops on the fields around the abbey of Scone, in which that ceremony was performed, and the canon who filled the office of storekeeper of the house had applied to the king's chamberlain for redress, and been turned away with scorn. Probably the lenient temper of the king was well known to him; but be this as it may, early in the morning, not only the king, but the whole court, were disturbed by a dreadful uproar, and looking out they beheld a great mob of farm-servants and villagers assembled under the windows of the royal bedchamber, having before them a rude effigy stuffed with straw, and abundantly furnished with the drums, horns, and rattles then used in village festivals. With these they struck up such a peal of dissonant music, mixed with horrible yells, that the whole court was thrown into dismay. The canon, who appeared at their head, was seized and dragged into the royal presence, and when questioned by the king on the meaning of this disturbance, he is said to have replied as follows:—"May it please your majesty, the sounds you have just heard are our rural carols, which we

play when our crops are brought in; but as you and your barons have spared us the trouble and the expense of cutting them down this season, we thought it but right to give you a sample of our harvest rejoicings." This singular method of making known the grievances of the monks excited the anger of the nobles, who would have punished it on the spot, but the king interfered, and not only pardoned the canon, but ordered the damages done to the monks to be examined into, and full compensation to be made.

The impunity with which the earl of Buchan had been allowed to carry out his raid against the bishop of Moray, encouraged Duncan Stuart, a natural son of that chief, who seems in ferocity of manners to have been not unworthy of his father, to perpetuate a still more daring outrage. He collected together an army of wild ketherrans, or foot soldiers, armed with sword and target, and passing over the hills into Angus, began to rob the country, and commit every kind of atrocity on the inhabitants, without any provocation. The sheriff of Angus, sir Walter Ogilvy, instantly collected his power, and being joined by sir Patrick Gray and sir David Lindesay of Glenesk, marched against the highlanders, and encountered them at a place called Gasklune. But he was almost instantly defeated; Ogilvy was slain, and sir Patrick Gray and sir David Lindesay, desperately wounded, made their escape with difficulty. This outrage, like the former, passed without punishment, as did many others that arose from the private feuds of the nobility. These often sprung from the most trifling causes. Robert Keith, a proud and powerful baron, quarrelled with his aunt, the lady of Fivv, the wife of sir David Lindesay, in consequence of a misunderstanding between his servants and some masons on the subject of a water-course; and without more ado, he raised his men, and besieged the lady in her castle. Sir David Lindesay happened to be at court, but he hastened to the assistance of his wife, and defeated Keith with the slaughter of sixty of his men.

A feud between two highland clans had a still more extraordinary termination. The clan Kay, had long been engaged in fierce hostilities with a rival sept named the clan Quhete, or clan Chattan, which they agreed, with a strange mixture of ferocity and chivalry, to decide by a combat of thirty against thirty. This project is said to have been

encouraged, perhaps suggested, by the earl of Moray and sir James Lindesay, as a good scheme for making the turbulent highlanders destroy one another, and it was approved by the court. A day was appointed for the combat, and barriers were raised in the level ground of the north-inch of Perth. When the day came, the king and a great concourse of the Scottish nobility assembled to witness this singular combat, and sixty stout highlanders, full armed in the manner of their clans, presented themselves in the lists. But, before the signal for battle was given, one of the clan Chattan lost his courage, and slipping from his companions, he threw himself into the river Tay, swam across, and disappeared in the neighbouring woods. As the numbers were now unequal, the combat could not proceed, and the king, who had been persuaded against his own judgment to consent to it, was glad to put an end to the revolting exhibition, and break up the assembly. But when he was on the point of giving his orders for this purpose, a stout armourer of Perth stepped within the barriers, and offered to take the place of the absent man for half a mark. A savage combat now began, which was long carried on with a ferocity that shocked the feelings of the more chivalrous portion of the spectators. At length only one combatant of the clan Kay remained, while eleven of the opposite clan were still able to wield their weapons, and the king threw down his gage, and awarded the victory to the clan Quhete. For some time after this event, the highlands remained more tranquil, and the government of the north was committed to the young heir to the throne, David earl of Carrick.

Fortunately, during this period Scotland remained at peace with England. The truce between England and France, to which Scotland had been a party, was renewed for eight years; it was during the whole of that period equally respected by all parties, and Scottish commerce was again encouraged and protected. The country internally was rapidly improving, and it was only the feuds and intrigues of its aristocracy that stood in the way of its prosperity. A friendly intercourse between England and Scotland again took place, and enabled the rougher natives of the north to profit by the civilization of the south. This is all we have to say of Scottish history during a period of about ten years. At the latter end of April, 1398, Robert III. held a par-

liament at Perth, at which the foreign title of duke was first introduced into Scotland. The king's eldest son, David earl of Carrick, was created duke of Rothesay, the king's brother the earl of Fife was made duke of Albany, and the gallant sir David Lindesay received the title of earl of Crawford. The king had hitherto left the management of the kingdom entirely in the hands of his younger brother, the duke of Albany, as he was now called, a man of great ambition, and unscrupulous in the means he adopted to indulge his love of power; but the duke of Rothesay, the immediate heir to the throne, had now passed his twentieth year, and showed a spirit which was not likely to submit long to his uncle's government. The duke of Rothesay was the favourite son of his father and of his mother, and during his youth he had experienced an indulgence which had produced in him a love of pleasure that led him into excesses which sometimes threw a shade over his greater and better qualities. With tastes of a more refined character than those of the nobles with whom he was born to associate, the young prince seems to have looked upon them with contempt, if not with aversion, while many princely qualities, a handsome person, and popular manners, rendered him the idol of the populace. This very circumstance made him more obnoxious to his uncle, who saw with alarm, as the young heir to the throne grew up to manhood, the development of an ambition and of a talent for governing which promised him but a short tenure of the power he then held. The king himself appears to have had misgivings for the safety of his son, and we find him entering into frequent bonds with his nobles by which the latter, in consideration for an annual pension, engaged to give their service in supporting and defending the king and his eldest son, the earl of Carrick; in time of peace as well as in time of war.

A party was soon formed among the friends of the young prince, supported by the influence of the queen, for the purpose of compelling the duke of Albany to abdicate his power. It was represented that the kingdom was in a state of absolute anarchy, and that murder, robbery, and every frightful crime, were perpetrated throughout the kingdom with impunity. This they attributed to the selfish policy of the duke of Albany, who attempted to bind the nobles of the land to his interests, by

giving them impunity for their offences. We learn from these representations that the king's household was a scene of frequent personal disputes between the different branches of the royal family. It was suggested to the king that the surest way of putting an end to these disorders, was, either to take the government into his own hands, or, if he had not the strength and energy to rule by himself, to take the reins out of the hands of the duke of Albany and place them in those of the person naturally entitled to hold them, the young heir to the throne.

The king listened with secret pleasure to these councils, and the duke of Albany became convinced that his best policy was to give way for the moment, and a parliament was held at Perth on the 27th of January, 1399, for the purpose of reforming the disorders of the kingdom. The three estates there assembled in a full meeting began by an assertion which points out to us the miserable state of the kingdom, while it contains the earliest declaration in Scotland of the king's responsibility through his ministers. They said that "the misgovernment of the realm and the defaults in the due administration of the law were to be imputed to the king and his ministers, and if the king chose to excuse his own mismanagement, he was bound to be answerable for his officers, whom he must summon and arraign before his council, whose decision was to be given after they had made their defence." It was then declared that since the king, for sickness of his person, was unable to labour in the government of his kingdom and to enforce the due execution of its laws, it was judged expedient that the duke of Rothesay should be the king's lieutenant generally throughout the land, for the term of three years, with full power as if he were the king, but under the obligation of his oath to administer his office according to the directions of the parliament, or, in its absence, with the advice of a council of government, consisting of some of the principal barons and ecclesiastics of the realm, with the duke of Albany at their head. A further provision of this act declared that the king should not hinder the prince in the execution of his office by counter-orders, "as has hitherto happened," and that if such counter-orders were given, the regent was not to pay any attention to them. The parliament then proceeded to levy the taxes necessary for the wants of

the government; to forbid the numerous retinues of the barons, who rode with them through the country, committing slaughters, burnings, and destructions; to recommend the cultivation of a close alliance with France, and to direct measures for concluding a permanent peace or a long truce with England.

This latter object was defeated by the great and sudden revolution which occurred in England in the course of the same year. The weak monarch, Richard II., deposed by his barons, was succeeded by Henry IV., a king who possessed the energy as well as the talents for ruling a great people. In Scotland there appears to have existed a strong feeling against king Henry's usurpation of the crown; any negotiations that may have been entered into for peace were immediately broken off; and a man who pretended to be king Richard escaped from prison, was received in that character, and used as a sort of puppet to alarm and annoy the prince who really occupied the throne of England. But a still more hostile feeling arose on the border, where, on the expiration of the truce immediately after king Henry's accession, the Scots began to renew their old border raids, and carried slaughter and devastation among their English neighbours. A strong party of Scots captured and destroyed the castle of Wark, but another party was overtaken and defeated with considerable loss by sir Robert Umfraville, at a place called Fullhopelaw.

As far as we can understand the accounts of the dark transactions of this period, the duke of Albany soon regained his influence over the king's mind, while the youthful excesses of the young regent injured his popularity, and favoured the treacherous designs of his uncle. The friends of the prince seem to have thought that his irregularities might be corrected by marriage, and steps were immediately taken to find him a wife; but even this measure, which was managed by the duke of Albany, turned out disastrous to the country. The earl of March, one of the most powerful of the Scottish nobles, was the first to offer his daughter, and as the proposal was accompanied with a promise of a large dowry, it was immediately accepted. The prince was affianced to Elizabeth of Dunbar. But the preliminaries were hardly completed, when the Douglasses, jealous of the advancement thus held out to a rival house, gained over the duke of Albany, and took mea-

tures to hinder the alliance. Archibald earl of Douglas, protested against the conclusion of a matter so grave as the marriage of the heir to the throne, without the advice of the three estates, and then, tempted by the payment of a far more considerable dower than that which had already been paid by the earl of March, the king determined to marry the prince to a daughter of the Douglas. In haste to conclude this new match, the prince rode secretly to Bothwell, the castle of the earl of Douglas, and married Elizabeth Douglas.

The proud earl of March was furious, when he heard of the dishonourable intrigue of which he had been made a victim, and hurrying to the king's presence, he upbraided him with a breach of the contract, and demanded redress; but he could not even obtain a promise of repayment of the sum which he had already paid down. He then burst into a violent passion, and left the court, declaring that he would see justice done to his daughter, or would take such revenge as would convulse the whole kingdom. His anger was increased, when he heard that the prince's marriage with a daughter of the house of Douglas had actually taken place; and, without further debate, he committed his castle of Dunbar to the charge of his nephew, Maitland, and repaired to the court of England. The moment the earl's flight was known, the Douglasses, armed with the royal authority, attacked and took possession of his castle, and seized upon his estates. The earl, labouring under this accumulated load of injuries, threw himself into the arms of the new monarch of England, who, threatened with war by France, and well aware that the king of Scotland and the duke of Albany entertained hostile feelings towards him, was glad to have gained so valuable an ally, and received him with the utmost favour. The earl of March demanded the restoration of his lands, but being treated with scorn, he renounced his allegiance to king Robert, and swore fealty to king Henry.

To the no small astonishment of the Scots, the king of England suddenly revived the old claim of sovereignty over Scotland, and summoned king Robert, as his feudal vassal, to answer for the injustice experienced by the earl of March, threatening, in case of disobedience, to march into Scotland at the head of his

army. The king of Scotland treated the summons with scorn, and Henry seemed in no hurry to fulfil his threat. But the earl of March joining with sir Henry Percy (Hotspur), and the lord Thomas Talbot, raised a force of two thousand men, crossed the border, and invaded the lands which had belonged to March before his flight from Scotland. They carried their devastations as far as the village of Popil, and were twice repulsed in attacks on the castle of Hailes; but they revenged themselves by burning and plundering the villages of Trapram and Methil. They then encamped with their booty at Linton, and prepared to pass the night there. But Archibald Douglas, the eldest son of the earl of Douglas, hearing of these proceedings, had collected a strong force, and, marching rapidly from Edinburgh, reached the hill of Pencraig, at no great distance from the place where the English were encamped, before the latter received any notice of their approach. The invaders were seized with a sudden panic, and leaving their encampment in disorder, fled towards the English border, closely pursued by the Scots, who took the banner of lord Talbot under the very walls of Berwick.

King Henry now prepared to execute his threat of invading Scotland. In the summer of the year 1400, he assembled his forces at York, and thence directed his summons to the king of Scotland to appear before him as his lord paramount. This, as might be expected, produced no effect, and he advanced to Newcastle, where the earl of March joined him and renewed his homage as to the sovereign of Scotland. In the month of August, Henry marched into Scotland, and proceeded towards Edinburgh, the castle of which was held by a strong garrison under the personal command of the duke of Rothesay, who alone of those who guided the reins of government showed the courage required by the occasion. He sent a challenge to the English king, accusing him of having invaded the kingdom for the sole love of plunder, and offering to decide their quarrel by a combat of one hundred, two hundred, or three hundred nobles on each side. The accusation was in this instance certainly not correct, for the English army strictly restrained from the plunder and devastation which then marked the course of such invasions, proceeded on its march with a discipline and forbearance which had seldom been known. The chal-

lenge itself was more chivalrous than statesmanlike, for it could hardly be expected that king Henry would give up all the advantages of numbers and discipline, to leave his quarrel to the fortune of individual prowess. He returned a contemptuous reply to Rothesay's message,* and continued his march to Leith, where he halted and sent another summons to the king of Scotland, which, like the former, was disregarded. At Leith Henry had met his fleet, and having thus provisioned his army, he marched direct to Edinburgh, took possession of the Scottish capital, and laid siege to the castle. Here the king showed the same forbearance, as far as consistent with the ordinary cautions of war, and he extended his especial protection to the abbey of Holyrood. When two of the canons of that house came to him to intercede for it, he is said to have replied to them:—"I will never, as long as I live, injure any religious house, and the monastery of Holyrood, where my father found shelter while in exile, is especially entitled to the protection of his son. I am myself a Comyn, and by this side of my blood half a Scot; and I led my army hither, not to ravage the land, but to answer the defiance of certain amongst you who have described me as a traitor, and see if they dare to make good the base epithets applied to me in the letters to the king of France, which were intercepted by my people, and are now in my hands. I sought the writer in his own land, to give him an opportunity of establishing his innocence, or proving my guilt, but he has not dared to come forward and meet me."

It is generally understood that the allusion in the latter part of Henry's reply to the canons was to the duke of Albany, who, leaving Rothesay to defend Edinburgh castle, had collected a numerous army, and was now marching rapidly towards the capital, with the resolution, as he pretended, of compelling the English to raise the siege. But when the Scottish army had reached Caldermoor, some ten or twelve miles from Edinburgh, Albany ordered them to pitch their tents, and he sent a herald to the English king to inform him, that if he would stay in his position near Edinburgh for six days, he would march out and give

him battle. The English king, to show his joy at this announcement, gave his mantle and a chain of gold to the herald. But Albany remained quietly in his strong position, and never fulfilled his promise; and many said afterwards that it was his intention by this traitorous inactivity to betray the prince into the hands of the enemy, and thus ensure his own undisputed possession of power. Be this as it may, Henry soon found that the castle of Edinburgh was by its position and strength proof against assault, and knowing that it was well provisioned, while the rigorous season was fast approaching, and his own numerous army was already suffering from sickness and want, he withdrew from Edinburgh and returned to his own kingdom, preserving the same discipline and forbearance in his retreat as was shown in his advance. His retrograde march was hastened by intelligence of the insurrection in Wales under the redoubtable Owen Glyndwr. He himself afterwards declared that he had retired from Scotland in consideration of a promise made to him through sir Adam Forester, which was never fulfilled, but what this promise was is unknown.

Internally, Scotland continued, in spite of all the provisions of parliament, to be in the same disordered state; the laws were despised, and deeds of violence were perpetrated with impunity. Nor was it to be wondered at, that such excesses were overlooked among the nobility, and their dependents, when they were perpetrated even on the steps of the throne. The follies of the young duke of Rothesay had not been corrected by his elevation to the office of regent, which, on the contrary, he too often used for selfish purposes, and to protect the troop of gay and unprincipled companions with whom he associated. By these means he was gradually losing his popularity, while the duke of Albany, whose dark and unprincipled ambition was now beginning to show itself in worse colours than ever, was watching the opportunity to ruin him. Hitherto the prince had been restrained in some measure from the wildness of his own character, and protected against his enemies, by the influence of three powerful friends, his mother, the queen; his father-in-law, the earl of Douglas; and Trail,

* Rothesay had said in his letter, that by deciding their quarrel in the way proposed, they would save the effusion of Christian blood, in answer to which king Henry expressed his wonder how Rothesay

should think of saving Christian blood by shedding that of the nobility, who he hoped were Christians as well as others. The correspondence on this subject is still existing.

bishop of St. Andrews; but unfortunately all three died in quick succession, at the moment when the young prince was most in need of them. In their place he had to contend with two bitter and powerful enemies in the successor to the earldom of Douglas, Archibald the brother of Rothesay's wife, who resented his unkind treatment of her, and sir William Lindsay, of Rossy, who sought equally to revenge a sister, whom Rothesay had loved and forsaken. In addition to his other misfortunes, the duke of Rothesay seems to have given great offence to his father, the king, and he was certainly labouring under his displeasure after the period of the English invasion. King Robert now lived in complete retirement, where he listened chiefly to the counsel and information of his brother Albany, who made use of this advantage to embitter the old king's heart against his son. Opportunities were not wanting, and soon after he was freed from the good influence of his mother by her death, the young prince was led into excesses of such a kind as, when perhaps exaggerated by his uncle, so far provoked the king, that he was induced to give orders for putting him under a forced restraint, which was ill calculated to conciliate his impetuous temper. The prince made his complaint privately, but bitterly to one of the most intimate of his unprincipled companions, a knight named sir John de Ramorgny, who, under the cover of a polished and well educated mind, nourished a heart that was capable of every baseness and villany. This man, who had been an active minister to the prince's pleasures, joined in his indignation at the check which was put upon them by the interference and intrigues, as both knew or believed, of his uncle, and mistaking the prince's character, in which there was much that was generous and high principled, proposed, or at least hinted at getting rid of the duke of Albany by means of assassination. To his surprise, the duke of Rothesay received the base proposal with scorn and indignation, and, while he declared that he should not betray his adviser to the punishment he deserved, he upbraided him so bitterly, that Ramorgny never forgave him. In anger, and perhaps also in alarm, he went over to the duke of Albany, who immediately took him into his confidence, and to whom, in the prosecution of his designs, the in-

timate acquaintance which this new ally possessed of the private failings of his intended victim were of the utmost importance.

A dark plot was now formed for the destruction of the young prince, in which the duke of Albany, the earl of Douglas, sir William Lindsay, and sir John de Ramorgny were the principal actors. They soon persuaded the king that the wild conduct of his son required some more effectual restraint than any yet employed, and Ramorgny and Lindsay, who were on this occasion employed in poisoning the royal ear, were entrusted with an order to the duke of Albany, under the royal signet, to arrest the prince, and place him in temporary confinement. The impetuous conduct of Rothesay soon gave his enemies a favourable opportunity for carrying their plans into execution. The three years of his regency had expired, and his authority had not been renewed, yet he persisted in acting as though he retained it. It was the custom in Scotland, on the death of a bishop, to seize his castle into the king's hands, until the election of a successor. The bishop of St. Andrews, the last of Rothesay's good advisers, was just dead, and the prince determined immediately to seize the castle of St. Andrews, as an exercise of his power as regent, before any order from the king's hand could anticipate him. Information of his design had been carried to the conspirators, and as he was on his way thither, attended by a small retinue, he was overtaken by Ramorgny and Lindsay, who, fortified with the king's order, arrested him, and confined him in close prison in the very castle which he was going to seize. Here he was not allowed to remain long. One dark stormy day, well suited to the mission on which they were employed, the duke of Albany and the earl of Douglas repaired to St. Andrews with a strong party of soldiers; and, having dismissed the few servants who had previously attended on the prince, they obliged him to mount a poor hack, and throwing a cloak over the princely garments he still wore, hurried him on to the castle of Falkirk. He was there thrown into a deep dungeon, and left to the charge of two ruffians named Wright and Selkirk. The conclusion of this terrible tragedy is wrapped up in much mystery, but it is generally understood that Rothesay was starved to death. According to a story which seems to have no very substantial

foundation, his death was made more lingering by the charity of a poor woman, who, accidentally passing through the garden, heard groans from a small grated window level with the ground. She found that it led to a dungeon deep under ground, in which the young duke of Rothesay was kept without food or attendance, and she is said to have stolen there by night to administer to his wants by dropping small cakes through the grating, and passing the milk from her own breasts to his mouth. His keepers, discovering this act of kindness,

took immediate and effective steps to prevent its recurrence, and after leaving their victim fifteen days without food, they opened his prison door and found his body in such a condition as proved that in the agonies of his last moments he had attempted to obtain sustenance by gnawing his own flesh. His body was carried privately to the monastery of Lindores, and there buried; and in order to stop the inquiries to which public sympathy could not fail to give rise, it was published abroad that the heir to the throne had been suddenly taken ill and died of a dysentery.

CHAPTER IV.

NEW EFFORTS FOR THE REFORMATION OF ABUSES; INQUIRY INTO THE DEATH OF ROTHESAY; HOSTILITIES WITH ENGLAND; BATTLES OF NESBIT MOOR AND HOMILDON HILL; THE EARL OF CARRICK TAKEN AND RETAINED IN ENGLAND; DEATH OF ROBERT III.

PREVIOUS to the tragedy just described, a parliament had been held at Seone to make provisions for restraining the turbulence which seemed to be increasing in every part of the kingdom, and many wise and necessary laws were passed. But it was a vain labour to enact laws, which the people for whom more especially they were made were unwilling to obey, and which those whose duty it was to see them observed were unable or unwilling to enforce. Many of the enactments of this parliament show us the insecurity of feudal tenure and the injustice and abuses which seemed inseparable from it, and the tyranny of the feudal aristocracy in Scotland. The latter were their own judges, and scarcely allowed the laws of the land to have course within their several territories. They were accustomed arbitrarily to deprive their vassals of their lands, under the title of a resumption, whenever the opportunity offered of deriving important advantages by giving or selling them to another; and under the pretence of debt or other excuse, they robbed of their goods and chattels those who appeared to be getting too wealthy. Thus all inducement to improve the cultivation of the land was destroyed, and agriculture was neglected. The acts of the parliament of Seone also reveal to us great abuses in the administration of justice through

the negligence, venality, or favour of the officers of the crown, and the facility with which notorious offenders were allowed to escape. It was also found necessary to pass severe enactments against those who falsified weights and measures, or the coin of the realm, as well as against a variety of other frauds which were practised in the middle classes of society.

This parliament had not long concluded its session, when the murder of the heir to the throne, and the impunity of the assassins, showed how little justice there was in Scotland. It is probable that no one was deceived by the account which was given officially of the prince's death. The public voice soon pointed to Albany as the murderer, and the manner of his death seems to have been darkly whispered abroad. The clamour became at length so great, that it was necessary to take some means to stop it; and Albany produced the king's order for the arrest of his son as a justification of the only part he pretended to have acted in the matter, affirmed that no kind of violence had been used, and demanded that the matter might be examined before parliament. A parliament was accordingly held on the 16th of May, 1402, in the monastery of Holyrood, and the duke of Albany and the earl of Douglas were examined with regard to the circumstances

attending the death of the prince, but there appear to have been no accusers, and all that we know of the transactions of this parliament is, that they were both acquitted of all suspicion of the murder. A declaration of their innocence was subsequently published under the king's seal, but the cautious terms in which it is worded betrays a consciousness of guilt on the part of the accused.

Meanwhile the irritation on the border had never entirely ceased, and it was now reassuming a more serious character. Little respect had been shown to the truce; the earl of March, with the Percies, ravaged the lands of the Douglasses, while the latter, and their dependents and allies, revenged themselves by repeated inroads on the English side of the border. In one of these the earl of Douglas is said to have burnt Bam-borough castle. The Scots, however, were less successful in these feuds than was usually the case, and the earl of Douglas, on whom the weight of public opinion for his share in the murder of Rothesay weighed heavily, sustained so many losses, that he gained the popular title of *tyne-man* (or *lose-man*), on account of the number of men who were slain under his banner, and people began to say that ill-fortune attended upon all his undertakings. The people of the Merse, moreover, who seemed to look upon the earl of March as their natural lord, entered into the war against him with so little spirit, that the Douglas found it necessary to call up the people of the Lothians. The flower of the warriors of this district made a successful raid into England, and carried home their spoil, but in a second they were more unfortunate. Having penetrated too far, Percy and March had time to collect a strong body of men, and they were intercepted at Nesbit Moor, in the Merse. After a desperate conflict, the leader of the Scots, sir Patrick Hepburn of Hailes, with many of his bravest companions, were slain, and most of the rest, including some of the most distinguished knights of Lothian, were carried away prisoners.

Although this was but an inconsiderable battle, it produced important results on both sides the border. While king Henry thanked the earl of Northumberland and his son, the gallant Hotspur, for their activity, and ordered them to collect the force of the border counties to resist more effectually the invasions of the Scots, the earl of Douglas, enraged at the defeat at Nesbit Moor, and believing that the English were

fully occupied with the invasion of the Welsh, determined to collect all his strength and take ample revenge for the loss of Hepburn and his companions-in-arms. There assembled under his banner the greater part of the chivalry of Scotland, including the earls of Moray, Angus, and Orkney, with Fergus Maedowall at the head of the men of Galloway, and the heads of the houses of Erskine, Grahame, Montgomery, Seton, Sinclair, Lesley, the Stuarts of Angus, Dundeer, and Lorn, and many other knights of great distinction. They were joined by Murdoch, the eldest son of the duke of Albany, at the head of a strong body of archers and spearmen. The whole force which crossed the border on this occasion amounted to not less than ten thousand men.

The earl of Northumberland and his son were prepared for this formidable invasion, and, assisted by the earl of March and his son Gawin of Dunbar, assembled their forces to meet it. They permitted the invaders to advance without opposition, and the Scots marched through the heart of Northumberland up to the gate of Newcastle undisturbed. Their leaders, imagining that king Henry had all his strength with him in Wales, and that the borderers were panic-struck, were now confident in the strength of their army and in the uninterrupted success which had attended their march, and gave way to a fatal security. Having collected their spoils, they began a slow retreat, and had encamped carelessly in the neighbourhood of Wooler in Northumberland, when intelligence was suddenly brought that the pass in front of them was occupied by an English army, under the redoubtable Hotspur, who was marching to attack them. Douglas lost no time in preparing for the combat, but he committed a fatal error in the choice of his position. He placed his men in a solid square, on a high eminence called Homildon Hill, as though he had only to resist an attack of the English men-at-arms, whereas the greater part of Hotspur's army consisted of archers, whose skill in the use of the bow had proved in so many cases disastrous to Scottish armies, and Homildon was surrounded by eminences which commanded the hill within bow-shot.

When the English came in view of the Scottish position, Hotspur, with characteristic impetuosity, would have rushed on to the attack with his men-at-arms, but he was restrained by the earl of March, whose

old and experienced eye saw at once the error which had been committed by the Scots, and holding Percy's horse by the reins, he urged that the archers should be allowed to begin the battle. Fortunately for the English, his advice was followed. The archers marched slowly down the hill where the English army had halted, pouring forth as they went volleys of arrows which fell with fearful execution on the close ranks of their enemies. Many of the barons and gentlemen were slain, for even their tempered armour was not proof against the English arrows, and we are told that the unprotected bodies of the wild Galwegians presented the appearance of hedgehogs. The Scots for a while seemed paralysed at the destruction which thus fell upon them, and which became greater as the English archers approached nearer. At length one of the bravest of the Scottish barons, sir John Swinton, stood forwards, and exclaimed that they should rush down the hill upon their enemies, and not stand still to be slain like deer. Calling on his fellow warriors to follow, he couched his lance, and was giving the rein to his horse, when another baron, sir Adam de Gordon, with whom he had long been at deadly feud, dismounted and stopped him. "Let us be reconciled on this spot," he said, "that I may receive knighthood at thy hand; for I may never receive the honour from one more noble and brave." Swinton dismounted, embraced his old foe, and gave him the accolade, and then both remounted and charged down the hill, with their followers, amounting to about a hundred horsemen. But they were all slain or dismounted before they reached the enemy's ranks. Douglas had now given the word, and the Scottish army began to follow the example of this devoted band, and descend the hill, upon which the English archers fell back slowly on their own men-at-arms. But at each retrograde step the archers discharged a new volley, with such deadly aim that the Scots fell thick on every side, and the numbers of the slain and the furious prancing and kicking of the wounded horses impeded their progress. Confusion and terror soon pervaded their ranks, if ranks they could now be called, and they began to disperse and fly, upon which the English archers laid aside their bows, and rushing in with their knives and short swords completed the discomfiture. We are assured by the English writers, that the English men-at-arms

never struck a blow, but that the battle was gained merely by the archers.

The slaughter of the Scots was dreadful, and immense numbers were drowned in attempting to cross the Tweed where it was not fordable. Almost every person of rank and station who survived was made a prisoner. The earl of Douglas, in spite of the extraordinary temper of his armour, had received five wounds. With him were captured Murdoch, earl of Fife (the eldest son of the duke of Albany), the earls of Moray, Angus, and Orkney, and Fergus Macdowal, the chieftain of Galloway. Eighty knights of the first Scottish families were taken, including the names of sir Robert Erskine of Alva, the lord Montgomery, sir James Douglas master of Dalkeith, sir William Abernethy of Salton, sir John Stuart of Lorn, sir John Seton, sir George Lesley of Rothies, sir Adam Forester of Corstorphine, sir Walter Bickerton of Luffness, sir Robert Stuart of Dunsdeer, sir William Sinclair of Hermandston, sir Alexander Home of Dunglas, sir Patriek Dunbar of Bele, sir Robert Logan of Restalrig, sir Lawrence Ramsay, sir Elias Kinmont, and sir John Ker; with three French knights, sir Piers de Essars, sir James de Helsey, and sir John Darny. Among the slain were sir John Swinton, sir Adam de Gordon, sir John Levingston of Calendar, sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, sir Roger Gordon, sir Walter Scott, and sir Walter Sinclair. Seldom had a battle, in a war undertaken for such unworthy objects, brought so much mourning and alarm over Scotland.

The battle of Homildon hill was fought on the 14th of September, 1402. It led to consequences of greater moment, which belong more to English than to Scottish history. We learn from the former how the Percies, offended at king Henry's commands not to dispose of their prisoners without his directions, entered into a formidable conspiracy against their sovereign, and joined with the Scots and the Welsh in an attempt to dethrone him.

Meanwhile, the Percies held their prisoners at their own disposal, though they professed to be ready to obey the king's commands. One act of cruelty, perpetrated by Hotspur, stained the glory of this great victory, and afforded a striking example of feudal tyranny. There seems to have been deadly enmity between the Percy and one of his prisoners, sir William

Stuart, of Forest, in Teviotdale, and Hotspur caused him immediately to be put on his trial for high treason, on the pretence that when, in his boyhood, that district had been Anglicised, he had taken the oath of allegiance to the king of England. The first jury impanelled for his trial brought in a verdict of acquittal. The accusation, indeed, was so absurd, that when Percy, in anger, caused another jury to be impanelled, and put him on his trial a second time, they gave the same verdict. Hotspur was furious at being thus thwarted in his vengeance, and he caused a third jury to be packed for his purpose, and so overawed, that without further hesitation, the unfortunate victim was condemned to the death of a traitor, which was instantly executed with all its cruel circumstances, and his quarters were placed on the gates of York. His esquire, Thomas Ker, who had been taken with him, underwent the same fate.

With the exception of his restriction on the disposal of the prisoners, Henry treated the Percies with favour and generosity, and he conferred on them the whole earldom of Douglas with all the territories appertaining to it, of some parts of which they seem to have already obtained possession. They proceeded therefore to carry on the war against the Scots, which served as a convenient cover for their treasonable designs. The conquest of the earldom of Douglas was not an easy matter, and it afforded the Percies an excuse for raising a numerous army of their adherents. With this, in the June of 1403, they marched in company with the earl of March to the border, but instead of undertaking any considerable exploit, the whole army sat down before a miserable little fortress, called Cocklawis, or Ormiston, on the border, and made a show of battering it with warlike engines. The commander of this border hold, a simple esquire named John Greenlaw, assumed the air of a powerful chieftain, and entered into an agreement with Hotspur, by which he was to surrender his solitary tower at the end of six weeks, if he were not in that time relieved by the king of Scotland or by the governor Albany, and in the mean time the army of the Percies was to remain inactive. A messenger was sent to Albany to inform him of the circumstances of the case, and no doubt he carried back to the Percies the secret assurance that he was ready to give powerful assistance to the intended insur-

rection in England. But it was necessary to save appearances, and the duke of Albany assembled his council, and gravely laid before them the message of Greenlaw of Cocklawis, and asked their opinion if he should go to raise the siege or not. It appears that the counsellors of the crown had no great opinion of the courage of the duke of Albany, and believing that they were acting according to his wishes when they advised peace, they recommended that the border reever should be left to his fate rather than risk a battle with the English army at a moment when the flower of the Scottish chivalry were captives in England. But to their astonishment, the duke of Albany, who knew better how matters stood, gave vent to a sudden and very unusual burst of patriotic spirit. "By heaven and St. Fillan!" he exclaimed, "I will keep the day of appointment before Cocklawis, were there none to follow me thither but Peter of Kinbuck who holds my horse yonder!" The council immediately agreed to the propriety of relieving John Greenlaw, and a formidable army was raised, and marched under Albany's command to the border.

The conspiracy of the Percies was now ready for explosion; the earl of Douglas, with sir Robert Stuart of Durisdeer, and the greater part of the barons and knights taken at Homildon Hill, were set at liberty, and again raised their forces to march under the banner of Percy, who, suddenly breaking off the Scottish expedition, hurried off to unite his forces with those of Glyndwr on the borders of Wales. The fact that Douglas had joined in alliance with Percy, was enough to drive away the earl or March, who refused to join in the conspiracy, and rode off to give information to king Henry, and urge him to take active measures against the insurgents. By a rapid march the king intercepted them at Shrewsbury, and the Scots acted a conspicuous part in the terrible conflict which established Henry on the throne. Sir Robert Stuart, with a great number of his countrymen were slain in the battle, and the earl of Douglas, severely wounded, became again a captive. Before the event was known, the duke of Albany arrived at Cocklawis, with an army of no less than fifty thousand men, announcing publicly his intention of giving battle to the Percies, though there can be no doubt that his real intention was to join them in making war upon king Henry. It was not till he reached Cocklawis, that he

knew the rebellion had broke out, and his first intelligence of it was the announcement of the battle of Shrewsbury. He saw at once that it was not the time for attacking king Henry, and having caused the news to be proclaimed through his army by a herald, he marched back into Scotland.

The duplicity and secrecy with which Albany had acted, made it easy on this occasion to preserve the peace with England. The Scots, who were made to believe that their quarrel was only with the Percies, who were rebels to the English king, were satisfied with their overthrow, while king Henry, although better acquainted with Albany's real intentions, had no object in entering into a war with Scotland. Some proposals were made for peace, but they only led to a brief and precarious truce.

In fact there was no friendly feeling possible at this moment between the two countries, for Albany not only kept in Scotland as a means of annoying king Henry the person who was made to represent king Richard, the maumet, or puppet, of Scotland, as he was termed by king Henry in derision, but he secretly lent his hand to all the conspiracies in England against the house of Lancaster. The governor's conduct with regard to the pretended king Richard, was, indeed, provokingly equivocal; for, cautiously avoiding any direct avowal of belief, which might compromise himself, he acted towards the pretender in such a way as to encourage the popular rumours. It is said that a man attached to king Richard's household, who bore a considerable resemblance to him, had been employed to act the part of fallen royalty.* Many of the enemies of Henry of Lancaster were actively engaged in England in spreading abroad the report that king Richard was alive and well in Scotland, and that he would soon return to drive out the usurper of his throne. In 1404, they sent secretly a gentleman named Serle, who had formerly been of king Richard's bed-chamber, and on his return he asserted that he had actually seen king Richard. This was the foundation of a plot in which the old countess of Oxford figured as the principal agent, but Serle was seized and executed, after confessing that the whole was a fraud. This plot was the forerunner of a conspiracy of greater magnitude, the leaders in which were the earl of

Northumberland (Hotspur's father), and the archbishop of York. In this plot also, which resembled in its plan and ramifications that which had ended so fatally for the conspirators in the battle of Shrewsbury, the Scots were actively engaged. It was, however, discovered before the plans of the conspirators were matured, and several of them were arrested and brought to the scaffold. Others, with the earl of Northumberland, escaped to Scotland, where they received favour and protection. It appears that, in support of this conspiracy, the Scots were to invade England, with a powerful army, and, when it was discovered, Henry, apprehensive perhaps that Albany might return with the fugitives, issued his orders for raising an army to defend the borders against "his common adversary, Robert, duke of Albany, calling himself governor of Scotland."

In the midst of these mutual jealousies and mistrusts, an event occurred which gave king Henry an unexpected advantage. King Robert III. had had three sons, of whom the eldest had been murdered by the duke of Albany, and a younger, named Robert, seems to have died very young. One only now remained, Robert earl of Carrick, and this youth, a boy of only fourteen years of age, was the only barrier between the duke of Albany and the crown of Scotland, when the weak man who now wore it should die. The king, who wanted the spirit of resistance, knew well the aim of his brother, and was justly alarmed for the safety of his remaining son. The tuition of the young prince had been entrusted to one of the king's faithful friends, Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St. Andrews, the nephew of the cardinal, and a few other stanch friends rallied round him. It happened that Albany's personal power was at this moment much weakened by the captivity of so many of his most powerful friends, taken in the battles of Nisbet Moor, Homildon Hill, and Shrewsbury, especially the unscrupulous earl of Douglas, and he was fearful of attempting anything against his young rival under this temporary disadvantage. But the king's friends were well aware of the danger to which the earl of Carrick was exposed, if he remained in Scotland, and it was determined to convey him to France, under the very

* Tytler and others have attempted to show that the man in Scotland was the true king Richard, who had escaped from prison, and that another man had

reasonable pretext that he was sent there to complete his education. At the same time Albany was carrying on a base and treacherous negotiation with king Henry, the purport of which was, that the former should seize the earl of Northumberland and his fellow-conspirator, lord Bardolph, and deliver them up to the king of England, in return for the liberation of his son Murdoch, earl of Fife, with the earl of Douglas, and his other captive friends. Sir David Fleming of Cumbernauld, an old friend of the Percies, became accidentally acquainted with this plot to betray the earl of Northumberland, who was residing with his grandson at the castle of St. Andrews, as guests of the bishop, and he immediately informed him of his danger, and counselled him to seek safety in immediate flight. The exiles, accordingly, made their escape into France. The friends of the young prince were now more anxious to carry him out of Scotland, and, everything being secretly arranged, the earl of Carrick was taken on a progress through Lothian to North Berwick, accompanied by the bishop and the earl of Orkney, with sir David Fleming, the lords of Dirleton and Hermandston, and a strong party of barons. When they reached the coast, a ship was laying at the Bass, ready for them, and the prince, with bishop Wardlaw and the earl of Orkney and a small suite, embarked, and set sail with a fair wind for France. The duke of Albany and the Douglasses were furious at the departure of the prince—more so even than at the escape of the English exiles—and Fleming was marked out especially as the object of their vengeance. As the party which accompanied the prince to North Berwick were passing the moor of Lang-Hermandston, on their return, they were set upon by the Douglasses, led by a son of the earl of Douglas, and Alexander Seton, and, after a fierce conflict, sir David Fleming was slain, and most of his companions were made prisoners. Such was the weakness of the laws at this time in Scotland, that Albany openly protected the authors of this disgraceful outrage, and the fear of the Douglasses was so great

that few people dared to speak against their doings.

But an accident still less expected happened to the young prince. The ship in which he had embarked had not been long at sea, when it was captured by an armed English merchantman, and carried to London. A truce existed between the two countries, although it was but ill respected by the subjects on either side, and the capture of the prince's ship was perfectly unjustifiable. The bishop of St. Andrews carried with him a letter from the king of Scotland to the king of England, recommending his son to the kindness of the latter, if he should find it necessary to land in his dominions, and this he presented with warm expostulations on the violence to which they had been subjected; but Henry committed the earl of Carrick and his attendants to the Tower of London, observing, in reply to the statement that they were carrying the prince to France for his education, "In truth, I myself am no indifferent French scholar, and my brother of Scotland could not have sent his son to a better master."

The capture of the young prince took place in the year 1405. It was an event which gave great satisfaction to the duke of Albany, who saw himself relieved from his presence in Scotland, with the power of keeping him away as long as he liked, and he made no remonstrance against the breach of the truce, or demand for his liberation. But the intelligence of the captivity of his son is said to have broken the heart of the Scottish king. He lingered for a few weeks in a state of melancholy, and died on the 4th of April, 1406. The character of king Robert III. was marked by every domestic virtue, and he was possessed in no small degree even of political wisdom and foresight, but his peaceful and gentle disposition were not suited to the times in which he lived, and he only furnished an example of the little avail, in those days, of wisdom and justice, even in a king, if they were not accompanied with the stern resolution necessary to enforce them.

CHAPTER V.

REGENCY OF THE DUKE OF ALBANY; HOSTILITIES WITH ENGLAND; REBELLION OF THE HIGHLANDERS, AND BATTLE OF HARLAW; DEATH OF ALBANY; JAMES I. RELEASED FROM CAPTIVITY.

EVERYTHING conspired at this moment to promote the ambitious views of the duke of Albany. He had conciliated the nobles by the indulgence with which he overlooked their excesses, and he possessed, or at least knew how to assume, the qualities which dazzled and gained the populace. He was, moreover, not unskilful in the art of governing, and as he already held the power of regent in his hands, it would not have been easy to substitute another in his place. Accordingly, the parliament which met at Perth immediately on the death of king Robert, at once chose the duke of Albany regent of Scotland, after having made a solemn declaration that James earl of Carrick, then a prisoner in England, was their lawful king. As the position between the two countries was at this moment more than critical, it was determined to draw closer the alliance with France, and four envoys, sir Walter Stuart of Ralston, Lawder archdeacon of Lothian, John Gil, and John de Ieth, were sent thither to renew the league with that country. Nevertheless, the duke of Albany, as well as king Henry, were desirous of peace, to which nothing perhaps contributed more than the captivity of so large a portion of the Scottish nobility in England. Albany made no attempt to obtain the release of the young Scottish king, who had been acknowledged by the parliament as James I., and as a cover to his remissness in this respect, he allowed his own son, the earl of Fife, to remain unransomed. But there was one among the prisoners for whose release he was anxious, and a long negotiation had been carried on for his ransom. This was the earl of Douglas, who had been doubly captured, first at Homildon Hill, and subsequently at Shrewsbury field, in which latter battle he had encountered the king of England, and struck him down with his own hand. The English king now at length consented to set him at liberty, but he demanded a ransom of a thousand marks for leave to revisit Scotland, and thirteen hostages for his return into captivity. The conditions of his release were, that he should return to his captivity at the end of a cer-

tain stipulated period, and that during the time he should do nothing contrary to the interests of the king of England. The great power of the head of the Douglasses, and the importance which was attached to his presence in Scotland at this time, may be estimated from the readiness with which thirteen men of high rank were surrendered in exchange for him. Among them were his eldest son, Archibald Douglas, with his son James; the son and heir of James Douglas, lord of Dalkeith; sir William Douglas of Liddesdale; sir John Seton; sir Simon Glendinning; sir John Montgomery; sir John Stuart of Lorn; sir William Graham; and sir William Sinclair, of Hermandston. A circumstance of still greater promise for the prosperity of Scotland, which attended Douglas's reappearance there, was his reconciliation with the earl of March, who returned to his country, and was reinstated in his extensive possessions, with the exception of the lordship of Annandale and the castle of Lochmaben.

We have at this moment to turn our attention from the contemplation of the turbulence of political strife, to an example of religious persecution. The interval of peace between the two countries, and the facility of intercommunication, encouraged the missionaries of Wycliffeism to carry their preaching into Scotland. An English priest, named John Resby, was, as far as we know, the first preacher of the reformation in the north. For a time his proceedings were unobserved, although he seems to have made a considerable number of converts; but becoming bolder, and preaching his doctrines more openly, he was arrested by a zealous churchman named Laurence of Lindores, who was at that time president of the council of the Scottish clergy, before whom he was immediately brought to trial. The catholic clergy of Scotland were utterly shocked when it was found that their victim, among a multitude of minor heresies, held that the pope had no power as the successor of St. Peter, that penances and auricular confession were of no avail, and that a life without sin was necessary in any

one who presumed to call himself "the vicar of Christ." John Resby was condemned to the stake, and burnt at Perth, with his books and writings, in the year 1407; but his preachings had not been without their effect upon the people, and they were enforced by sympathy for his fate.

Soon after this event, the peace between the two countries was again disturbed by border warfare, which, though not authorised by the government, was not disapproved. The truce had no sooner expired in 1408, than the men of Teviotdale rose, and taking advantage of the weakness of the garrison, captured the castle of Jedburgh, which had been in the hands of the English ever since the battle of Neville's Cross. This event furnished the regent with an opportunity of catching at popular favour. According to a policy which had been followed with few exceptions since the time of Robert Bruce, it was determined to demolish Jedburgh castle, but it was found that the mortar had become so hard, that walls and towers seemed to have been changed into one solid mass of stone, to destroy which would demand a very considerable outlay of money. A parliament was at this time assembled at Perth, and, anxious to dismantle the border fortress, they agreed to raise the money necessary for that purpose by a tax of two pennies on every hearth in the kingdom. The regent here interfered, and, declaring he would agree to no tax which like this would be an oppression of the poor, ordered the money to be given out of the royal customs. This act of liberality and patriotism was extolled from one end of the country to the other. The next exploit was performed by Patrick Dunbar, son of the earl of March, and, though it may be considered as belonging to the border war, can hardly be looked upon as part of the hostilities between the two countries. An English adventurer, named Holder, who combined the occupations of pirate at sea and captain of a free company on land, had obtained possession of a strong hold on a precipitous rock overhanging the German ocean, which, from its supposed impregnable position, was called Fast castle. Holder soon made himself the terror of the neighbourhood, both by land and sea, until he was attacked by Patrick Dunbar, who succeeded, with great difficulty, in capturing the castle. His younger brother, Gawin Dunbar, in conjunction with Archibald

Douglas of Drumlanrig, near the same time, attacked and burnt the town of Roxburgh, which was also in possession of the English.

King Henry seems to have been desirous of preserving the peace, and to have overlooked these attacks on the border, though it was apparently in consequence of the capture of Jedburgh, which was in the territories of the Douglasses, that in 1409 he addressed a violent remonstrance to the regent against the earl of Douglas, who had neglected to return to England a full year after the stipulated time. As Henry threatened to treat his thirteen hostages according to the laws of war, if Douglas did not return within a month, the earl was obliged to obey, but he soon afterwards purchased his liberty by the payment of a heavy ransom. If, however, the English king did not take immediate cognizance of the hostilities of the Scottish borderers, his officers on the border were less forbearing. Sir Robert de Umfraville, one of the most powerful barons on the English border, who held the office of vice-admiral of England, entered the Forth with ten ships of war, and ravaged the country on both sides that river in such a manner, that the booty he brought back to England had the effect of lowering the high prices to which the English markets had been raised by a severe famine, and the English in their exultation gave him the nick-name of Robin Mendmarket. Sir Robert was a soldier of great experience, and he was entrusted with the wardship and education of his nephew Gilbert de Umfraville, titular earl of Angus, then in his fourteenth year. He announced his intention of holding a grand military array in honour of the birthday of the young lord, and amid the festivities and cries of his vassals of Redesdale he raised earl Gilbert's banner for the first time, and announced as a fit termination of the feast a raid into Scotland. It happened to be Jedburgh fair, and thither the English borderers directed their course. The fair was plundered, and the town of Jedburgh, after being sacked, was committed to the flames.

The attention of the Scottish government was called from these minor outrages to a far more formidable attack in the north. The earldom of Ross was disputed by two powerful claimants, Donald lord of the Isles, and John earl of Buchan, to either of whom its possession would bring an enormous accession of power. This earldom had descended, through his mother, to Alexander

Lesley, whose sister Margaret married Donald of the Isles. Alexander earl of Ross married a daughter of the duke of Albany, and had by her but one child, a daughter named Euphemia, who resigned the earldom in favour of her uncle John earl of Buchan, that she might enter a monastery. But the lord of the Isles opposed this arrangement, and claimed the earldom in the right of his wife, on the ground that the countess Euphemia by becoming a nun was civilly dead, and had no power of disposing of her rights. The plea was heard by the regent's council, and rejected; and the extensive territory belonging to the earldom was delivered to the earl of Buchan. Donald declared that he would not abide by the regent's award; and, having first strengthened himself by entering into an alliance with the king of England, as though he were himself an independent monarch, he proceeded to raise an army of ten thousand highlanders to establish his claim to the earldom by force.

As soon as Donald had assembled his fierce followers, he invaded the earldom of Ross, the inhabitants of which immediately submitted to him. The first opponent he encountered was a chief named Angus Dhu (Black Angus), who attempted to arrest his course at Dingwall, but he was defeated with considerable loss, his brother Roderic was slain, and he was himself taken prisoner. Having once let loose his savage people, and given them a taste of plunder, Donald showed no inclination to place any limit to their depredations. He appointed a general rendezvous of his forces at Inverness, and compelled the whole strength of the district on the mainland which had submitted to take arms and join his standard, and then dispersed his vast host to ravage and lay waste the extensive districts of Moray, Strathbogie, and Garvyach. These last depredations brought upon the island chief a more formidable opponent than any he had yet met, in the person of the earl of Mar.

There was something peculiarly wild and romantic in the history of this nobleman, who had obtained his earldom by a violence even more extraordinary than that now employed by the islander Donald. We have already told how Duncan Stuart, natural son of the earl of Buchan, had disturbed the peace of the realm at the commencement of the reign of Robert III., by his ravages in the north. Another natural son of Buchan, Alexander Stuart, was equally notorious for

his wild and lawless manners. He appears to have cast an envious eye on the rich earldom of Mar, which was then held by sir Malcolm Drummond, the brother of Robert the Third's queen, who had married Isabella countess of Mar. In the year 1403, Drummond was surprised and captured in his castle by a party of highland ketherans, and died in his confinement. Public opinion laid this outrage to the charge of Alexander Stuart, who soon afterwards presented himself at the head of his army of ketherans or highland freebooters, before the strong castle of Kildrummie, where the countess resided, attacked and stormed it, and by persuasion or force prevailed upon the lady to marry him. A few weeks after this, the tenantry and vassals of the earldom were called together in a solemn assembly before the gates of Kildrummie castle, and there, in the presence of the bishop of Ross, Alexander Stuart ceremoniously delivered into the hands of the countess the keys of the castle, declaring that it was his wish she should freely dispose of them as she thought best. To the astonishment of everybody, the lady returned him the keys, declaring that she freely chose him for her lord and husband, and that she gave to him the earldom of Mar, the castle of Kildrummie, and all her other lands. The necessary documents for conferring a legal form on this grant were immediately drawn up, and so weak were justice and law at this time in Scotland, that, in spite of the public horror inspired by the whole proceeding, the king ratified it by a royal charter, and Stuart was permitted to assume the titles of earl of Mar and lord of Garvyach.

This was the man who now came forward to arrest the wild progress of Donald of the Isles. The new earl of Mar was possessed of great military talents, and seems to have been born for a different station to that of a commander of highland freebooters. Laying aside his former wildness, he now made his appearance at court, and led by an eager desire of distinction, he proceeded to the continent, where he soon gained renown as one of the best knights of the day, and having entered the service of the duke of Burgundy, is said to have contributed in a great measure to his victory at Liège, against the insurgent subjects of the bishop. Mar had joined the duke with a hundred Scottish lances, men as eager after adventures as himself, who followed his banner abroad. As the hostile armies approached, two pow-

erful champions, armed with battle-axes, were seen to advance some distance before the army of the insurgents. The earl of Mar commanded his banner to halt, and calling upon his esquire, John of Ceres, to follow him, he encountered the two champions, and slew them. They proved to be the two leaders of the insurrection. The bravery of the Scottish earl and his followers was conspicuous throughout the action, and he returned to his country covered with glory, and became there one of the most zealous supporters of order.

The earl of Mar, now enraged at the attack of Donald on his territory, placed himself at the head of the whole power of Mar and Garvyach, and joined with that of Angus and the Mearns. Among the chiefs who ranged themselves under his banner, all distinguished warriors, were sir Alexander Ogilvy sheriff of Angus, sir James Strymgeour constable of Dundee, and hereditary standard-bearer of Scotland, sir Alexander Irving, sir Robert Melville, and sir William de Abernethy; and sir Robert Davidson, provost of Aberdeen, which city Donald had announced his intention to burn, came with a troop of stout burghesses. Altogether, however, the earl's army is said not to have amounted to more than one-tenth of the number of Donald's host of ravagers, but they were all gentlemen, and the choicest soldiers of the north, and Mar, who was confident in the superiority of armed knights over the sort of force to whom they were to be opposed, marched immediately from Aberdeen, and came in sight of the highlanders at the village of Harlaw, near the head of the Garioch. Donald had on this occasion proclaimed a sort of Celtic crusade against the lowland Saxon, in which the old hostility between the two races had brought together, under his banners, a multitude of highland clans, among whom the principal were the Macintoshes and the Macleans. The standard of Mar was followed by the heads of the Irvings, Maules, Morays, Straitons, Lesleys, Stirlings, Lovels, and other Saxon families in highest repute for nobility and bravery.

Mar lost no time in attacking the enemy the moment the two armies came in view of each other. His advance, consisting of a small body of men-at-arms, under Ogilvy and the constable of Dundee, sustained the first attack, and soon drove forward the body of highlanders first opposed to them with considerable slaughter. He was fol-

lowed by the main body of the lowlanders, under Mar himself. But the wild host of the northerners rushed into the battle with reckless fury, uttering horrible yells and shouts, and as one or two were cut down, their places seemed to be supplied by hundreds of new combatants. The knights and their followers became gradually weary with slaying, while the ferocity of the assailants seemed to be unabated, and the horsemen began to fight with less force as their assailants continually rushed in amongst them on foot, killed their horses, and despatched the riders while down. One of the first who fell was the constable of Dundee. Sir Robert Davidson, with the greater part of his burghesses, soon experienced the same fate. The sheriff of Angus with his eldest son, sir Alexander Irving of Drum, sir Robert Maule, sir Thomas Moray, William Abernethy, James Lovel, Alexander Stirling, Lesley of Balquhain, and others, were also slain. Lesley is said to have had six of his sons killed by his side. As evening approached, Mar, almost alone of the great chiefs, and not more than half his army, remained still struggling with the foe, encumbered with the dead, and maintaining their ground with difficulty, amid the horrible yells and ferocious daring of their assailants. Darkness came over the combatants still fighting, and they desisted only apparently to recommence the struggle on the morrow. Mar and his companions in arms remained on the field, themselves exhausted and covered with wounds, but when daylight appeared they found that the field was their own. The highlanders, discouraged and broken, had made their retreat by Inverurie and the hill of Benochie, leaving about a thousand slain, among whom were their two great chiefs, Maclean and Macintosh. The victors in this sanguinary engagement lost about five hundred men, but they were nearly all gentry and men of family.

This battle of Harlaw, which was fought on the twenty-fourth of July, 1411, gave a lasting check to the power of the Gaels, and both from this circumstance, and for its sanguinary character, produced a deep sensation throughout Scotland. The regent immediately held a parliament, in which a statute was passed in favour of the heirs of those who had fallen, who were exempted from the feudal fines usually exacted on the entrance of their hereditary estates. The battle between lowlanders and highlanders

was sung in popular ballads throughout the country, and one of these, celebrating in a spirited strain the deeds of the chiefs in the struggle at Harlaw, has been preserved.*

The regent, on this occasion, displayed an unusual degree of spirit. Apprehensive lest the lord of the Isles should only have retreated to recruit his strength for another attack, Albany assembled an army and marched into Ross, where he captured and garrisoned the strong castle of Dingwall, on the Firth of Cromarty, and took possession of the earldom which had been the original subject of dispute. As the season was now too far advanced to allow of the regent's carrying his hostilities beyond, Donald retired into his island fastnesses, and there set him at defiance during the winter. But when the season for commencing military operations again arrived, the regent assembled his army and marched against him, and after a short war compelled him to acknowledge the supremacy of the crown of Scotland, to give hostages for his future good behaviour, and to waive all further claim to the earldom of Ross.

Immediately after the termination of this rebellion a new truce was concluded with England, which was to last for six years, from the 17th of May, 1412. Albany now became anxious for the liberation of his son Murdoch, who had been a prisoner in England since the disastrous battle of Bannockburn. Albany's task with regard to the prisoner was a difficult one, and hence all his proceedings are clothed in mystery. There can be little doubt that his ambition prompted him to secure, if possible, the crown to his own family, and had the young prince remained in Scotland, it is probable that he would not long have stood in the way of this object. Next to securing the crown itself, the regent was desirous at least of keeping the supreme power, and he hoped that his son would be capable of retaining it. He was therefore as anxious to keep the king of Scotland in captivity as he was to obtain the release of Murdoch earl of Fife; and Henry IV., who saw through the duke's designs, was not unwilling in some degree to second them. Various excuses were easily found to evade any negotiation for the king, and as long as appearances were thought to require it, equal difficulties were made with regard to

earl Murdoch; but now at length, in the case of the latter, these difficulties were overcome, and a treaty for his delivery appears to have been nearly completed, when it was suddenly interrupted by the death of king Henry. His successor showed no inclination to give up any of the advantages which the possession of the Scottish prisoners gave him, at a moment when he was engaged in the extensive wars which threw so much military glory over his reign.

The interval of peace was profitable to Scotland in more senses than one. The fierce hostilities which for so many years ravaged the country formed an insurmountable barrier to the march of civilization, and not only were its youths obliged to expatriate themselves if they would seek learning, but those patriotic Scots who wished to promote the education of their countrymen, found it prudent to establish schools for them in other countries, and not in their own. It was thus that, towards the end of the thirteenth century, Derworguilla, the wife of John de Baliol, founded Baliol college in Oxford. Some years later, in 1326, a bishop of Moray laid the foundation of the Scottish college in Paris. Civilization was now so far advanced, that Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St. Andrews, the instructor and friend of James I., projected the establishment of a university in his own episcopal city. The foundation was commenced in 1410, and the professors soon commenced their courses of lectures; but it was not till the beginning of February, 1413, that the papal bull arrived, which confirmed the establishment of the now celebrated university of St. Andrews, an event celebrated in that city with great pomp and rejoicing.

But the contemplation of peaceful and beneficent events like this, is soon lost in the turmoil of political intrigue and warfare. The negotiations for the liberation of the earl of Fife had been renewed, and they were at length successful. With a view probably to this object, the regent had latterly laboured with apparent cordiality to preserve the peace with England, and he appears thus to have rendered the English king more favourable to his proposals. It was at length agreed that the regent's son should be exchanged for young Henry

Scottish antiquary, David Laing, in a rare little volume entitled "Early Metrical Tales." A march called the Battle of Harlaw was once popular.

* It was printed by Allan Ramsay in the *Evergreen*, from a modernized copy, and has since been printed in a more ancient form by a distinguished

Percy, who had been taken into Scotland by his grandfather, at the time of his unfortunate conspiracy with the archbishop of York; and while Percy returned to England and was restored to his titles and lands, Murdoch Stuart was sent back to Scotland. The result of this transaction seems to have given the expected satisfaction to neither party. The Scottish regent no longer showed the same anxiety to restrain his people from acts of hostility towards England, while his son Murdoch, whatever may have been his inclination, was soon found to possess a feebleness of character which made him quite unfitted to carry out the ambitious designs of his father. The latter, moreover, now found it every day more difficult to evade the calls of his countrymen to take some steps for bringing home their young king. He had now reached his manhood, and sighed after his native country and the throne of his ancestors. Henry IV., while he retained him in captivity, had treated him with remarkable kindness, and had given the utmost care to his education, and his friends who came to England to communicate and converse with him, carried back the pleasing intelligence that their prince was possessed of the spirit and abilities which gave promise of a great monarch. He was himself well aware that he had been retained so long in captivity chiefly through the intrigues of his uncle, and he seems to have entered warmly into the plans of his friends in Scotland, to undermine the regent's power. These gradually became more numerous and influential, and although the power of the regent was too firmly fixed to be easily moved, he found it so far necessary to propitiate his enemies, as to enter into a new negotiation for the liberation of the king. The result of this negotiation, which took place in 1416, was, that king Henry agreed to give his prisoner leave to return to Scotland for a stipulated period, on condition that sufficient hostages should be given for his returning to captivity at the expiration of that period, under a penalty of a hundred thousand marks. This treaty had proceeded so far, that commissioners on each side were appointed for carrying it into execution, when it was suddenly broken off in a mysterious manner. The causes of this failure are totally unknown, but it is generally supposed to have been the result of the regent's intrigues, and James is said

to have felt a resentment towards the family of Albany, which he never afterwards laid aside.

The policy of the regent became now suddenly more warlike in its character, and it is supposed that this change arose from a belief that the peace between the two countries facilitated the communications of king James with his friends, and led to plots against his own power, which would be put a stop to by the renewal of hostilities. A war also would give occupation to the restless nobility whom his indulgence had nurtured in turbulence, and, by provoking the king of England, and destroying the friendly feelings which were gradually arising between the two countries, it seemed to be the surest way of keeping the Scottish king in captivity. Thus did he sacrifice all the best interests of his country for the gratification of his own personal ambition; and his conduct was the more base, as Henry V. had of late shown towards Scotland a cordiality of feeling which promised the most happy results for both countries. Yet Albany declared that war would be proclaimed against England as soon as the truce expired, and he announced his intention of undertaking the siege of Berwick at the head of sixty thousand men. Although it was said that the cannons and other warlike munitions for this expedition were already shipped, the siege of Berwick was never undertaken. But, instead of this, the regent seized the opportunity, in 1417, while king Henry was absent in France, to march with an army to the castle of Roxburgh, which was still in the hands of the English. Although the duke of Albany had showed some spirit in his expedition against the lord of the Isles, the Scots never believed in his courage, and in the present undertaking he seems not to have had their sympathies. Confident, however, in the force he led with him, and believing that all the military force of England was absent with the king in France, he set his miners to work, and seemed resolved to push the siege with vigour, when intelligence suddenly came that the duke of Bedford was marching against him at the head of forty thousand men. The regent immediately abandoned his enterprise, and withdrew his army into Scotland, and the only memorial which remained of his military achievements was the contemptuous title which the Scots gave to them of *the foul raid*, or the dishonourable invasion. The English borderers, too,

were soon in arms, and the governor of Berwick, sir Robert Umfraville, collecting their forces under his command, invaded the eastern marches of Scotland, and committed dreadful havoc, burning to the ground the towns of Hawick, Selkirk, Jedburgh, Lauder, and Dunbar, with all the surrounding villages and hamlets. After this the war was carried on along the borders for some time without much spirit. A daring exploit was performed by a Scottish border chief, William Haliburton of Fastcastle, who surprised the castle of Wark, and took it by storm; but he had not held it long, when he was surprised in his turn by sir Robert Ogle, and the whole garrison and their leader were put to the sword.

King Henry was now in the midst of his conquests in France, and the French dauphin, hard pressed by his enemies, sent the duke of Vendôme into Scotland to demand assistance. The regent immediately called a parliament, and, as Scotland was already at war with England, it was determined to send a considerable force into France under the command of the earl of Buchan, Albany's second son, and the earl of Wigton. The ships for the transport of these forces were to be furnished by the three powers of France, Castile, and Arragon, for Scotland was at this time almost without a fleet; and in spite of the exertions of the English to intercept them, seven thousand men, the flower of the Scottish army, reached France in safety.

This was the last event of any importance under the regency of the duke of Albany. He had already passed his eightieth year, and his evil passions seemed in no degree abated. He died in the palace of Stirling, on the 3rd of September, 1420, after a regency of fourteen years, and after having virtually ruled the kingdom, with very little interruption, during four-and-thirty. His power was so firmly established, that on his death his son Murdoch was allowed to assume the regency without opposition or question, and it was not even thought necessary to call a parliament to give the title or confirm the assumption of power. He seems to have owed this easy elevation to power to the nobles who had supported his father, and who looked forward to securing the same favour and indulgence they had hitherto enjoyed. It was soon seen that the new ruler was totally incapable of holding the reins of government, and the

nobles who had, under his father, paid some respect to the representative of the crown, now looked upon him with contempt, and, without any regard to the laws, they all soon gave way to the most unbridled licence. To add to the confusion and misery of the kingdom, a pestilence swept through the land, which attacked all classes of society, and carried off, among other distinguished persons, the earls of Orkney and March, and lord Douglas of Dalkeith. The easy and even slothful temper of the new duke of Albany was such, that the example of insubordination was set even in his own family, and the old annalists have preserved an anecdote of youthful turbulence which, in the feudal times of Scotland, was considered unusually strange. It appears that duke Murdoch possessed a favourite falcon, which his son Walter had asked of him repeatedly, but in vain. One day the duke was fondling the favourite, as it sat on his wrist, when Walter, who was present, repeated his wish to have the falcon, and was again refused. He instantly approached his father, snatched the bird brutally from his wrist, and killed it by wringing its neck. It is said that the regent, deeply affected at the conduct of his son, threatened that, since his own children set an example of disobedience, he would bring back one who would make them all obey him; a saying which seemed ominous of the subsequent fate of himself and his family. It is supposed, indeed, that the regent would not have been unwilling to resign the regency, and obtain the release of the king, but that, conscious his assumption of the office was itself an act of treason, he wanted the courage to face the danger which seemed to threaten him when he stood a simple subject before his sovereign.

As there is little interest at this moment to fix our attention in Scotland, we may carry it away to note briefly the progress of the Scottish auxiliaries in France. As we have said, the flower of the Scottish military—all who were willing to seek distinction by the sword—had followed the banners of the earl of Buchan. They were received with marked distinction by their French allies, and had soon an opportunity of displaying their courage in opposing the duke of Clarence, the brother of the English king, who had, in 1421, been detached with a strong force, to invade the province of Anjou. The Scottish force, with a small body of French, lay at the village of Baugé,

on the river Cocsnon, when the duke of Clarence was informed of their presence. He marched instantly to attack them, but being arrested by the brave defence of a small party of French, who held the church of Baugé, the Scots had time to form and prepare for battle on the opposite side of the river. As the duke of Clarence pressed forward at the head of his men-at-arms to gain possession of the bridge, he was vigorously attacked by the Scottish knights, and the duke himself, after being unhorsed and wounded by sir William Swinton, was slain by the earl of Buchan, before he could regain his horse. The English, after a violent struggle, were defeated with great loss; besides the duke of Clarence, the earl of Kent, with the lords Grey and Ross, and fourteen hundred men-at-arms were slain, and the earls of Huntingdon and Somerset were made prisoners. In reward of this exploit, the earl of Buchan was created high constable of France, and Stuart of Darnley received a grant of the lordship of Aubigny. Buchan subsequently returned to Scotland, to obtain a reinforcement, and he found his father-in-law, the earl of Douglas, who was anxiously promoting every negotiation for the liberation of the king, in treaty with Henry V., to assist him in his French wars with a body of two hundred knights and esquires, and two hundred mounted archers. It is said that king Henry, annoyed at the presence of the Scottish auxiliaries in France, required the king of Scots to order them to return, but that the latter, while he offered to fight under Henry's banner himself, represented that while in custody his orders would have no force with his countrymen; and it is supposed that Henry imagined that the Scots in the French pay would fight less willingly, when they knew that Douglas and a body of their countrymen were in the opposite ranks. Be this, however, as it may, Douglas was easily induced to break off the agreement. He was to receive of king Henry two hundred pounds a-year for his service, but Charles VII. offered him a richer prize, and in consideration of the grant of the duchy of Touraine, he engaged to lead over to France a force of five thousand Scottish combatants. But the proverbial bad fortune of the earl of Douglas followed him to France. One of the first operations in which he was engaged, was the siege of Crevan, where the Scots were surprised by the earl of Salisbury, and defeated with the

loss of nearly a thousand men. The battle of Verneuil, fought on the 17th of August, 1424, was still more fatal to the Scottish auxiliaries. The French were resolved to risk a general engagement rather than allow Yvry, then besieged by the duke of Bedford, to be taken, and they had reached the neighbourhood of Verneuil, when an English herald arrived to announce the intention of the English to give them battle. The earl of Douglas, it appears, had spoken in derision of the duke of Bedford, under the nickname of "John with the leaden sword," and the duke, to whom his words had been repeated, now sent him word by the herald, that he was coming to drink wine and revel with him. The earl replied in the same strain, that he had come from his native land expressly to carouse with him, and understanding the message as a challenge to battle, he urged the French commander, the vicomte de Narbonne, to draw up their forces on the advantageous ground they then occupied, and wait the attack. But Narbonne insisted on advancing, and the Scots were obliged to follow their allies. The result was the entire defeat of the French, and the loss fell heavily upon the Scots. Not only their two leaders, the earls of Douglas and Buchan, but nearly all the Scots of rank or quality, were slain on the field, and the auxiliary army may be considered to have been destroyed. It is understood that the Scottish body guard, so long retained by the French monarchs, was originally formed of those who escaped from this fatal field.

At this moment preparations were making for the return of king James to Scotland. Before the death of Henry V., in 1422, the Scottish prince had been in constant communication with his countrymen, and was well informed of the weak administration of the regent, and of the unbridled licentiousness of the nobles. Scotland had, indeed, fallen into a state of barbarous anarchy, for which the only remedy possible, was the presence of the king, and his friends did all in their power to encourage and promote the earnest desire of the people at large for his return. The English regency manifested a friendly feeling towards Scotland, which gave greater confidence to the negotiations which were commenced after the accession of Henry VI., and a meeting was held between commissioners for that purpose at Pontefract, in Yorkshire, on the 12th of May, 1423,

at which James was present. In consequence of this meeting, a treaty was soon afterwards concluded, and ratified at London. As James had been detained in a time of truce, the English government could have no right to claim a ransom for him; but it was agreed, that for the expenses of his living during the long period he had remained in England, he should pay the sum of forty thousand pounds of English money, in yearly sums of ten thousand marks, and that not only should he give hostages chosen from the noblest families of Scotland, for the payment of this money, but that the four towns of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen, should give their bonds for the payment of it, if their monarch should fail.

Before James left London he married the lady Joane Beaufort, daughter of the earl of Somerset, of whom he had become deeply enamoured during his imprisonment. She was a lady of royal descent by both her parents, and distinguished equally for beauty and accomplishments. The marriage was performed with great pomp in the church of St. Mary Overy, in Southwark, and the marriage-feast was held in the palace of the celebrated cardinal Beaufort, her uncle. On the morrow of the marriage king Henry forgave the payment of the first ten thousand marks of the sum to be paid by James for his expenses, as the dower of his wife; and a truce of seven years was concluded between the two king-

doms. James then set out for his own dominions, accompanied by his young wife, and escorted by many of the English nobility. He was met at Durham by the earls of Lennox, Wigtown, Moray, Crawford, March, Orkney, Angus, and Strathern, and a splendid assemblage of the barons and gentry of Scotland. He was attended thence to the Scottish border by the earl of Northumberland, with an escort under the command of sir Robert Umfraville, sir William Heron, and sir Robert Ogle. At Melrose he remained in the abbey to fulfil that part of the treaty by which he was obliged to confirm it with his oath, within four days after he entered Scotland, and then he proceeded towards his capital, surrounded by his nobles, and welcomed by the universal rejoicings of his people. He held the festival of Easter, 1424, at Edinburgh, and on the 21st of May he and his queen were crowned in the abbey of Scone, the late governor, as earl of Fife, placing him on the throne, and Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St. Andrews, performing the coronation ceremonies. The king completed the ceremony by conferring the honour of knighthood upon Alexander Stuart, a younger son of the duke of Albany, the earls of March, Angus, and Crawford, William Hay, constable of Scotland, John Scrymgeour, constable of Dundee, Alexander Seyton of Gordon, and eighteen others of the principal nobility and barons of his realm.

CHAPTER VI.

REIGN OF JAMES I.; JAMES'S FIRST PARLIAMENT; SEIZURE AND EXECUTION OF THE NOBLES; FOREIGN ALLIANCES.

It seems to have been generally understood, that the king had been well informed, in his captivity, of the condition of Scotland, and that he returned to his country with the firm resolution to purge it of evil-doers. The old historian of this period tells us, that the king had asserted to some of his friends, that if God gave him life, there should not be a spot in his dominions in which the key should not keep the castle, and the furze-bush the cow, even though

he himself led the life of a dog to accomplish it; and his acts in no way belied this promise, though, from the beginning, he manifested as much prudence as determination. He began by causing strict inquiries to be made into the various abuses under which his kingdom was suffering. Immediately after his coronation a parliament was called, and its various enactments throw some light on the condition of Scotland at that time. The authentic records

of previous parliaments since the time of David II., appear to be entirely lost, so that we are unable to trace the development of parliamentary forms and principles during that period, which, in fact, from the condition of the kingdom, cannot have been very great. In the time of David, as we have seen, it became a custom, to simplify the labours of parliament, by appointing committees to consider and prepare the business or articles to be brought before it, and, in the meantime, the members were allowed to return to their homes and occupy themselves with their own affairs. These committees had now been changed for a certain number of persons chosen by parliament, to prepare the acts or articles to be proposed to them, and who were named the lords of the articles. This was a parliamentary institution peculiar to Scotland, and we shall find the lords of the articles acting an important part in the future history of the country. It was the first business of the parliament, on assembling, to elect the lords of the articles, after which, leave of returning home was given to all the other members of parliament, to reassemble for business when called upon.

The more important enactments of this parliament seem to have been drawn up under the king's eye, and point out the abuses which he was resolved to correct. The first commanded that all men should honour the church, and confirmed to its ministers their ancient freedom and privileges. The next was a strict provision against feuds and private war among the nobility, and inhibited the barons, not only from making war upon each other, but from riding about the country with numerous bands of followers, to the great oppression of the king's subjects. Those who were found offending against this law, were to be arrested and punished according to the king's pleasure. Magistrates and officers of the crown were to be appointed throughout the kingdom, and to be men of property, who might be proceeded against and punished if they did not do justice to the commons of the land. This was followed by a strong law against rebels, and against all persons whatever who favoured and supported them. Another enactment was directed against sturdy mendicants, who, it appears, traversed the country in troops, and when their demands were not immediately complied with, plundered by

force. Instead of these, only such persons were to be allowed to beg who were properly ascertained to be incapable of gaining their living in any other way, and these were to be known by wearing a certain token to be given them by the sheriff of the county, or by the aldermen and bailies of the burgh. Beggars who carried no such tokens on their persons, were to be seized and subjected to the penalty of burning on the cheek, and banishment from the country. Other acts were made to restore the great customs, which, during the regency, had been given away to private individuals, and the royal domains, which had been greatly dilapidated. Another important class of enactments in this parliament, were those relating to the tax for the payment of the money due to England, and the mode of raising it, in which a determination was shown to tax the country more equally and more equitably than had been done in former reigns. We are led to suppose that during the late period of anarchy, there had been a general destruction of the regalities of the crown, extending even to the game and fisheries, for one of the acts of this period was a severe law against those who killed salmon illegally, and against the destruction of other fish. New regulations were made with regard to the custom on herrings, which appears to have been a very lucrative one. It was found necessary also to vindicate the royal right to mines; but it is not easy to discover what circumstance could make it needful to provide by an express statute, that wherever mines of gold or silver had been discovered within the lands of any lord or baron, if it could be proved that three half-pennies of silver could be produced out of the pound of lead, the mine should belong to the king. We have no reason to believe that the precious metals were procured in Scotland at this time. An act, similar to one that had frequently been enacted in former reigns, was at the same time passed, forbidding any gold or silver to be carried forth of the realm, without paying a duty of forty pence upon every pound exported; those who offended against this act were to forfeit the whole gold or silver, and pay a fine of forty-one pennies to the king. It was provided also, that in every instance where merchant strangers had disposed of their goods for money, they should be compelled to expend the same in the purchase of Scottish merchandise, or in the payment of their personal expenses, in evidence of which

they were to bring the testimony of the innkeeper where they lodged, or if they desired to carry the money out of the realm, they were to pay the duty on exportation. All the acts relating to commerce were of the same unenlightened character. There was more wisdom in the law relating to the currency, which had been greatly depreciated from the original standard; the money then in circulation was called in, and a new coinage issued, equal in weight and fineness to the money of England. In regard to ecclesiastical matters, it was ordered that in future no person should purchase any pension payable out of any benefice in Scotland, religious or secular, under penalty of forfeiting the same to the crown; and that no clerk, without express licence from the king, should pass over the sea, or send procurators for himself, on any foreign errand. The only other important act passed in this parliament was one for the encouragement of archery, in which the Scots had never been skilful. It was ordered that all the male subjects of the realm, on reaching the age of fourteen, should be duly provided with the usual arms of an archer; that on every ten-pound land, especially in the neighbourhood of parish churches, bow-marks should be raised, where the people should practise archery, and each at least shoot thrice about, or for neglecting this injunction, pay the penalty of a wether to the lord of the land. The favourite pastime of football was forbidden under a heavy penalty, that the common people might give their whole time to practising with the long-bow.

Many of these enactments it was nearly certain that the proud barons of Scotland would not obey, and they were perhaps made more severe in order to entrap them into disobedience. In most of those directed against the nobility, such as those against rebellion, and against riding about with too large retinues, and against private warfare, the punishment was left to the king's discretion. The caution with which the king proceeded against the great offenders showed at once the greatness of his resentment, and the resolution to carry his designs into effect. They had been received at court, when they came to attend on their parliamentary duties with a cordiality that was calculated to disarm suspicion. They returned to their estates in appearance perfectly satisfied with all that had been done, but fully prepared to disregard all

the laws which had been enacted as far as regarded themselves, for they had long been in the habit of looking upon laws as things made for the lower and middle classes, but not for themselves, and they had not the slightest intention of surrendering any of the lands or other possessions they had usurped, or submitting to any royal or parliamentary inquisition into their titles.

Eight months were allowed to pass after this parliament was dismissed, which present to the historian a complete blank, for we have no records of the private or even of the public transactions of this period. It is probable, however, that the king employed it in cautiously maturing his plans of vengeance. He seems to have secured the support of the whole body of the clergy, no trifling force in those days, and to have admitted into his councils a small number of the barons who were devoted to the crown, and on whose co-operation he could place full dependence. These were the earl of Mar, his son sir Thomas Stuart, the chancellor William Lauder bishop of Glasgow, the treasurer sir Walter Ogilvy, the king's private secretary John Cameron, the chamberlain sir John Forester of Corstorphine, sir John Stuart, sir Robert Lauder of the Bass, Thomas Somerville of Carnwath, and Alexander Levingston of Callendar; most of them men of wealth and influence. At the end of the eight months the king summoned a parliament at Perth, which met on the 12th of March, 1425, and the great nobles of the realm attended without hesitation, and even without suspicion. It was understood that the principal object of the parliament was to take steps for the suppression of heresy, for the religious reformers were again active, and this was the first subject brought forward. It was, however, ordered that immediate inquiry should be made by the king's officers whether the statutes passed in the last parliament had been obeyed, and that in all cases where they had been disregarded the offenders should be seized and punished. At the same time proclamation was made, forbidding all confederations amongst the king's lieges, all assistance afforded to rebels, and all false reports tending to create discord between the sovereign and his people, on pain of death and confiscation of property. These also were measures which had accompanied the meetings of former parliaments, and, regarded as mere matter of form, they gave no alarm,

as it was not supposed that they were to be acted upon. Eight days passed thus with nothing to give warning of the blow which was preparing, but on the ninth all the members of the family of Albany who were within reach, who were the late governor and his younger son, the lord Alexander Stuart, were suddenly placed under arrest; and immediately after, to the astonishment of everybody, twenty-six of the greatest lords and barons in Scotland, including Archibald earl of Douglas, William Douglas earl of Angus, George Dunbar earl of March, William Hay of Errol constable of Scotland, Serymgeour constable of Dundee, Alexander Lindsay, Adam Hepburn of Hailes, Thomas Hay of Yester, Herbert Maxwell of Caerlaverock, Alexander Ramsay of Dallhousie, Alan Otterbourn secretary to the duke of Albany, sir John Montgomery, and sir John Stuart of Dundonald. Walter, the eldest son of the duke of Albany, the same whose brutal disrespect to his father was said to have hastened his resignation of the regency, had already been arrested and shut up in Lauder's castle of the Bass, as well as the earl of Lennox and sir Robert Graham, who were imprisoned in the castle of Dunbar. The duke of Albany, who had been first imprisoned in the castle of St. Andrews, was transferred to that of Caerlaverock.

The whole nobility seem to have been paralysed by this bold stroke, and none appear to have attempted the slightest opposition. The king at once took possession of Albany's castles of Falkland and Doune, in the latter of which he found his wife Isabella, daughter of the earl of Lennox, who was committed to the castle of Tantallon; and in rapid succession he made himself master of all the strongest fortresses in the country.

The parliament had been adjourned to the 18th of May, when it was to meet at Stirling. The king seems to have employed the intervening period in assuring himself of his own strength, and preparing for the tragedy which was to follow; and it has been supposed that the imprisonment of some of the nobles was merely intended to intimidate them, that they might leave the family of Albany to its fate. It is certain that on the jury which tried Walter Stuart, Albany's eldest son, there were no less than seven of the principal imprisoned noblemen, namely, the earls of Douglas, March, and Angus, sir John de Montgomery, the constable Hay of Errol, sir Herbert Herries of

Teregles, and sir Robert Cunningham of Kilmaurs. The trial of Walter Stuart was conducted with great pomp and solemnity, in a court held in the palace of Stirling, on the 24th of May, 1424. The king presided as supreme judge, sitting on his throne, in his royal robes and insignia, with the crown on his head and the sceptre in his hand. All we know of the trial is, that he was charged with what the law-latin of the time termed *roberia*, and we are justified by what is known of his character in supposing that, in defiance of the king and the laws, he had perpetrated some one of those wholesale acts of devastation and plunder which had been so common among the turbulent barons during the regency of the house of Albany. His trial lasted but a day, and he was found guilty, and condemned to death. We have no account of the charges brought against the other members of this ill-fated family, but they were probably connected with the treasonable assumption of the regency. The duke, his aged father-in-law the earl of Lennox, now in his eightieth year, and another son, Alexander Stuart, were all brought to the scaffold. In a state of society like that which now existed in Scotland, people are apt to be dazzled into admiration of the boldness and profusion of those from whose very outrages they suffer, and the execution of so many members of this great family, who in personal appearance were some of the tallest and finest men of their age, excited in an extraordinary degree the sympathies of the multitude, who forgot the claims of justice in contemplating the nobleness of its victims.

The youngest of duke Murdoch's sons, James Stuart, escaped arrest, and fled to the islands of Scotland, in company with his father's chaplain, Finlay bishop of Lismore and Argyle. Having collected a band of freebooters, they took arms, and falling by surprise on the burgh of Dumbarton, they took it by storm, killed many of the inhabitants, completely plundered the town, and then committed it to the flames. Sir John Stuart of Dundonald, the king's uncle, was among the slain. James Stuart and bishop Finlay, after perpetrating this outrage, made a rapid retreat into their northern fastnesses; but they were so closely hunted by the king's emissaries, that they were obliged to make their escape into Ireland. Five of their accomplices were taken, and the royal vengeance was only satisfied when they were torn to pieces by wild horses.

The executions appear to have been limited to these offenders. The estates of those who had been executed were not, as was usual in such cases, seized by the crown, although the king was in want of money. All the other nobles, who had been thrown into prison, were released. But a bull was procured from the pope, addressed to the bishops of St. Andrews and Dunblane, authorizing them to proceed against the bishop of Lismore, and such others of the clergy as might have been guilty of treason.

After the king's vengeance had thus been satisfied, the parliament proceeded with its legislative labours. Several of its enactments had for their aim the improvement of agriculture, and the protection of the landowners and farmers. It was ordered that every man of the estate of a labourer or husbandman, should either combine with his neighbour to pay half the expense of an ox and a plough, or dig every day a portion of land seven feet long and six feet broad. Musters, or, as they were called in Scotland, weapon-schawings, of the fighting men of each county were to be held four times a-year. Severe penalties were enacted against those who stole green wood, or feloniously stripped trees of their bark, or broke into orchards to take fruit. Some severe restrictions were placed on the exportation of certain articles of commerce, such as tallow and horses, and a law was passed, forbidding any merchant to pass the sea for the purposes of trade, who did not possess in property, or at least in commission, three "scrplaiths" of wool, or the value thereof in merchandise, under a penalty of forty-one pounds for each offence.

One act passed in this parliament shows that king James was actuated by noble feelings of justice and humanity. After declaring the duties of judges, and the necessity of administering justice with impartiality, it was provided, that if "ony pur creatur" should not possess the necessary knowledge, or pecuniary means to pursue his own cause, it should be the duty of the judge to procure "a legal and wise advocate," to act for him, and that the advocate was eventually to be paid by the party who should be proved to be "the wronger." "And if the judge refuses to do the law evenly, the party plaining should have recourse to the king, who shall so vigorously punish such judges, that it be

an example to all others." Various measures were also adopted to check the practice of indiscriminate robbery and murder, which had prevailed throughout the country during the regency. It was announced that all who had been guilty of injuries against the persons and property of the king's lieges, should be pardoned on making reparation to the injured party, the extent of that reparation to be determined by a jury of honest and faithful men. This enactment was not to apply to the highlands, which were in such a state of lawlessness, that it seemed to require some more stringent measures to bring them to anything approaching to good order.

We perceive from the acts of this parliament that the doctrines of the reformation were secretly spreading in Scotland. The preaching, and more especially the sad fate, of John Resby, had produced a deep impression, and we learn from contemporary historians that his writings were carefully preserved and diligently studied, and they seem to have raised disciples to the doctrines they contained in most parts of the country, in spite of the opposition they had experienced from the duke of Albany, who had been particularly diligent in flattering and gaining over the Romish clergy. James himself had been educated at a court where the doctrines of Wycliffe were in great disfavour, and his hostile feeling was evinced in a distinct act, directing all bishops to make diligent inquiries in their several dioceses after Lollards and heretics, in order that they might be condemned by the church, and delivered over to the civil power for punishment.

After the parliament had closed its labours, king James continued his efforts unabated to purge his kingdom of the many evil-doers who had been so long used to act in defiance of the laws. There was something savage in the severity with which he proceeded against the more powerful offenders, which can only be explained by a knowledge of the character of the people with whom he had to deal, and whom no other feeling but that of terror could restrain. It is certain, also, by the rapidity and apparent ease with which the king carried his plans into effect, that he must have been well supported by the middle and lower classes of society, and that he must always have had a powerful force at his command. Immediately after the parliament separated, James sent commissioners to seize the castle

of Loch Lomond, the property of Albany's younger son, the fugitive sir James Stuart, and it was surrendered without resistance. Its fierce lord, proscribed in his native land, closed his days in exile.

The inflexible resolution which the Scottish king had hitherto exhibited, seems to have raised him in the estimation of foreign princes. France, especially, was anxious to draw closer its alliance with Scotland, and James's queen having in the preceding year given birth to a daughter, who was named Margaret, Stuart of Darnley, the lord of Aubigny, and constable of the Scottish army in France, and the archbishop of Rheims, arrived in 1425, as ambassadors from the French king, commissioned to negotiate a marriage between Louis the dauphin of France and the infant princess. King James at once agreed to the alliance, and the bishop of Aberdeen, the archdeacon of Lothian, and sir Patrick Ogilvy, who held the high office of justiciar of Scotland, were

sent to France to carry back his answer. It was arranged that five years from that time the dauphin and the princess should be betrothed, and then the latter was to be sent with all due honour to the court of France. During the same year, an embassy was received from the states of Flanders, who came to negotiate for a renewal of their old trade with Scotland, and the king, in acceding to their proposal, obtained more ample privileges for the Scottish merchants trading to Flanders. On the other hand, king James about this time despatched a numerous and solemn embassy to Rome, apparently with the object of strengthening his own power by a cordial union with the church. It has been supposed that this embassy had some connexion with the persecution of the Lollards. James showed his determination to support the church, by issuing a commission for the restoration of all church lands which had been alienated during the regencies of the dukes of Albany

CHAPTER VII.

ANOTHER PARLIAMENT; JAMES'S VISIT TO THE HIGHLANDS; REBELLION OF ALEXANDER OF THE ISLES; FURTHER LEGISLATIVE ENACTMENTS.

ANOTHER parliament, held in the March of 1425, showed the earnestness with which king James laboured for the improvement of his country. It was a law of this parliament which established the new court called the session, which was to be held by the chancellor with certain discreet persons of the three estates to be chosen and deputed by the king, who were to sit three times in the year at whatever place the king appointed, to hear and judge all cases and quarrels which might be determined by the king's council. The expenses of these judges were to be paid by the parties against whom their decisions were given, out of the fines of court, or otherwise, as the king should direct. The first session of the new court was to be held on the 30th of September, 1425, and they were to be subsequently held on the Monday of the first week of lent, on the morning preceding the feast of St. John the Baptist, and on the day after the feast of St.

Michael the Archangel, every year. An order was next made for the enrolment of all charters, letters of protection, and other grants or confirmations of rights and privileges, and all who then held such charters were required to produce them, to be entered on record. Other enactments were made for purifying juries, and for strictly regulating the appointment of persons to practise as attorneys. A commission was appointed, at the same time, to examine and revise the book of laws, and so far amend and explain all that were defective, contradictory, or obscure, that the ends of justice might not be longer defrauded by means of quibbling and fraud. A provision was next made to take away the plea of ignorance usually set up by the greater offenders against the laws. An act of this parliament directed that copies of all the statutes and ordinances should be sent to all the sheriffs, who were strictly enjoined to publish and proclaim them in the chief and

most notable places of their sheriffdom, and to take other steps to make them known, so that, in time to come, no man should have cause to plead ignorance of the laws of the land. The prelates, barons, and burghs were, moreover, commanded to procure and keep copies of these laws, at their own expense.

The other principal enactments of this parliament related to the commerce of the kingdom, in which the same unenlightened policy of restrictions was pursued, which then prevailed generally. It was ordered that all Scottish merchants passing the seas should bring back with them, as a part of their cargo, a certain proportion of harness, armour, and arms. The same strict order for annual musters and inspections of arms was re-enacted, and the sheriffs were ordered to see that every gentleman having ten pounds value in land, should be sufficiently harnessed, and armed with steel basnet, leg-harness, sword, spear, and dagger, and that all gentlemen of less property should be armed according to their estate. All yeomen between the ages of sixteen and sixty were to be provided with a bow and a sheaf of arrows. An embargo was placed on the commercial intercourse with Ireland, with the avowed design of putting a stop to the assistance given by the Irish to Scottish rebels. Other laws related to the regulation of weights and measures, and to other matters in which abuses had crept, injurious to the people at large.

We have said that the embargo on the intercourse with Ireland, was expressly enacted to prevent the Irish from assisting Scottish rebels, for it was stated that the king's open rebels had taken refuge in Ireland, and that the welfare of the realm was endangered by such unrestrained intercourse, as gave the king's rebellious subjects the opportunity of plotting with their friends, or enabled the Irish to become acquainted with the private affairs of Scotland. It was evident, by this enactment, that king James was meditating some energetic proceedings against his turbulent subjects in the north; and accordingly, when the parliament was adjourned, he announced his intention of marching in person to the highlands, and summoned it to meet him at Inverness. Thither he proceeded, with his principal nobles and barons, at the head of a powerful army, and fixed his residence for a while amid the rude and uncivilized

tribes of the mountainous districts, whose chiefs, ensconced in their almost inaccessible castles, were in the habit of setting the power of the crown at defiance, and refusing to pay their share of the taxes, to attend parliament, or to perform any of the services required by the king's government. Most of these chiefs were constantly guilty of crimes which would be capital under any civilized and well ordered government, and there was no want of pretexts to bring them to justice.

The king's proceedings showed that he was well fitted for the task of bringing these turbulent subjects to order. On his arrival at Inverness, he summoned the most powerful of these ferocious chiefs to attend his parliament. Influenced either by fear, or by the belief, that in yielding to this mandate, they would be able to avert any further attack on their independence, the highland chiefs obeyed, and forty of them made their appearance at Inverness. They had no sooner entered the hall of parliament, than they were all seized by the king's guards, secured with iron fetters and thrown into prison. The historian Fordun, has enumerated among the principal chiefs thus entrapped, Alexander lord of the Isles, and the most powerful and formidable of them all; Angus Dow and his four sons, of Strathnaver, who could bring four thousand men into the field; Kenneth More, with his son-in-law, Angus of Moray and Makmathar, whose clan could send forth two thousand fighting men; Alexander Makreiny of Garmoran, and John Macarthur, each of whom could muster a thousand men; and John Ross, William Lesley, and James Campbell. The countess of Ross, mother of Alexander of the Isles, was also apprehended and thrown into prison. Some of these chiefs were immediately tried and executed. The offence of James Campbell was the murder of John of the Isles, for which he was hanged. Alexander Makreiny and John Macarthur were both brought to the scaffold. Others were also put to death. Some, however, were treated more leniently, and among these was Alexander of the Isles, whom the king restored to his liberty, after having admonished him to shew his gratitude by his future loyalty to the crown, and by laying aside his evil courses. But the king had no sooner broken up his army, and returned to the lowlands, than Alexander, abusing the royal

elemency, collected the force of Ross and the Isles, and with an army of ten thousand men, invaded the crown lands, wasted the country around, and destroyed the burgh of Inverness, because the king had held his court there.

But the proud lord of the Isles little knew the antagonist with whom he had to deal. The king no sooner received intelligence of this insurrection, than he collected an army, and marched with such rapidity into the highlands, that he overtook the invaders in the district of Lochaber. The king's army is understood to have been much inferior in force to that of the highlanders, but it had discipline and the weight of the royal name in its favour, and Alexander was weakened at the moment when the engagement was about to commence by the desertion of the two clans of Chattan and Cameron, who went over to the king's standard. Alexander's army was completely routed, and the fugitives were hunted out with such activity by the king's soldiers, that the lord of the Isles sent an embassy to sue for peace. The king was doubly incensed at the insolence of his subject in acting as if he had been an independent prince, and, after having sternly reprimanded the ambassadors, he returned to his capital, leaving strict orders with his officers not to relax in their pursuit until they had found out and captured the fugitive. The latter was at length driven to such a degree of misery and despair, that, having made his way secretly to Edinburgh, he seized the occasion of a festival, and when the king with his queen and the nobles of his court were standing before the high altar of the church of Holyrood, he presented himself, clothed only in his shirt and drawers, with a naked sword in his hand, and, approaching the king, fell on his knees before him, and, delivering up his sword, threw himself upon the royal mercy. Misery and destitution were so strongly marked in the countenance of the once proud chieftain, that it drew sympathy from the spectators. The king gave him his life, but he committed him to the care of William earl of Angus to be strictly imprisoned in the castle of Tantallon; while his mother, the countess of Ross, was no less strictly confined in the monastery of Inchcolm on a small island in the firth of Forth. Both, however, subsequently found favour and were released, and Alexander was restored to his lands and possessions.

To judge of the state of a country which

required the energetic measures that the king was now employing, we have but to read the few anecdotes of the atrocities committed by the chiefs, related by contemporary historians. On one occasion a highland chieftain broke forcibly into the shed of a poor woman and carried away two of her cows. The aggressor took no care to conceal his outrage, but walked about openly and set the law at defiance. The woman made loud complaints, and, unable to obtain redress, she vowed that she would not take off her shoes again till she had reached the king's presence to make her complaint. The robber declared she should break her vow, for he would himself have her new shod before she went to court; and he immediately caused her to be seized by his men, who, at his command, fixed two horse shoes of iron to the soles of her naked feet with nails driven into the flesh, and in this condition threw her upon the highway. She was taken care of by some more humane persons, and, as soon as she was sufficiently recovered of her wounds, conveyed to court. She obtained access to the king, told her story, and confirmed it by showing her feet all scarred from the recent wounds. James was seized with great indignation. He sent his writs to the sheriff of the county in which the chief who had perpetrated this act of violence resided, and caused him to be seized and sent to him at Perth, where he was then holding his court. After he had been tried and convicted, he was covered with a linen shirt on which was a rude painting of his crime, and he was thus paraded through the streets, and then dragged at the horse's tail to the gallows, where he was hanged. The country had been long unused to acts of justice like this.

The same historian relates an anecdote of the king's rigour in restraining the personal violence of his nobles, and enforcing a due respect to his own person. One of his high nobility, nearly related by blood to himself, quarreled with another baron of the court in the king's presence, and forgot himself so far as to strike him in the face. The king ordered him immediately to be seized and the hand with which he had struck his adversary to be held out, and then, unsheathing the short sword which he wore at his side, the king gave it to the baron who had been struck, and ordered him on pain of death to strike off the hand of the offender. The courtiers interceded in vain, and it was only at the pressing request of the

queen, who was present, that the nobleman who had thus offended obtained his pardon, but he was instantly banished from court.

It is evident that, in a state of society where such acts were of ordinary occurrence, mere verbal laws would be of little avail, without the strong arm and the stern will to carry them into effect. King James knew well that it would require time to accustom the turbulent chieftains of Scotland to the authority of the laws, but his activity in the promotion of this object was quite extraordinary. A remarkable characteristic of his reign was the frequency of parliaments, which had, no doubt, the double object of increasing the authority of the laws and accustoming the nobles and barons to a frequent attendance at court, where they were taught to respect the royal power. The parliaments of 1426 and 1427 were occupied chiefly in regulating the manufactures, commerce, and agriculture of the country. We find enactments for the regulation of the trading companies, or guilds, which seems to show that many abuses had arisen amongst them, especially that of combinations, probably with the object of monopoly. The deacons of the crafts were, in the first of the years just mentioned, forbidden to meddle in matters which did not come strictly within their duties, and in 1427 the office of deacon was abolished. By another enactment, the aldermen and councils of the different towns were charged with the duty of fixing the price of labour and of manufactured articles, and in regulating the latter they were to take into account the price of the raw material and the labour of the workman. New regulations were made with regard to the proportions of agricultural produce which each landowner or tenant was bound to have on his land. Another law compelled the lords beyond the lofty range of hills anciently called the Mounth, to rebuild and keep in repair all the old castles, fortalices, and manor-places which had in former days stood on their lands, the object being, as stated in the law, to ensure the gracious government of the lands by good polity, and the good effects resulting from the consumption of the produce of the soil on the lands where it grew. The acts against exporting bullion were repeated with additional rigour. None were to be permitted to leave the country, whether clerks or laymen, unless they had first changed the money they had set aside for their expenses either with the money

changers within the realm, or at least with the merchants resident in the country, and before they could obtain leave to proceed on their voyage they were to give due information to the king's chancellor of the performance of this preliminary, and of the object of their journey.

Free institutions were at this time in their infancy in Scotland, and they owe much of their development to James I. In this respect, his education in England had not been thrown away upon him. He saw the advantage of raising up the commons, as a counterbalance to the power of the aristocracy, and various circumstances favoured him in carrying this part of his design into execution. The obligation to attend personally in parliament was felt by the smaller barons, who held from the crown in chief, an intolerable burden, and they eagerly snatched at any provision to relieve themselves of it. In the parliament of 1427, it was enacted that the small barons and free tenants should be excused from attending in future parliaments, but that instead of them, each sheriffdom should send two or more wise men, to be chosen at the head court of the sheriffdom, in proportion to its size, except the sheriffdoms of Clackmannan and Kinross, each of which was to send but one representative. These representatives, in body assembled, were to elect an expert man to be called the common speaker of the parliament, and it was to be his duty to bring forward all cases of importance involving the rights or privileges of the commons. These representatives were to have full power entrusted to them by the rest of the smaller barons and free tenants, to discuss and finally determine what subjects or cases it might be proper to bring before the parliament; and their expenses, and that of their speaker, were to be paid by their electors, who owed personal attendance. This law was not to affect the bishops, abbots, priors, dukes, earls, lords of parliament, and bannerets, whom the king would continue to summon by his special precept. This remarkable law contained the first outlines of a lower house of parliament.

These more important statutes were followed by a number of enactments of less importance, but all tending to show the multitude of abuses which had grown up in every department of the state. The country had been so much devastated and depopulated, that it was overrun with wolves,

and by one of these acts of the legislature, every baron, within his barony, was directed, at the proper season, to seek out and destroy their whelps, and he was to pay two shillings a head for every wolf's whelp that was brought. Wolf-hunts were to take place four times a-year, at which the tenants were commanded, under a penalty, to assist the barons. New acts were also granted for the protection of game and fish. In another parliament, held soon afterwards, the king caused the same oath of allegiance to be taken to the queen as to himself, a sufficient intimation that he wished her, in case of his death, to be regent.

It was fortunate for king James, that while he was employed in his legislative efforts, Scotland remained at peace with its neighbours. Some jealousy was given to England in 1429, by the treaty of marriage between the princess of Scotland and the dauphin, which followed the betrothal of a former year, and by which the king of Scotland undertook to furnish Charles VII. with a body of six thousand soldiers, instead of giving a dowry with his daughter, who, on her side, was to be provided by the French king, with as ample an income as had been settled on any of the queens of France before, and the county of Xaintonge and the lordship of Rochfort were to be given to the king of Scotland. In spite, however, of this treaty, the good understanding between Scotland and England seems to have remained unbroken, and the successes of Joane of Arc rendered unnecessary the sending over of the Scottish soldiers to France.

The king was thus left again to pursue his schemes of internal reform and improvement uninterrupted. In a parliament, which met at Perth on the 26th of April, 1429, he made an attempt to ameliorate the condition of the peasantry, who were in a state of servile dependence on the lords of the soil. The condition of slavery in which they stood was a bar to all improvement in agriculture, for it was usual with the landlords, at pleasure, and without any notice or compensation, to turn out the occupier of a farm, and place another in his stead. The king expostulated with his barons against this practice, and he was seconded by a recommendation of the parliament, but it was one on which they could not legislate without intrenching upon feudal rights, which were still looked upon as sacred.

Sumptuary laws begin now to make their appearance, in consequence of the increasing opulence of the mercantile class, who attempted to rival the aristocracy in the extravagance of their dresses. It was ordered by this parliament that no person under the rank of a knight, or possessing a yearly income of less than two hundred marks, should wear clothes made of silk, adorned with the richer kinds of furs, or embroidered with gold or pearls. The eldest sons or heirs of knights were permitted to dress as sumptuously as their fathers; aldermen, bailies, and members of town councils, were to wear furred gowns; but all others were enjoined to dress in such grave and honest apparel as became their station in life. The wives of merchants and burghers were especially pointed at in this act, and they had no doubt rendered themselves liable to criticism by the extravagance with which they aped gentility. It was commanded that neither the wives of commoners nor their servants should wear long trains, rich hoods or ruffs, purfled sleeves, or costly *curches* (kerchiefs) of lawn, and that all gentlemen's wives should keep their array within such bounds as were accordant with the personal estates of their husbands. New laws were also enacted to regulate the military equipment of the several classes. All who possessed property affording the yearly rent of twenty pounds, or movable goods to the value of a hundred pounds, were to be well horsed and completely armed as became gentlemen. Those who had no more than ten pounds in rent, or fifty pounds in goods, were to be provided with a gorget, rerebrace, vambrace, breastplate, greaves, leg-splints, and gloves of plate or iron gauntlets. Every yeoman who possessed twenty pounds in goods was required to provide himself with a good doublet of fence, or a habergeon, an iron cap or knapscull, a bow and sheaf of arrows, a sword, buckler, and dagger; those who possessed only ten pounds in property were to possess themselves of a bow and sheaf of arrows, with a sword, buckler, and dagger; and the lowest class of all, who possessed no skill in archery, were to have a hat and doublet of fence, with a sword and buckler, and an axe, or at least a staff pointed with iron. It was further ordered that every citizen or burgher possessing fifty pounds in property should arm himself in the same fashion as a gentleman; and the burgher yeomen of inferior rank, who possessed property to the

extent of twenty pounds, were to provide themselves each with a doublet and habergeon, a sword and buckler, a bow and sheaf of arrows, and a knife or dagger. Heavy fines were levied on those who neglected to obey this statute. Another act commanded that all barons and lords possessing estates within six miles of the sea should contribute proportionally to their means for the building and equipment of galleys for the public service. Various circumstances had of late drawn king James's attention to the very inefficient state of the royal navy, which was not at all capable of competing with the powerful subject, the lord of the Isles, and much less with the extensive armaments of his southern neighbours.

In the midst of these earnest endeavours to improve the condition of his country, an auspicious event brought joy to James's heart in his household. In the year 1429, the queen was delivered of twin sons, one of whom was named Alexander, and the other James. At their baptism, which was celebrated with great solemnity, the king conferred the honour of knighthood on the two infants, as well as on the heirs of the earl of Douglas, lord Crichton, lord Borthwick, Logan of Restalrig, and others of his nobility. One of the young princes only survived his infancy, and lived to succeed to his father's throne, under the title of James II.

King James was now meditating new plans of repression against his turbulent aristocracy, and especially against the wild clans of the north. In 1431, the latter broke out in new acts of violence. A kinsman of the lord of the Isles, named Donald Balloch, after proclaiming his contempt for the late submission of the islanders, collected an army in the Hebrides, and landing them in the district of Lochaber, began to ravage and plunder the country around. The earls of Mar and Caithness, to whom James had entrusted the care of the highlands, opposed the invaders at Inverlochy, but, although superior in numbers, the royal troops were defeated with great loss. The earl of Caithness, with many barons and knights, were left dead on the field of battle, and it was not without difficulty that the earl of Mar led away a part of his forces. Donald Balloch now overran Lochaber without restraint, but did not venture to await till the king should proceed against him in person, for having collected all the plunder he could, he embarked his men,

and, not apparently feeling safe in the isles, he made his retreat into Ireland. While the island chief was thus raising his banner against the crown in Lochaber, a fearful scene of private warfare threw the county of Caithness into trouble. A quarrel between two chiefs of rival clans, Angus Dow Mackay and Angus Murray, led to a battle in a valley on the banks of the Naver, which was contested with such ferocity, that out of twelve hundred men who entered the engagement, nine only are said to have survived it.

The king showed his usual energy on this occasion, and lost no time in proceeding against his turbulent subjects in the north. He had just concluded a renewal of the truce with England, which left him no cares in that direction to divert his attention. The terms of this truce, which was to commence with the 1st of April, 1431, are curious, as showing the insecurity of the personal intercourse between one country and another in the middle ages. The people of the one kingdom were forbidden to seize the merchants, pilgrims, and fishers of the other, when driven into their ports by stress of weather; all persons connected in the remotest degree with acts of piracy between the two countries were to be severely punished; and shipwrecked men were to be allowed to pass to their own homes. Each party promised to do its utmost to restrain the turbulence of the borderers, and it was agreed that no aggressions by the subjects of either party should be made the occasion of a breach of the peace.

James, thus relieved from other cares, collected an army, and summoned his nobles and barons to meet him at Perth, where he held a parliament on the 15th of October, and a tax on all the lands of the kingdom was agreed to to defray the expenses of the northern expedition. The king appears on this occasion to have experienced some resistance among his nobility, who were perhaps not pleased to see the rapidity with which he put down every attempt at rebellion. The earl of Douglas and lord Kennedy were committed to ward in the castles of Lochleven and Stirling. From Perth the king marched to the castle of Dunstaffnage in Argyleshire, with the intention of passing over to the western islands. But the island chiefs were too much alarmed to make any attempt at resistance; they hurried to the king to

make their submission, declaring that they had only followed the banner of Donald Balloch by compulsion, and as a proof of their sincerity they seized and delivered into the hands of the royal officers a great number of the most notorious robbers and pirates, of whom three hundred were executed. So fatal was this kind of treachery to the island rebels, that Donald Balloch himself, repairing unsuspectingly to the court of one of the wild Irish chiefs or kings, was seized by his orders, and his head cut off and sent to the king of Scotland.

The lowlands of Scotland were at this moment suffering under the ravages of a fearful pestilence, which had first shewn itself in the February of 1431, and had continued to make its appearance at different places during this and the following year. On the 17th of June, 1432, when people's spirits were most depressed at the progress of this destructive scourge, a total eclipse of the sun, which was accompanied, during half-an-hour, with the deepest darkness, caused such a general feeling of extreme terror, that it was remembered for years afterwards as *the black hour*. Foreign intrigues began at the same time to disturb the king's councils. The disasters of the English in France had made the ministers of Henry VI. more anxious to secure a permanent peace with Scotland, and lord Scrope was sent on an embassy to that country to negotiate a final treaty. He was bearer of an offer from king Henry, to purchase this treaty by the delivery to the Scots of Roxburgh and Berwick, a proposal so advantageous and flattering, that James immediately summoned a parliament to take it into serious consideration. When they met, the laity were all in favour of the treaty, but a powerful party of the clergy, apparently under foreign influence, violently opposed it, as contrary to the previous engagements with France. The leaders of

this opposition were the abbots of Scone, Inchcolm, and Melross. The great inquisitor of Scotland, Lawrence of Lindores, attacked the opposition with great violence, and in his refined views of heresy and orthodoxy, he declared that the propositions and arguments of his brethren were inconsistent with the latter. The matter degenerated into a theological debate, which was characterized by all the bitterness of religious acrimony, by which the real question was retarded until the peace was finally rejected. Thus was Berwick saved to England.

Lawrence of Lindores soon found a subject for the exercise of his persecuting zeal. A Bohemian physician, named Paul Crawar, had come with the professed object of practising in his profession, but with secret commission from the religious reformers of Pragne, to communicate with their Wickliffite brethren in Scotland. He found many disciples, and was labouring hard in the work of reformation, when he was detected by the indefatigable inquisitor. His chief "errors," as declared by the contemporary historian, were, that the bible ought to be laid open to the people; that in a temporal kingdom, the spiritual ought to be subservient to the civil power; that ecclesiastics guilty of crimes against the law, ought to be answerable before the civil magistrates; that there was no purgatory; that pilgrimages were of no utility; and that the authority of the pope, the doctrine of substantiation, and the power of absolution, were falsehoods. Crawar was arrested and brought before the inquisitorial court of Lawrence of Lindores, but he defended his opinions with such courage and skill, as embarrassed his judges. As, however, he refused to recant, he was condemned and delivered to the secular arm, and he was burnt at St. Andrews on the 23rd of July, 1433.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE KING'S FURTHER PROCEEDINGS AGAINST HIS NOBLES; SIEGE OF ROXBURGH; SIR PATRICK GRAHAM
PLOT AGAINST THE KING; ASSASSINATION OF JAMES I.

KING JAMES had not undertaken an easy task, when he began his resistance to the encroachments of a numerous and unscrupulous aristocracy, who had so long trampled with impunity on the power of the throne and on the rights of the commons, and he now found that, although repressed for a time, they began again to raise up their heads, and were organizing opposition to his measures of national improvement. As he found his nobles thus assuming a hostile position towards him, he became more severe, and some of his proceedings against them, as far as we can judge at present, were cruel, and morally, if not legally, unjust. He saw that the immense estates united in the possession of a few great lords was the chief obstacle to his plans, and he now seemed to have determined to break up these great lordships. None of the great landholders were more dangerous to Scotland than the earl of March, whose immense possessions, lying on the English borders, had given rise to a popular saying that this nobleman held the key to Scotland. The earls of March had therefore been counted among the most powerful and dangerous of the Scottish aristocracy. The father of the earl who now held the estates had, as we have before seen, thrown off his allegiance to the crown of Scotland, and fled into England in 1401, and his estates had been in consequence forfeited to the crown. He had subsequently returned to his allegiance, and his estates had been restored to him by the regent Albany. The restoration of forfeited estates appears to have been considered as coming within the alienation of the possessions of the crown by the late regent, of which an act of resumption had been passed at the beginning of the present reign. With this claim in reserve, the king waited quietly either the opportunity of putting it into force with most safety, or the case wherein the opposition of the earl of March might render it necessary to deprive him of his power.

Perhaps both these contingencies may now have arrived, for there was certainly an increasing agitation among the aristocracy

of Scotland, and it is hardly probable that the king would proceed so deliberately against the most powerful of them, unless he had been sure of his own power. At a parliament which met at Perth on the 10th of January, 1434, the question of the right of the present earl of March to his estates was brought forward with all due solemnity, and was pleaded by the advocates or prolocutors of the two parties, the king and the earl in possession. When the reasons on each side had been fully stated, the earl and his council were ordered to retire, and the judges debated the question among themselves, and decided in favour of the crown. The earl and his prolocutors were then readmitted, and it was declared to him to be the decision of parliament, that in consequence of the forfeiture of the lord George of Dunbar, formerly earl of March, all title of property to the lands of the earldom of March and lordship of Dunbar, with whatever other lands the same baron held of the crown, belonged of right to the king, and might immediately be resumed. In accordance with this judgment, the king immediately took possession of the estates in question, and delivered the castle of Dunbar to the charge of one of his faithful barons, sir Walter Haliburton of Dirleton. The king professed to be only doing an act of ordinary justice, in obedience to the decision of parliament, and he pretended to show his regard for the victim by conferring upon him the title of the earldom of Buchan, and assigning him a pension of four hundred marks out of that northern principality, which had reverted to the crown on the death of the late earl. Thus was the great house of March suddenly reduced from enormous power to a mere precarious dependence on the generosity of the crown.

The earl of March and his friends appear to have allowed this exertion of the power of the crown to pass without resistance, or even remonstrance; but he disdained to assume the new title which was offered to him, and taking with him his eldest son, retired into England. The aristocracy in general, aware that many of their titles might be questioned quite as easily as that

of the earl of March, were naturally seized with alarm; and from this moment they seem to have become impressed with the feeling that the death of the king was their only protection against the entire destruction of their order. We now trace here and there indications of plots against his person, and, although the power of the crown was becoming daily in his hands more consolidated and formidable, he seems himself to have been conscious that his person was exposed to danger, and before the parliament separated, he required from them all bonds of adherence and fidelity to his queen.

In the midst of the feeling of mutual distrust thus generated, the Scots were gradually drawn into hostilities with England, by provocations on the part of the latter power. The first of these was a sudden invasion of the Scottish border by the English borderer, Sir Robert Ogle, at the head of a strong body of knights and men-at-arms. The cause of this attack is unknown; but the earl of Angus, Hepburn of Hailes, and sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, instantly collected their followers, and met the invaders near Piperden, where the English were utterly routed. Forty were slain, and Ogle himself, with nearly all the rest of his party, were taken prisoners. This was an outrage which, from the fact of its being made apparently without the knowledge of the English government, might easily have been arranged; but James demanded satisfaction in vain from the English regency, which soon after gave a provocation of a still more direct kind. The princess Margaret had reached her thirteenth year, and two envoys arrived from France to require, that according to the treaty of marriage, she should be sent to that country. She was accordingly sent to the French court, accompanied by a splendid train of nobility, in a fleet consisting of three large ships and six barges. Although a truce existed between Scotland and England, the government of the latter country, who were still at war with France, and irritated by their losses, sent out a fleet to intercept the princess on her way, and carry her a prisoner to England. The Scottish fleet reached France in safety, whilst the English were first engaged in capturing a fleet of Flemish merchantmen, and were subsequently defeated by the Spaniards and deprived of their booty. The Scottish princess was received in great state by the archbishop of Rheims and the

bishops of Poitiers and Xaintonge, and the marriage was celebrated with much magnificence at Tours.

King James was incensed in the highest degree at the the conduct of the English government, and he was, perhaps, rendered less averse to war, by the belief that it would give employment to his turbulent nobles, and take them off from the plots in which they seem now to have been engaged against the crown. He assembled the whole force of his dominions, and with a formidable army marched to the siege of the castle of Roxburgh, which had so long remained in the hands of the English. The siege was carried on during fifteen days, apparently with success, and, although the Scottish warlike machines had been mostly broken and rendered useless, the fortress is said to have been on the point of surrender. At this moment the queen suddenly came to the camp, and the king instantly raised the siege, disbanded his army, and returned to his capital. The real cause of this inglorious termination of a war commenced with so much vigour, is involved in the greatest obscurity; but it is generally believed that the queen brought secret information of some formidable design against the king's person which had been plotted in the army, and which he only disconcerted by separating the feudal chiefs whose forces composed it. Yet, two months afterwards, on the 22nd of October, 1436, the king held a parliament at Edinburgh, without any intimations of his having escaped from an imminent danger. Perhaps he thought it advisable not to let it be known publicly, that he was aware of the secret practices of his barons.

The parliament just mentioned was again occupied with a variety of commercial regulations. Some of these seem to have been dictated by a spirit of hostility to England. Scottish merchants were not permitted to purchase English cloth, nor were English traders allowed to carry out of Scotland any articles of Scottish trade or manufacture, except such as were expressly specified in their letters of safe conduct.

But if the king gave no outward symptoms of suspicion or alarm, this parliament was not allowed to pass over without an alarming explosion of discontent among the nobles. We have before mentioned that among the barons thrown into prison soon after the king's accession to the throne was sir Robert Graham. This man, though

he had been liberated and received subsequently conciliatory treatment, had never ceased to harbour bitter resentment in his heart. He was a man of dark and ferocious character, well fitted for the leader of a sanguinary conspiracy. The Grahams had lately received a new cause of hostile feeling towards the king. The son of Graham's brother, sir Patrick Graham of Kinecardine, had married the only daughter of David earl of Strathern, and had been allowed by the regent Albany to assume that extensive fief on the death of his father-in-law. King James, in his resolution to break down the power of the nobles, had resolved to seize upon the earldom of Strathern, which he did on the pretext that this fief was inheritable only by male heirs, and that, as it reverted to the crown on the death of earl David, Albany had no power to give it away. As in the case of the earl of March, the king attempted to cover the injustice of this resumption by giving sir Patrick's son the life-rent of Strathern upon Athol, and creating him earl of Menteith; but the Grahams set their hearts upon vengeance, and sir Robert Graham took the lead in a plot, in which he was immediately joined by the old earl of Athol, and sir Robert Stuart the king's chamberlain. There was much ingratitude in the conduct of the baron last mentioned, for the king had loaded him with favours. Other nobles entered secretly into the conspiracy, but they were in general unwilling to go to the lengths which Graham recommended, and it was finally agreed that Graham, as an eloquent speaker, should rise in his place in parliament and detail their grievances, and that the others should support him with their voices.

When the moment for action arrived, Graham, carried away by the impetuosity of his character, exceeded the bounds of his commission. He spoke boldly against the tyranny which had destroyed or reduced so many noble families, and ended by appealing to the barons around to interfere and put a restraint on the king's person, as the only means of protecting the rights of the nobility. The king, who was present in his parliament, instantly ordered him to be seized, and he was carried away to prison, crying out indignantly against the pusillanimity of his companions, who were in the utmost alarm at his imprudent violence. The matter was carefully examined, and Graham's estates were confiscated to

the crown, but, though he was banished from court, the king imprudently allowed him to go at large.

Graham fled to the highlands, where he found a secure retreat, and soon collected together a small body of turbulent followers. His first proceeding was one of extraordinary insolence. He sent the king a letter of defiance, in which he renounced his allegiance, and, after reproaching him with his tyranny over the nobles and his own personal injuries, threatened that whenever the opportunity presented itself he would slay him as his mortal enemy. The king, in return for this insult, issued a proclamation setting a price on his head. But he paid no further attention to his threats, while Graham entered into communication with some of the more discontented of the nobles, and gained over to his designs the king's own uncle, the aged earl of Athol. The ambition of this man was easily worked upon, and he was made to believe that he was the rightful heir to the crown of Scotland, for Graham persuaded him that Robert III. was a bastard, and that he, as the legitimate son of Robert II., by his second marriage, was his only descendant. The vanity of Athol's grandson, sir Robert Stuart, was still more easily worked upon, and he eagerly entered into a conspiracy to murder the king. This man added base ingratitude to foul treason, for he held the office of chamberlain in the royal household, and he had always been treated by James with especial kindness and favour. His position near the king's person made sir Robert Stuart a very important agent in the plot, which, in fact, owed its success almost entirely to his treachery. The other conspirators were a few obscure individuals, chiefly connected with the ruined house of Albany.

The designs of the assassins were favoured by an unforeseen accident. For some reason or other the king suddenly resolved to celebrate the festivities of Christmas in the town of Perth, where the convent of the Dominicans offered full accommodation for the court. Perth was conveniently situated, near to the highlands, so that the conspirators might come down from their stronghold unobserved, and, when the deed was done, return instantly to their lurking-places. The king's intentions were no sooner publicly known, than Graham determined to murder the king in the midst of his Christmas revelry, and he called together

the conspirators, and made his preparations accordingly. The plot, however, was not kept so secret, but it reached the ears of a highland woman, who was superstitiously regarded as a prophetess, but who immediately resolved to save their victim. She accordingly hastened to seek the king, and meeting him as he was on his way to the shore of the firth of Forth, which he had to cross on his way from Edinburgh to Perth, she threw herself before him, and in a wild manner warned James that if he crossed that water he would never return alive. The king was struck by her earnestness, and ordered one of his knights to question her. She was proceeding to state that she had received some alarming information from a person named Hubert, when the knight, who, perhaps from treachery, examined her hurriedly and imperfectly, turned away with the observation, that she was either drunk or mad. The king immediately ordered his party to proceed, and they all took ship, crossed the Firth, and rode forward to Perth.

The monastery of the dominicans now presented an uninterrupted scene of joy and festivity, for the court seemed more gay than usual, and the prophecy of the highland woman was soon forgotten. The time appointed for its fulfilment was the night between the 20th and the 21st of February. The hour was fixed when all the conspirators were to join, and be ready to act their parts, as had been agreed upon. In the dark of the evening, Sir Robert Stuart caused wooden planks to be thrown across the moat surrounding the monastery, in order that Graham and his companions might pass over without the risk of arousing the warder, and he took advantage of the power given him by his office of chamberlain to take off the locks and bolts of the doors of the king's bed-room and the adjoining apartment. The revels of the court were kept up late that evening, and the king was unusually cheerful, joking with his courtiers on the subject of a pretended prophecy that a king should be killed in Scotland that year. While playing at chess with a young knight, whom he called playfully the king of love, he told him to be careful of his safety, for they were the only two kings to whom the prophecy could apply. We are informed that in the midst of this conversation, one of the conspirators named Christopher Chambers, an old retainer of the house of Albany, struck with sudden

remorse, made several attempts to approach the king, with the resolution of making a confession of the murderous design, but either his heart failed him, or he was hindered by the crowd of knights and ladies which surrounded him. At length, long after midnight, the king gave the signal for the revels to break up, and almost at the same moment the usher came to inform him that the highland woman whom he had met on the road to the firth of Forth had made her way to the door, and earnestly begged to be brought into his presence to communicate information of importance. The king hesitated a moment, and then ordered her to be told to come on the morrow and tell her errand. The woman departed unwillingly, with the remark that she should never see the king again. After this incident, James called for the parting cup, and the company separated, the old earl of Athol and his grandson the chamberlain being the last to leave.

These had not long been gone, when the king, who was standing before the fire in his night-gown, jesting with the queen and the ladies of the court, was alarmed by the sound of arms, and the glare of torches in the court below. He immediately bethought him of the traitor Graham, and probably of the warnings that had been given him, and his worst suspicions were confirmed when the queen and the ladies, attempting to fasten the doors, found that the locks had been destroyed, and the bolts removed. The king was now convinced that his life was in danger, and, while the ladies prepared to offer all the obstruction in their power to the opening of the doors, he attempted to escape through the windows, but he found that they were secured outwardly with strong bars. Men in arms were now distinctly heard advancing along the passage with which the apartment communicated, and the king, in an agony of despair, seized upon the fire-tongs, and forcibly wrenching up one of the boards of the floor, let himself down into a small vault beneath, and then replaced the board. A sort of fatality seemed to have attended on all the king's actions during the last few days; for there was a sewer or small passage leading from this vault by which he might easily have escaped, but, as it communicated with the tennis-court, and the balls of the tennis-players had on several occasions been lost in it, it had been built up by the king's directions only three days before. Nevertheless,

the vault afforded the king for the time a secure place of concealment, for the floor above gave no indications of his place of retreat.

While all this was taking place, sir Robert Graham and his accomplices made their way towards the king's apartment, slew Walter Stratton, a page whom they encountered on their way, and began to force open the door. The ladies had made an ineffectual attempt to barricade it, and we are assured that one of the ladies of the bedchamber, named Catherine Douglas, courageously thrust her arm into the staples from which the bolt had been so treacherously withdrawn. But this feeble obstacle was instantly broken, and the conspirators burst in the door with brutal violence, and attacked and wounded several of the queen's women, as they ran screaming about the room. Nor did their cowardly outrage stop here, for one of them attacked the queen herself with his sword and wounded her, as she stood riveted to the spot with horror, with no other clothing than her kirtle and mantle, and her hair hanging in disorder about her shoulders. She would no doubt have been slain, had not the brutal assailant been called off by Graham's son, who ordered him to leave the women and join in the search for the king. The assassins now searched every corner and cupboard of this apartment and the adjoining bed-chamber, but they found no traces of the king, and imagining that he might have escaped in some mysterious manner, they searched the surrounding chambers, and gradually dispersed through the outer rooms. The king was now impatient to leave his hiding-place, and hearing no more noise, he imprudently called to the ladies to lift up the board of the floor, and bring the sheets of the bed in order to draw him up. In doing this, one of the queen's women, Elizabeth Douglas, slipped, and fell into the vault, making so much noise in her fall, as to attract the notice of one of the conspirators named Thomas Chambers, who happened to be within hearing, and who, suddenly entering the king's apartment, saw the hole in the floor, and looking down, beheld by the light of his torch the king and the lady whose fall had led to the discovery. He instantly rushed to the door and recalled the other conspirators, shouting out that "the spouse was found for whom they were come, and had carrolled all that night." The two who arrived first were sir John

Hall and his brother, the first of whom instantly leapt down into the vault to attack the king. But James was a powerful athletic man, and, although naked and without arms, he grasped his assailant as he descended, and dashed him to the ground; and his brother who followed experienced the same treatment, though, being armed with sharp knives, they inflicted many severe wounds on the king's hands and arms. It is said that a month after, when the two Halls were stripped for execution, the marks of the king's convulsive grasp were still distinctly visible on their bodies. While the king was thus for a moment victorious over his first assailants, sir Robert Graham came into the room, and leaping down with his drawn sword, threw himself upon him. James now implored that his life might be spared, and offered half his kingdom for his ransom, but the ruffian only replied insultingly, "No, thou cruel tyrant, thou hadst never compassion on thine own noble kindred, and thou shalt now find none thyself!" The king then begged that he might have a confessor for the good of his soul, but Graham replied brutally, "No, none shalt thou have but this sword," and at the same instant plunged the weapon into his body. James fell to the ground mortally wounded, yet still faintly begging for his life, and Graham himself is said to have been at this moment so horror-struck with the deed he had committed, that he was leaving the spot without striking another blow. But his companions, who were leaning over the opening in the floor, threatened him with instant death if he left his victim alive. Upon this Graham returned, and, with the assistance of the two Halls, effectually completed their work.

Much time had now been expended, and the noise of the tumult had reached the town before the king's hiding-place was discovered. The nobles of the court and the citizens assembled, and, although the gates and courts of the monastery were in the possession of the highlanders, they would, probably, have rescued their king, if he had not been betrayed by his own impatience. As the tumult in the town was increasing every moment, the assassins, after searching in vain for the queen, who had escaped, now left the monastery, and hurried off to the highlands. They were seen passing the outer moat just as the king's friends forced the gates, and sir David Dunbar pursued them, and slew one of the hindmost,

though not till after being himself severely wounded. When the courtiers entered the king's chamber, they beheld a truly piteous sight. The body of their monarch, naked and covered with blood, lay lifeless on the floor. It was pierced with no less than sixteen wounds. Every one was seized with an earnest desire for vengeance, and the queen, assuming a calmness and resolution that astonished every body, employed so much perseverance in pursuing the assassins, that they were all captured in less than a month. Sir Robert Graham, with some of the chief conspirators, had taken refuge in the wilds of Mar, where they were discovered and captured by two highland chiefs, John Stuart Gorm and Robert Duncanson.

Thus died James I., the most accomplished, and one of the ablest, of the monarchs who had occupied the Scottish throne. His political views were, perhaps, too much in advance of his time, at least with regard to Scotland; and, though it is difficult to say how far he would have carried his reforms

had he not been assassinated, it is probable that at last they would only have partially outlived him. Of stature he was not tall, but he was athletic in his make, and he excelled most of his nobles in martial accomplishments. Amid the extraordinary toils of his government, he found leisure to devote himself to literature and poetry, and he first improved and gave elegance to the language of his countrymen. At the time of his death he was in the forty-fourth year of his age. By his queen Joane he left one only son, named James, then only six years of age, and five daughters; Margaret, who had married the dauphin of France; Eleanor, who married Sigismund duke of Austria; Isabella, who was married to the duke of Brittany; Mary, who also contracted a foreign but less elevated marriage; and Joane, who became the wife, first of the earl of Angus, and subsequently of the earl of Morton. King James was buried in the church of the Carthusians in Perth.

CHAPTER IX.

ACCESSION OF JAMES II.; EXECUTION OF HIS FATHER'S MURDERERS; THE GOVERNMENT DURING THE KING'S MINORITY; RIVALRY OF CRICHTON AND LIVINGSTON; MISGOVERNMENT OF THE REGENCY; EXECUTION OF THE DOUGLASES.

SCOTLAND had now again a child for its king, at a moment when its old factions seemed ready to burst forth with the more fury, because they had been of late held in unusual restraint. The first feeling of horror which possessed every body when the news of the murder of their king went abroad, made people almost forget the accession of a new prince, and the only thought was that of vengeance against the assassins, who, before they expired, were subjected to tortures of the most revolting kind. The first sufferers were sir Robert Stuart and Thomas Chambers, who both confessed their guilt, apparently with feelings of contrition. They were beheaded in the public market-place of the town of Perth, on a high scaffold, and their heads fixed upon the town gates. The earl of Athol, the next victim of justice, denied that he was an accomplice in the

conspiracy, though he acknowledged that he was acquainted with it, and said that he had attempted to dissuade his grandson from joining in it. His plea, however, was either disproved, or it was not believed, and, in derision of his claim to the crown, the aged nobleman was first exhibited publicly, tied to a pillar, with a paper crown on his head, on which was written thrice the word traitor. He was then decapitated, and his head, surmounted with a crown of iron, was fixed on a spear. These three were regarded, not without reason, as the victims of Graham's seductions. The next who suffered was the arch-traitor himself. When brought to trial, he boldly avowed the deed, and justified it by the plea that, as he had renounced his allegiance and sent the king a written defiance, he was no longer his subject, but had the right to revenge his own

feud as he could. He then appealed to the nobles who sat in judgment, telling them that he had delivered them from a merciless tyrant, and that, though he knew that they were now determined to have his blood, they would soon see reason to bless him for the act which they now condemned. Graham's courage and resolution never forsook him, and he bore unmoved the taunts of the populace and the dreadful sufferings to which he was himself exposed. He was nailed alive and naked to a tree, and in this condition dragged through the city, while the executioners, who followed him, tore his flesh with pincers, and his son was tortured and beheaded before his face. At length in an agony of anguish, he implored that his patience should be tried no longer, with the strange reason in the mouth of an assassin, that if he should be goaded into blasphemy, they would be answerable for the destruction of his soul. He was at length beheaded, and the general execration of his crime was handed down to posterity in a proverb, or popular rhyme—

Robert Graham,

That killed our king, God give him shame!

The last of the conspirators executed was Thomas Hall, one of the king's first assailants.

When public vengeance had thus been satisfied, a parliament assembled at Edinburgh, in the castle of which, then held by William Crichton, baron of Crichton, the late king's master of the household, the widowed queen had taken refuge with her son. The young prince was conducted in great ceremony to the abbey of Holyrood, where his coronation was celebrated with great demonstrations of joy. It was thought that the abbey of Seone, the usual place for the coronation of the Scottish kings, was too near the scene of the murder, and perhaps, under the circumstances, not sufficiently safe. After this solemnity was completed, the parliament proceeded to adopt measures for the government of the kingdom. They gave the custody of the king, and of his sisters, with an allowance of four thousand marks a-year, to the queen-mother; and Archibald earl of Douglas was appointed lieutenant-general of the kingdom.

Two subjects naturally pressed themselves upon the attention of the Scottish parliament, under the unexpected circumstances in which they were placed—the internal government of the kingdom, and the relations with England. For the

first, a few hurried regulations were passed, such as generally marked the commencement of a new reign. Commissioners were sent to England, and, after some negotiation on the subject, a truce of nine years was agreed to, to commence on the 1st of May, 1438. The state of the church seems also to have been a subject of some embarrassment at this moment. A general council of the Scottish clergy had been assembled at Perth to receive a papal legate, the bishop of Urbino, but their proceedings were interrupted by the murder of the king. What those proceedings were is involved in obscurity, caused by the loss of records, but they had probably some relation to the progress of those wholesome doctrines of religious reform which the catholic church looked upon as pestilential heresies, and which were now making so much progress in Bohemia, and in England. Soon after the accession of the young king other messengers came from Rome to treat on the affairs of the church, among whom was a papal nuncio, Alfonso de Crucifabreis. The Scottish court had been hitherto always a staunch support of the papal regime, and had never failed to direct and encourage the persecution of heretics.

Scotland was now about to be divided by the antagonism of two rival factions. The policy of the late king, like that followed at a subsequent period by the English monarch Henry VIII., had led him to select his ministers and counsellors from among the lower barons and gentry, to the exclusion of those great nobles whose power was the object of his jealousy, and who had been long in the habit of claiming as their right the great offices of the state. Among those who, in pursuance of this policy, had been raised to power, were two who had obtained the king's confidence by their extraordinary abilities, but who, as the sequel showed, were ambitious, selfish, and unscrupulous, and they appear, from a long feeling of rivalry, to have hated each other. These were sir William Crichton, already mentioned, and sir Alexander Livingston, of Callendar. It is difficult to understand the conduct of the nobles and greater barons at this period; but they seem to have held themselves aloof, intent perhaps on repairing their force, which had been considerably diminished by the wary and firm legislation of James I., that they might subsequently resume the position they had held in former reigns.

Crichton, intent only on engrossing the power of the state into his own hands, seized upon the revenues of the crown, which he disposed of at his own pleasure, and he used the advantage given him by the possession of the castle of Edinburgh, to keep the king under his control, and surround him by his creatures, not only excluding his rival Livingston from all share in the government, but also setting aside the queen-mother, who had been appointed the king's guardian, and the lieutenant-general Douglas. The latter seems to have held back in sullen pride, and to have taken no part in their proceedings. The rivalry between Livingston and Crichton soon involved the kingdom in a scene of inextricable intrigue and turbulence. The first move was made by the queen-mother, who, provoked at being deprived of her authority over her son, threw herself into the party of Livingston, and entered into a plot for delivering the person of the king into his hands. Having obtained permission to visit the king for a few days, when the moment of her departure came, she contrived to conceal him in a large wardrobe chest, and he was thus carried out of the castle with her luggage. He was taken to Leith, and thence he was carried by water to Stirling castle, which was occupied by Livingston with a strong garrison.

Two parliaments were held in the November of 1438 and the March of 1439, of the proceedings of which we know little, but they seem to have been chiefly engaged with the intrigues of the rival factions. A provision against open plunder and robbery shows that the country was rapidly relapsing into its old state of lawlessness. The earl of Douglas, who, as lieutenant-general, was charged with the executive power, appears neither to have attended the parliament, over which he ought to have presided, nor to have given himself the trouble to see that its decrees were carried into effect. The queen now put her whole confidence in Livingston, and the parliament seems to have acted in a great measure under their influence. An ordinance, by which the lieutenant-general was directed to raise the lieges and proceed against any who, under strong suspicion of rebellion or treason, held their castles or fortalices against the authority of the law, is supposed to have had reference to Crichton, who had fortified the castle of Edinburgh, and set his opponents at defiance. As the earl of Douglas took no

steps against Crichton, Livingston raised his vassals and proceeded deliberately to lay siege to Edinburgh castle.

When Crichton found himself thus beleaguered, conscious that he was not strong enough to contend singly against his rival, who was supported not only by the king and his mother, but in some degree by the parliament, he secretly despatched a messenger to the earl of Douglas, proposing a coalition with that potent baron. But Douglas, in the pride of family and immense power, treated the offers of one whom he regarded as nothing but an upstart courtier with scornful contempt. "Methinks," said the offended noble, "it were but small profit to hinder such mischievous traitors as Crichton and Livingston from making war on each other, and it would ill become any of the ancient nobles to interfere and prevent their destruction. To me nothing is more pleasing than to hear of their divisions, and I trust I shall live to see them both overwhelmed in their own evil-doings." The sentiment was, probably, a politic one, but it was not wise to avow it openly. Immediately on the return of his messenger, Crichton demanded an interview with Livingston, to whom he made known the earl's reply. He urged that it implied equal hostility to them both, and that, though neither would be able to hold singly against him, by laying aside their feud and joining in a firm coalition, they might, having possession of the king and his mother, be strong enough to set the scornful noble at defiance. Livingston was far too crafty not to see the force of these arguments, and he immediately agreed to the coalition, upon which Crichton surrendered the castle, delivering the keys into the hands of the young king, who supped in it the same evening. Next day the two barons confirmed their reconciliation, and proceeded to divide the powers of the state between them. The bishop of Glasgow, a partisan of the Douglasses, who had hitherto held the office of chancellor, was turned out, and the office was given to Crichton, while Livingston was to have the guardianship of the king's person and the chief share in the government. The dismissal of the bishop of Glasgow was, probably, not an unpopular act, for he is said to have acted with great rapacity. The earl of Douglas was entirely outwitted in this sudden revolution, but it is impossible to say how far he would have acquiesced in it or resisted, for he was suddenly attacked by a malignant fever, and

died at Restalrig on the 26th of June, 1439. His immense power descended to his son, then but seventeen years of age.

As no person was appointed to succeed the earl of Douglas as lieutenant-general of the kingdom, Livingston and Crichton were now left without any control to their power, which they used to strengthen themselves, by rewarding those who had served them, and buying the services of others, until the administration of government degenerated into universal corruption and venality. All the old turbulent barons, who had been kept in check by the government of the first king James, began to raise their heads again, and, in return for their support, they recovered their former impunity of wrongdoing, which they had resigned with so much regret. They began again to increase their troops of licentious retainers, as the force they could bring into the field was naturally the measure of their importance; and the old evils of feudalism, personal vengeance, private warfare, and their concomitants, were brought back upon the wretched land. While the country was thus overrun with licensed freebooters, who plundered, burnt, and murdered at will, Livingston and Crichton, keeping the king in confinement in the castle of Stirling, set no bounds to their rapacity, not only squandering away the revenues of the crown, but enriching themselves with the confiscated estates of those who opposed them.

One proceeding of extraordinary violence may be told as a sample of the turbulence which at this time prevailed throughout Scotland. A feud had long existed between the families of sir Alan Stuart of Darnley, a distinguished and powerful baron, and sir Thomas Boyd of Kilmarnock. The latter was treacherously attacked and slain by his opponent at a spot called Polmac's Thorn, between Linlithgow and Falkirk. Sir Alexander Stuart, the next of kin to the murdered man, raised his vassals, and met sir Thomas Boyd in plain battle at Craignaucht hill, near Neilston, in the county of Renfrew. The two parties fought with such savage resolution, that we are assured they retired several times by mutual consent to rest and recover breath, after which, the signal being given with sound of trumpet, they returned to the combat. After many had been slain on both sides, victory declared for the Stuarts, whose vengeance was in some measure appeased by the slaughter of sir Thomas Boyd, who was killed in the fight.

The queen now found her position worse than before, and, wearied at the state of confinement in which she was held by Livingston, she determined to obtain her liberty by marriage. She chose for her husband a powerful baron, closely allied with the house of Douglas, sir James Stuart, popularly known as the black knight of Lorn. This marriage, concluded secretly and without the approval of Livingston, gave an excuse for depriving her of all further influence over her son, on the ground that she was herself now in a state of tutelage, but it gave her a legal protector in the person of a husband, and she was, perhaps, willing to relinquish her influence as queen-mother, rather than remain in continual inquietude and alarm. Far, however, from bringing to the queen the tranquillity she might have expected, this marriage was followed by a series of acts of violence and intrigue which could only have occurred in a country where law and justice were despised. Livingston pretended at first to approve of the marriage, in order to get the husband into his power, and then caused him and his brother, sir William Stuart, to be suddenly arrested and thrown into a loathsome dungeon in Stirling castle, where they were treated with circumstances of great cruelty and indignity. The queen's own chamber was next invaded by armed men, and, after a vain resistance by her household, she was dragged away to a chamber in the castle, where she was closely confined, with a strong guard, and cut off from all communication with her friends.

The object of these proceedings was soon apparent. The queen, alarmed for herself, and still more for the safety of her husband, consented to all that Livingston required of her. A parliament was called at Stirling, to which none appear to have come but the creatures and partisans of the governor. On the part of the clergy there were the bishops of Glasgow, Moray, Ross, and Dunblane; of the nobility, the earl of Douglas, Alexander Seton lord of Gordon, the chancellor sir William Crichton, and Walter lord of Dirleton; and James of Parcles from Linlithgow, William Cranston from Edinburgh, and Andrew Reid from Inverness, were called to represent the commons. This faction usurped the name of the three estates, and proceeded to act as though it had been a full parliament. The queen-mother was brought before it, and there on the 4th of September, 1439, she formally resigned

to Livingston the guardianship of the king until he had reached his majority, giving up at the same time the castle of Stirling, which had been settled on her as her jointure, for the residence of the young monarch, and also conveying to Livingston her annuity of four thousand marks. In the deed by which this resignation was made, the queen declared that she fully pardoned and forgave the violence which had been exercised against her person, as she believed that Livingston and his accomplices had been actuated only by motives of loyalty, and a zeal for the safety of their sovereign. It was further provided that the queen's retinue should be regulated by Livingston; and it was agreed that she should have access to her son at all times, with the proviso that it must be in the presence of unsuspected persons. If the king died, then the castle of Stirling was to be restored to the queen.

So far the plans of Livingston and Crichton had been uniformly successful, but this success soon led to the revival of their ancient rivalry. Livingston had been continually arrogating to himself the powers of the state to the exclusion of his colleague, whom he held in a subordinate position, and it was the personal friends of the governor, and not those of the chancellor, who were chiefly rewarded with offices and emoluments. But the crafty chancellor now determined to make it appear that he would not remain satisfied with this unequal division of power and influence. One night in the January of 1440, while Livingston, entirely unsuspecting of the designs of his rival, was absent at Perth, Crichton rode with a strong body of his followers to Stirling, and lay concealed in the woods where the young prince was accustomed to hunt. At sunrise the next morning the king, with his usual attendants and guard, rode out in pursuit of game, and coming exactly to the spot where Crichton lay in ambush, was immediately surrounded by an overpowering force. Crichton approached the royal person submissively, and on his knees besought him to leave a fortress where he was held in irksome imprisonment, and place himself under the protection of his faithful subjects. The king, it seems, was not unwilling, and he was led first to Linlithgow, and thence he was carried under a strong escort to the castle of Edinburgh.

Livingston was mortified and embarrassed by this event, for he was still prudent

enough to see that a quarrel with Crichton would only fulfil the old earl of Douglas's wish, by exposing them both to the hatred of the ancient nobility. With profound dissimulation he proceeded to Edinburgh, with a small train, and sent a message to Crichton, deploring the misunderstanding between them, and offering to submit all matters in dispute between them to the arbitration of their mutual friends. Two prelates of the church, the bishops of Aberdeen and Moray, stepped forward as mediators, and Crichton and Livingston met in the church of St. Giles, and were again reconciled. It was agreed that the custody of the king should be again given to Livingston, while Crichton's individual power in the government was to be increased, and offices of trust and emolument were to be given to his personal friends.

Nothing could be more deplorable than the condition of Scotland at this moment. Pestilence and famine spread their baneful influence over every part of the kingdom. The southern parts were disturbed by the feuds of political chieftains, while the north was wasted by the depredations of the highlanders. Two Celtic chieftains, Lauchlain Maelean and Murdoch Gibson, with their fierce clans from the western isles, landed on the Scottish coast, and carried their ravages into the heart of Lennox. Colquhoun of Luss attempted to resist their progress, but he was defeated and slain. The ravages of war increased the famine, and with it the pestilence became more destructive, until it gained such a fatal hold on the land, that for years afterwards it was remembered as the "pestilence without mercy." The general disorder was increased by the pride and turbulence of the young earl of Douglas. This nobleman received from the duchy of Touraine and the lordship of Longueville in France, the reward of his grandfather's services, the consequence of a foreign prince, while in Scotland his wealth was, perhaps, greater than that of the crown, and he could summon under his banner a greater military force than that which responded immediately to the summons of the king. The vanity of the youthful earl was easily acted upon by the consciousness of his immense power, and by the flattery of his companions. He became arrogant and overbearing; lived in a style of magnificence and display greater than that of the king himself, and proudly refused to obey the governor, when summoned in the king's name to attend

to his duties in parliament. In fact, he carried himself on every occasion with the demeanour of an absolute prince, and, soon after his accession to the earldom, he sent two ambassadors, Malcolm Fleming of Biggar, and Alan Lauder of the Bass, to carry his oath of allegiance to the king of France, and receive the investiture of the dukedom of Touraine. He now daily increased the number of his armed followers, as though he meditated some great movement in the state, and bands of dissolute mercenaries roved about with the protection of his name, under which all kinds of outrages were committed with impunity. When parliament met it was besieged with petitions for redress on the part of those who had been injured and abused by the lawless bands who now followed the banner of every baron who could afford to support them. "Many and innumerable complaints," says the old historian of these events, Lindsay of Pitseottie, "were now given in, whereof the like were never seen before. There were so many widows, bairns, and infants, seeking redress for their husbands, kindred, and friends, that were cruelly slain by wicked, bloody murderers, sicklike many for herchip (*plundering*), theft, and reif, that there was no man but he would have ruth and pity to hear the same. Shortly, murder, theft, and slaughter were come in such dalliance among the people, and the king's acts had fallen into such contempt, that no man wist where to seek refuge, unless he had sworn himself a servant to some common murderer or bloody tyrant, to maintain him contrary to the invasion of others, or else had given largely of his gear to save his life, and afford him peace and rest."

Livingston and Crichton saw that their government was threatened by the great power of the earl of Douglas, and they determined to make use of all these acts of oppression for his ruin. Every outrage that was committed by or under the name of a Douglas was carefully noted and blazoned abroad. A parliament was called at Stirling, at the beginning of August, 1440, for the express purpose of considering the disordered state of the country, and the contumacy of the earl in refusing his attendance was, no doubt, turned to his disadvantage. A variety of statutes were passed, which were useless, because government wanted the power, if it had the inclination, to enforce them. However, it required higher crimes than such outrages

would afford, to support any accusation against so powerful a subject as the young earl of Douglas, and all knew it would be dangerous to attack him, except by surprise. Although it is said that Douglas announced publicly his hostility to the government, he was no match for such crafty opponents as those with whom he had now to deal. It was reported that they kept paid spies and flatterers about his person, who urged him into dangerous courses, of which immediate information was carried to Livingston and Crichton. Our information relating to these intrigues is of a very imperfect kind, and they are enveloped in much mystery; but it appears that the vanity of the young earl had led him to listen to insidious advisers, who persuaded him that his title to the throne was better than that of the still more youthful prince who now occupied it, and that he had talked among his friends and acquaintance of designs of a treasonable nature.

Of these the governor and the chancellor, no doubt, received full information, but they kept it secret till the moment of acting upon it. It was necessary to lure their victim into their power, and to effect this object they proceeded with the most profound dissimulation. A letter was written to him by Crichton, which, mixed with much that was flattering to the young earl's vanity, contained strong professions of regret for the suspicions and misunderstandings which seemed to have deprived the state of his services, and ended with an invitation to repair to court, and visit his royal kinsman. Douglas was at once caught in the snare. His vanity was flattered by the implied acknowledgment by the governor of the kingdom that his counsel was necessary for the good of the state, and he seems to have regarded his visit to Edinburgh as the first step in the advancement which was so gratifying to his eager ambition. He set out on his journey with a small train of attendants, and accompanied only by his brother David, and by his bosom friend sir Malcolm Fleming, of Cumbernauld. At the castle of Crichton he was entertained with great pomp by the chancellor, and everything seemed calculated to dispel any suspicions that might have existed in his mind. Between this place and Edinburgh, however, it was observed that an unusual number of messengers were passing backwards and forwards between Crichton and the capital, and some of the earl's attendants, more suspicious than their young lord, urged him to be on

his guard, and advised him to turn back, or at all events to go no further until he had sent his brother forwards to obtain better intelligence of the fate which awaited them. He was reminded of the advice which had been left to him by his father, that in cases where danger was to be apprehended, he and his brother should never expose themselves at the same time. But the earl only laughed at their suspicions, and boldly rode through the city to the castle gates. Livingston received him there in great ceremony, and led him to the young king. The two rulers seem to have considered it still necessary to gain time to strengthen themselves and mature their plans, and for a short time the two Douglasses were treated with the utmost favour. King James, who had now completed his tenth year, became himself affectionately attached to them. At last, however, one day, as they sat at table after a sumptuous dinner with Livingston and Crichton, just as the courses were removed, they were accused in harsh terms of treason to the crown. It is stated, though only by writers subsequent to the time, that a bull's head, the warning of death among the old Celtic race, was suddenly placed before them. Astonished and terrified, they rose from the table and rushed towards the door, but they were there met by armed men, who seized and bound them. As they were dragging them away, it is said that the

king pleaded for them with tears, but that the chancellor rebuked him for interceding for traitors who had conspired against his throne, and perhaps against his life. They were then hurried through a trial, condemned, and taken into the back court of the castle, where they were beheaded. Three days afterwards, sir Malcolm Fleming was also put upon his trial on the charge of high treason, and suffered the same fate.

The secrecy with which these proceedings were carried on has caused them to be involved in much mystery, but various circumstances lead to the suspicion that the charge of treason was a true one. Livingston and Crichton appear to have been alarmed at the blow which they were going to strike; but they were now entirely victorious, for they were for a while relieved from all danger from the house of Douglas. No attempt was made at revenge. The title, with the greater part of the immense estates attached to it, went to the great uncle of the young earl, James Douglas, earl of Avondale, who within a short time entered into bonds of intimacy with the men who had dragged his nephews to their fate, whence it has been supposed that he connived at the deed. The unentailed estates in Galloway and Wigtown, with the domain of Balverne and Ormond, went to the young earl's only sister, who, for her beauty, was popularly known as the fair maid of Galloway.

CHAPTER X.

WILLIAM EARL OF DOUGLAS, MARRIES THE HEIRESS OF GALLOWAY; HIS COALITION WITH LIVINGSTONE, AND ITS RESULTS; TROUBLES OF THE KINGDOM; MAJORITY OF JAMES II.

THOUGH fierce and proud, the new earl of Douglas appears to have had no ambition, or, as it has been pretended, his extraordinary obesity had made him indolent and inactive, but he had a son William who possessed the talents and ambition, as well as the ferocity of the Douglasses. Within two years after the events we have just related, this young man succeeded to the titles as the eighth earl, on the death of his father James the Gross, as he was usually called. The first object at which the new earl aimed was the reunion of the great estates of the

carldom, by a marriage with the fair maid of Galloway. There were, however, many difficulties in the way of this union. In the first place, earl William was already married, without any ostensible grounds for separating from his wife. To rid himself of one wife, or to obtain the other, it was equally necessary to gain the concurrence of the Scottish rulers, whose true interest it was evidently to refuse. But at this moment the hatred and jealousy between Livingstone and Crichton appear to have broken out afresh, and the former was willing to

make any terms with this powerful noble. A secret coalition between them gratified the ambition of the latter in more ways than one.

The troubles which at this moment disturbed the kingdom offered a ready excuse for the earl's proceedings. The neglect of all justice by the chancellor and the governor, and the weakness of their government, encouraged many who felt injured to take the law into their own hands. Among these was sir Robert Erskine, whose apparently just claim to the earldom of Mar was set aside by the chancellor. Erskine, indignant at this treatment, proceeded to take possession of the honours to which he laid claim, and besieged and took by storm the castle of Kildrummie. In return for this violent proceeding, the ministers of the crown siezed upon the castle of Alloa and the estates of Erskine; and about the same time a creature of the earl of Douglas, Galbraith of Culereuch, succeeded in taking Dumbarton castle, of which Erskine, as sheriff of Lennox, was governor, by surprise, and slaying the deputy-governor, Robert Sempill. An outrage still less justifiable was about the same time perpetrated by the highlanders of Athol. One of them had been condemned to the gallows, and was conducted to the place of execution by sir William Ruthven, sheriff of Perth. John Gorm Stuart, the same chief who had arrested Graham, the murderer of James I., descended from the mountains with a party of highlanders, attacked Ruthven and his convoy, and rescued their countryman. But Ruthven was a baron of great spirit, and as fierce as his opponent, and collecting his vassals he attacked the intruder. The result was a sanguinary battle on the North Inch of Perth, in which Stuart and Ruthven were both slain. Such acts of turbulence were becoming so frequent that all honourable men looked on with alarm, apprehensive of the ruin of their country.

Immediately after the conflict at Perth, the earl of Douglas suddenly presented himself with a small attendance at the castle of Stirling, and requested admission to the king. He was received respectfully by Livingston, who at once introduced him to the monarch, still only in his thirteenth year. What took place at this interview remained a secret. The earl pretended that his only object was to excuse himself of any share or connivance in the outrages in the north, and to offer his aid in restoring peace to the

kingdom. But suddenly afterwards the royal boy, acting no doubt under the guidance of his governor, conferred on the earl the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. This event was soon followed by a divorce between the earl and his wife, and a dispensation for the second marriage (which was within the limits of consanguinity forbidden by the church) having been obtained, he espoused the fair maid of Galloway, who had not yet completed her twelfth year, and the power of the house of Douglas was thus rendered more formidable than ever.

It is not to be supposed that the chancellor Crichton remained quiet during this strange revolution, for he saw in it the triumph of his rival, and doubted not that his own ruin and destruction was contemplated. He took refuge in the castle of Edinburgh, where he made formidable preparations of resistance. Livingston, meanwhile, in consideration of his own advanced age, delivered the custody of the king's person and of Stirling castle to his eldest son, sir James, though he still continued to direct the government. Douglas, in close alliance with him, proceeded to raise an army in the king's name, but instead of marching at once to Edinburgh, he went to Crichton's castle of Barnton, in Mid-Lothian, which was summoned to surrender. Sir Andrew Crichton, as governor of this fortress, at first set him at defiance, but, intimidated by the use of the royal name, he capitulated, and the castle was levelled with the ground. Douglas then summoned the chancellor, Crichton, and his adherents, to attend a parliament at Stirling, to answer upon a charge of high treason. Instead of obeying, the chancellor collected his friends and vassals, and carried fire and sword through the lands of the earl of Douglas, and his adherent, sir John Forrester of Corstorphine. On the other hand, when the parliament met at Stirling, the estates of the chancellor were confiscated, and he and his adherents were outlawed for not attending to plead to the charges brought against them, and were proclaimed rebels.

Crichton, meanwhile, collected all his powers of resistance in the castle of Edinburgh, where he now shut himself up, so that when Douglas, as lieutenant-general of the kingdom, assembled the vassals of the crown and laid siege to him, he was fully prepared for a protracted struggle. During its continuation, other circumstances had occurred to embarrass in some degree the

plans of his enemies. Crichton had been disgraced from his office of chancellor, which was given to the primate of Scotland, Kennedy, bishop of St. Andrews, who, in addition to the reverence which was given to his talents, his learning, and his integrity, commanded respect as the nephew of the murdered king James I. This man soon saw that the revolution which had brought him into office was not calculated to advance the true interests of his country, and he seems to have been disgusted with the fruitlessness of his efforts to support the dignity of the laws. He saw at once the ambitious designs of the house of Douglas, and that the alliances which the earl was forming with the most powerful of the feudal nobles boded no good to the king. He saw, too, that he was associating himself more especially with all those families who hated the ruling dynasty. Kennedy became alarmed for the safety of his royal kinsman, and, as the only means of defeating the purposes of his enemies, he immediately joined cordially with Crichton, and threw all his influence into the scale against them.

The mode in which this interference was resented, affords a striking picture of the character of the men who had now seized upon the government. Douglas had just entered into a close alliance with Alexander earl of Crawford, a nobleman who, as the brother-in-law of the earl of March, who had been stripped of his lands by James I., was understood to harbour feelings of resentment against that king and his family. No sooner was it known that the bishop had joined the party of Crichton, than this earl, with Alexander Ogilvy, the younger Livingston, the lord Hamilton, and Robert Reoch (the Swarthy Robert), one of the highland chiefs who had arrested the assassins of the late king, raised a formidable army, and overrun the bishop's lands in Fife and Angus, which were ravaged with unusual cruelty. The bishop indignantly summoned the earl of Crawford to make amends for the unprovoked injuries he had committed, and, on his contemptuous refusal, proceeded to place that nobleman and all his adherents under the solemn ban of the church.

Livingston and Douglas now found that Crichton was stronger than they expected, and they were alarmed at the energetic conduct of his new and powerful ally. After the siege had continued nine weeks, a treaty between the two parties was suddenly agreed upon, and Crichton was restored to a great

portion of his former power and influence, on condition of his surrendering the castle of Edinburgh to the king. A hollow reconciliation, and a nominal forgiveness of injuries on both sides, followed, which was sealed by a sort of act of oblivion. Among various outrages perpetrated by the adherents of Douglas must be reckoned, as far as we can gather from the confused and imperfect account of these events, the forcible occupation of the castle of Dunbar by a noted freebooter and outlaw, Patrick Hepburn of Hails, who also appears to have seized upon the queen-mother. At least we know that in the midst of the scene of commotion just described, this lady, after having been first neglected and then deserted by her second husband, the black knight of Lorn, died in obscurity in the castle of Dunbar, which was at that time in Hepburn's hands. She was already almost forgotten by the public, and her death appears to have excited little attention. The queen had still two daughters under her care, Jane and Eleanor, who, after her death, were sent for safety to the French court, where they found their sister the dauphiness recently dead, broken-hearted by the ill-treatment of her husband.

The earl of Douglas continued to use his power as lieutenant-general to strengthen himself and his adherents, and he went on forming leagues and associations which can hardly have had other than a treasonable aim. But one of those violent feuds which disgraced the government of the Livingstons at this moment, accidentally carried off one of his least scrupulous allies, the earl of Crawford. So deplorable was the state of the country, that even the religious houses were under the necessity of seeking protection by bribing one of these feudal chieftains to defend them against another, and they were thus obliged to lease away lands and employments to their own great disadvantage. In this manner the monks of the abbey of Arbroath, in Angus, had elected for their chief "justiciar," the earl of Crawford's eldest son, Alexander Lindsay, or as he was called in the Scottish style, the master of Crawford. The master was an ambitious man, dreaded for his ferocious habits, from which and from his great beard he was popularly known as "the tiger." The monks soon found that they had made an imprudent choice, and they afterwards revoked the appointment and gave the office to Ogilvy of Innerquharity. The master of Crawford, in resentment, collected his vas-

sals, and prepared with an overwhelming force to attack the new justiciar of the abbey. It happened that on the evening when the latter was gathering his forces to withstand this attack, sir Alexander Seton of Gordon, on his way from the court, came to the castle of Ogilvy to lodge for the night, and, according to an old feudal custom in the north, felt himself bound to give assistance to his host. He accordingly, with the few attendants he had brought with him, proceeded with the Ogilvies to the town of Arbroath, or Aberbrothwick, where they found their enemies drawn up in great force outside the gates. At the moment, however, when the two little armies were on the point of joining combat, the earl of Crawford, who wished to prevent it, rode up and threw himself between them. But instead of hindering the fight, he was himself struck down with a mortal wound by one of the combatants who was ignorant of his rank, and the Lindsays, furious at the death of their chief, and strengthened with a large number of the vassals of the earl of Douglas, rushed upon the Ogilvies and defeated them with great slaughter. Five hundred men, including many barons and knights, lay dead on the field, and Seton himself narrowly escaped with his life. Not content with this success, the Lindsays immediately invaded the lands of the Ogilvies, and burnt, slaughtered, and plundered, with reckless atrocity.

The earl of Douglas, confident in his own power, and in the unscrupulous attachment of his associates, seems now to have pushed forward his plans of ambition with less caution. He immediately entered into an association with the new earl of Crawford, and with Alexander, earl of Ross, and lord of the isles, both of whom harboured the deepest hatred to the family of James I., the first for the injury done to his kinsman the earl of March, and the other for his own humiliation and imprisonment. This league was in itself treasonable, for it consisted in a bond offensive and defensive between these three powerful chiefs, in which they promised to aid each other against all men whatever, the king not excepted. This took place in 1446, and in the year following, the league was strengthened by the accession of the Livingstons. Many of the other great barons were gradually drawn into it, and Crichton and bishop Kennedy seemed to be left almost alone to struggle for the liberation and safeguard of the young king.

But the latter, who had now reached the age of seventeen, had already begun to think and act for himself, and he shewed traits of greatness worthy of the son of James I. With the caution and even somewhat of the dissimulation of his father, while he appeared to put his confidence in the Livingstons, he secretly allied himself with Kennedy and Crichton. The latter was restored to the chancellorship, and the prelate received various marks of royal favour. Hitherto the country, perhaps too much occupied with its own dissensions, had managed to keep at peace with its neighbours; the king's relations with England, France, and other powers, were of a friendly nature. In 1448, James sent Crichton, who had been made a lord of parliament, with the secretary Railston bishop of Dunkeld, and Nicholas de Otterburn official of Lothian, to the court of France to negotiate a marriage; but as the royal family of France at that moment afforded no suitable match, the ambassadors, at the suggestion of the French king, proceeded to the court of the duke of Guelders, and there negotiated an alliance, which turned out to James's great satisfaction, with the princess Mary, only daughter and heiress of that prince. The king of Scots, about the same time, in furtherance of his policy of secretly undermining the power of the Livingstons, Douglasses, and Crawfords, recalled to Scotland sir James Stuart, the black knight of Lorn, and Robert Fleming, the son of the knight who had been seized with the Douglasses and executed in Edinburgh castle. This could only be looked upon as a sign of the approaching disgrace of Livingston.

The Livingstons themselves seem to have been lulled into a false security, but the earl of Douglas is supposed to have suspected the king's designs, and to have attempted to embarrass him by dragging the country into a war with England, a thing not difficult to accomplish in the present factious divisions of that kingdom. The truce was on the point of expiring, and disorders had already broken out on the borders, in the course of which some provocation was perhaps given to the English authorities. Be this as it may, the two English wardens, the earls of Northumberland and Salisbury, invaded Scotland at the head of their forces in the east and west, and before they returned burnt the towns of Dunbar and Dumfries. In revenge, the earl of Douglas's brother, sir James Douglas of Balveny,

raised his followers, and making a raid through Cumberland, burnt and plundered the town of Alnwick. The younger Percy, with sir John Harrington and sir John Pennington, now assembled a force of six thousand men, and crossed the Solway into Dumfriesshire, where they were attacked by the earl of Ormond, another brother of Douglas, with sir John Wallace of Craigie, the sheriff of Ayr, the laird of Johnston, and the master of Somerville. The Scots numbered but five thousand men, yet they defeated the English with great slaughter. Fifteen hundred were left dead on the field, and five hundred were drowned in their flight across the Solway. The three English leaders were taken prisoners. The victory was ascribed in a great measure to the conduct and bravery of sir John Wallace, who died soon afterwards of his wounds. It is said, that only twenty-six of the Scots were killed in the battle. The hostilities between the two countries went no farther, but we are not told how they were appeased.

The attention of king James was soon afterwards engrossed by the solemnization of his marriage. His bride was escorted with great pomp, in a fleet of thirteen large vessels, which entered the Forth on the 18th of June, 1449. She was accompanied by the archduke of Austria, the duke of Brittany, the lord of Campvere, and the dukes of Burgundy and Savoy, and a splendid suite of knights and barons. James was pleased with the beauty of his queen, and she subsequently showed proofs of an extraordinary talent and understanding. Her portion, which was to be paid by her uncle Philip, the good duke of Burgundy, was fixed at sixty thousand crowns, to be paid in two years; and James settled on her, in case of his death, a dowry of ten thousand crowns, secured on lands in Strathern, Athol, Methven, and Linlithgow. The marriage was solemnized with extraordinary festivities, in the course of which three Burgundian nobles challenged as many Scottish knights to combat with the lance, battle-axe, sword, and dagger, and the challenge was accepted by two Douglasses, one of them the brother of the earl, and sir John Ross, of Halket. We are told, as an example of the power and ostentation of the house of Douglas, that he brought with him on this occasion a military suite of five thousand men.

Crichton's success in selecting the bride, and negotiating the marriage, raised him higher in the king's favour and confidence,

and he used his influence to instil into him those principles of policy which had been so resolutely pursued by his father. His anger was excited against the nobility by continual outrages committed on his subjects in defiance of his authority. The Douglasses, who took the lead in committing such acts, were for the moment protected by their enormous power, but James proceeded steadily in his object of crushing the other unprincipled barons, who had preyed upon the kingdom during his minority, and he began with the faction of the Livingstons. Having received secret information of a grand meeting of this family and their friends, which was to be held on the bridge of Inchbelly, near Kirkintilloch, in Dumbartonshire, he collected a strong force, and suddenly surrounding them, seized their chiefs before they could make any preparations for defence or escape. Among those captured on this occasion were sir Alexander's eldest son, James Livingston, with Robert Livingston, or, as he was popularly called, Robin of Callendar, the captain of Dumbarton, David Livingston of Greenyards, John Livingston captain of Donne castle, and Robert Livingston of Linlithgow. Sir Alexander Livingston himself, a man of advanced age, was next arrested; and within a very short time all the estates of the family were seized, every castle or fort held by them or their friends was taken into the king's hands, and all officers acting under their authority were expelled.

This bold display of authority, which astonished the kingdom, was made in the autumn of 1449, and immediately afterwards the king summoned a parliament to meet on the 19th of January following. In this parliament, the Livingstons were brought to trial for their treasonable proceedings during the time they had usurped the government, and especially for the attack on the queen-mother. We have no details of the trials, and we know little more than that the now aged sir Alexander Livingston, of Callendar, the head of the family, as well as the chief offender, his cousin James Dundas, of Dundas, and Robert Bruce of Clackmannan, were forfeited and imprisoned in Dumbarton castle, and that Alexander and Robert Livingston were hanged, and afterwards beheaded, on the castle-hill at Edinburgh, Archibald Dundas, the brother of James, threw himself into the castle of Dundas, which was well garrisoned and provisioned, and threatened to extort a pardon from the

king, but after a defence of three months, he was obliged to surrender, and the destruction of the Livingstons was thus completed.

The young king now surrounded himself with able ministers, and showed a resolute determination to proceed in the path on which he had entered. The deliberations of parliament reassumed the character which they had presented under his father. They were at this time chiefly occupied in finding remedies for the numerous abuses which had arisen during the minority. The king's peace was proclaimed throughout the realm, and it was declared that all persons should be permitted to travel in safety in every part of the country, whether for commerce or for other purposes without need of having assurance one of the other, which it seems had been previously a matter of necessity. The king's peace was to be a sufficient protection for every man, and it was ordered that such persons only should be employed as the king's officers, who were willing and able to punish all breaches of it. If any one were in mortal fear of another, he was directed to go to the sheriff or nearest magistrate, and make oath to that effect, upon which the magistrate was to call upon the person dreaded, and make him give bonds for keeping the peace towards the other. New and stringent regulations were made for the appointment of judges, and the order was renewed which compelled the justice to make his progress through the country twice in the year. These regulations for the administration of justice, were followed by new statutes against rebellion, which were made more severe and comprehensive. In another statute, this parliament advanced more boldly than the parliaments of James I., in interfering between the great landholders and their tenants. It was ordained "for the safety and favour of the poor people who labour the ground, that they and all others who have taken or shall take lands in any time to come from lords, according to a lease which is to run for a certain term of years, shall remain on the lands protected by their lease till the expiring of the same, paying all along the same yearly rent, and this notwithstanding the lands should pass by sale, or by alienation, into different hands from those by whom they were first given in lease to the tenants." The barons were again forbidden to ride over the country with their great bands of feudal followers, to the oppression of the king's subjects. Punish-

ments of a severe description were ordered for all those troops of idle people, who under one excuse or another overran the country, and lived chiefly by plunder and evil doing. These included the different denominations of sornars (people who took their lodgings without asking), outliers (who slept in the fields), masterfull beggar, fools (*i. e.* buffoons), bards, and runners about. It is evident from the severity of their punishment that this class of persons must have been very numerous and injurious. On the first conviction, their ears were to be nailed to a tree, and there cut off, after which they were to be banished from the country, and if they returned again they were to be hanged. The last important act of the session was one against persons guilty of treason, which shows that the king was contemplating further exertions of the royal authority against his turbulent nobles. Fortunately for these plans of domestic reform, his relations with England continued to be of the most pacific character. Aware of the importance of preserving the good understanding between the two countries, James had, in 1449, immediately after the arrest of the Livingstons, sent his treasurer and confessor, the bishop of Brechin and the abbot of Melrose, with the lords Montgomery and Gray, to Durham, where they were met by commissioners on the part of England, and an indefinite truce was agreed upon, in which provisions were made for the encouragement of mutual intercourse and commercial relations between the two countries. Another amicable meeting of the commissioners of the two countries was held early in 1450, to regulate the affairs of the borders, and take measures for the hindrance of all mutual provocations.

The earl of Douglas must have felt that the arm which had struck the Livingstons would eventually reach himself, yet he took no steps in their favour, but on the contrary, he willingly accepted a part of the spoils. Indeed the king, after that event, bestowed upon the Douglasses many marks of favour, so that he seemed desirous either of attaching them to his person, or of quieting their suspicions. They ceased not, nevertheless, to follow their own proud and turbulent course, and the king continually received provocations either from themselves, or their friends and dependents. One of these had given great offence. There had been a feud between Richard Colville of Ochiltree, and John Auchinleck of Auch-

inleck, the latter a follower of the earl of Douglas. One day as Auchinleck was journeying to wait upon the earl, he was attacked and slain by his enemy. Douglas immediately raised his vassals, besieged Colville in his castle, and having taken it, massacred him and his men.

Provoked by acts like this, the king began gradually to withdraw his show of favour from the earl. Although he did not yet venture to deprive him of his office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, yet he ceased to consult or employ him, and gave daily proofs of his confidence in Crichton and in the energetic ministers with whom he had surrounded himself. Conscious that his influence was on the wane, and probably convinced that the moment was not favourable for attempting to regain it by force, the earl of Douglas determined to go for a while to the continent, on the excuse of a desire to pay a visit to the pope. He is suspected of having had other views besides the mere love of travel, and, as he made some stay in England, he may have wished to ally himself with one of the great fac-

tions in that country as a support in any plans of ambition in his own. Be this as it may, after having entrusted the administration of his immense estates to his brother James Douglas, lord of Balveny, and it is believed renewing his treasonable league with the earls of Ross and Crawford, he proceeded on his journey.

The lord of Balveny used his delegated power with so much tyranny, that the king was soon compelled to interfere. The powerful barons who followed his banner, under Douglas's authority and encouragement, began to set the laws at defiance, and commit every kind of oppression. After warning them in vain, the king determined to adopt measures of coercion, and marching with an army into the most turbulent district, he captured the castle of Lochmaben and razed it to the ground. Satisfied with this act of vengeance, the king soon withdrew his forces; and immediately afterwards, to show that he could exercise clemency as well as revenge, he set at liberty his two state prisoners, sir Alexander Livingston and Dundas.

CHAPTER XI.

TURBULENT BEHAVIOUR OF THE EARL OF DOUGLAS; HE IS SLAIN; BATTLE ON THE MUIR OF BRECHIN; REBELLION, AND SUBSEQUENT SUBMISSION, OF THE EARL OF DOUGLAS; SUBMISSION OF THE EARL OF CRAWFORD.

No sooner had James Dundas been released from prison, than he hurried off to Rome, no doubt to give information of the state of things to the earl of Douglas, whose adherent he had been, and who now hurried home. His influence, however, was felt long before his arrival, for it is believed that it was at his instigation that the new earl of Ross openly rebelled, and having seized the royal castles of Inverness, Urquhart, and Ruthven, in Badenoch, dismantled that of Ruthven, and placed his own garrisons in the others. But the confederacy of the three earls still remained secret, and when Douglas returned, still conscious that the moment was inopportune, he proclaimed loudly his displeasure at the turbulence of his dependents, and promised in future to keep better order. The king at once took

him into favour, and soon afterwards appointed him a commissioner with the bishops of Dunkeld and Brechin, and the earls of Angus and Crawford, to treat with the English for a prolongation of the truce. But Douglas only executed his commission by entrusting his seal to the other commissioners to give his sanction to the truce, while he remained on his estates plotting with his vassals. It is supposed that he at this time renewed his league with the earls of Ross and Crawford, which was to be supported by the factions of the Livingstons and the Hamiltons, and that he also entered into an alliance for mutual assistance with the Yorkists in England. This last alliance, which bore treason on the face of it, was soon afterwards drawn closer by a visit which Douglas made to the English court, accom-

panied with a considerable number of his chief partisans. James, who had reached his twenty-first year, appears now to have suspected the designs of his too powerful noble, and to have resolved gradually to undermine his influence. In a parliament called in 1451, the earl was deprived of the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, but, in order to break or conceal the blow, the king soon afterwards appointed him his warden of the west and middle marches.

But when the earl returned to Scotland, he began to exhibit traits of ferocity and turbulence, which were calculated to give alarm to the court, and he exercised his new office of warden with oppressive injustice. His followers were not only allowed to plunder and slay with impunity, but those who did not submit quietly were punished by the lord warden for their resistance. Thus, on one occasion, Herries, of Terregles, a gentleman of family, who had been plundered by some of the earl's followers or partisans, made an attempt to defend himself by force of arms, but being unfortunately taken prisoner, he was carried before the earl. The king, informed of this occurrence, immediately sent his herald to the earl with his royal mandate for the delivery of his prisoner, yet Douglas ordered Herries to be hanged, in open defiance of his sovereign. Not long after this, sir Patrick Thornton, a dependent of the house of Douglas, deliberately murdered the king's kinsman, sir John Sandilands, of Calder, along with two knights who enjoyed the king's favour and intimacy, sir James and sir Allan Stuart, and he was supported in this outrage by the earl's protection. Nor was Douglas satisfied till he had carried his audacious insults still nearer to the throne. Hiring a band of ruffians of the most desperate description, he made them attack the king's chief minister, the chancellor Crichton, as he was passing with his retinue through the southern suburb of Edinburgh, on his way to embark on board a ship in the river. Crichton escaped wounded, though not seriously, to his house, where he collected his vassals, and suddenly setting upon the Douglasses, compelled the earl and his partisans to fly precipitately from the capital.

The king seems to have been now aware of the formidable league between Douglas and the earls of Ross and Crawford, and this rendered him more cautious of coming to an open rupture with the proud noble till he had better assured himself of his own

strength. He continued in outward appearance to treat him with distinction, and even employed him with some of his more faithful counsellors in a mission to England. There, with his king's commission in his hand, he appears to have plotted treason against his person. The Yorkists had now possession of the government in England, and their policy had all along been unfriendly to Scotland, although the truce between the two countries had been renewed. The English government at this moment refused to deliver two French ambassadors who had been captured on their way to Scotland, a proceeding that amounted to a declaration of hostilities, and it was understood that this refusal was to be the signal for a general insurrection in Scotland. The earl of Douglas hastened back to his own estates, and in conjunction with the earls of Ross and Crawford, summoned all his vassals to assemble in arms with their forces.

Among those who owed feudal allegiance to the house of Douglas was a gentleman named Maclellan, tutor or guardian of the young laird of Bombie, whose mother was sister of sir Patrick Gray, captain of the king's guard. Maclellan was a man of spirit, and, when summoned to appear in arms with his retainers, he refused to join in rebellion against his sovereign. The earl instantly ordered him to be seized and thrown into the dungeon of Douglas castle. Maclellan was a favourite at court, where the known ferocity of Douglas's vengeance created great alarm for the safety of his victim, and the king dispatched sir Patrick Gray himself, with an order under the royal seal, commanding his immediate release. When Gray reached Douglas castle, the earl, who suspected at once the object of his admission, received him with the greatest courtesy, but gave private orders that Maclellan should be instantly taken into the castle green and beheaded. Then, taking the king's letter from the hands of sir Patrick Gray, he led him into the hall, inviting him to partake of his hospitality. "You have found me," he said, "just sitting down to dinner; we will, if you please, first conclude our meal, and then I will peruse the letter with which our sovereign has honoured me." As soon as dinner was over, the earl took the letter, and broke the seal. As Gray watched anxiously for his reply, he suddenly assumed an air of concern. "I am sorry," he said, "that it is

not in my power to give full obedience to the commands of my sovereign, albeit I feel beholden to him for so gracious a letter written to one whom he has been pleased of late to regard with somewhat less favour than formerly; nevertheless what he requires shall be granted as fully as circumstances permit." Then leading him to the castle green, where the trunk of his murdered friend lay stretched on the sod, he said in a tone of cold irony, "There, sir Patrick, lies your sister's son; it is true he wants the head, but you are welcome to do with his body what you please." Gray was overcome with horror and indignation, yet he knew that he was within the tyrant's den, and that the least expression of anger might cost him dear. Bridling in his feelings, therefore, he merely replied, "Since you have taken the head, my lord, you are welcome to dispose of the body as you please;" and then, calling for his horse, he rode away, accompanied to the drawbridge by the earl. But he had no sooner cleared every obstacle to his flight, than reining his horse round, he shook his mailed fist fiercely at the Douglas, defied him as a coward and a traitor, and threatened that if he lived and had the opportunity, he would one day lay him as low as the poor gentleman he had just murdered. With this he spurred his horse, and rode at full speed towards Edinburgh. The earl, furious at being thus defied in his own castle, ordered some of his retainers to mount, and give chase; and it was only by the extraordinary fleetness of his horse that sir Patrick escaped, after being pursued to the outskirts of the capital.

It will not be wondered at, if the king felt surpassing indignation at this outrageous insult; but still, now well acquainted of the league with Ross and Crawford, on which Douglas reckoned for support, and of the overpowering force which they could bring into the field, he hesitated in proceeding to hostilities. On the contrary, having consulted with Crichton and his wisest ministers, he determined to try again the effects of conciliation, and he sent an old friend of the earl's, sir William Lauder of Hatton, with a friendly message, expressing his desire to confer personally with him, with a conciliatory object, and promising him absolute security for his person. Some of the old historians say, that a letter of safe-conduct, under the royal signature and the privy seal, with the names and seals of all the nobles and great officers of the court at-

tached, was sent to him; and that in addition to this, many of the nobles had sent a writing to the earl, in which they bound themselves to compel the king to observe his promise, if he should show any inclination to do otherwise. All this shows the earl's consciousness of the greatness of his crimes. The whole affair, however, is involved in much mystery, and we only know for certain that the earl accepted the invitation.

In the Lent of 1452, while the court was held at the castle of Stirling, the earl of Douglas went thither with sir William Lauder of Hatton, and a small retinue. He was received by the king with apparent cordiality, and invited to dinner next day. He accordingly went, and dined and supped in the castle. The hour of supper, according to the fashion of those days, was seven o'clock in the evening. When this last meal was ended, the king, wishing to converse privately with his guest, drew him away from the crowd of courtiers into an inner chamber, where there were none present but sir Patrick Gray, sir William Crichton, the lord Gray, sir Simon Glendonane, and a few more of his most confidential friends. They stood a little apart, while James walking with the earl of Douglas, began to remonstrate with him on his evil courses. He spoke of the murders of Herries, Sandilands, and Maclellan, and above all of his treasonable league with the earls of Ross and Crawford, and he urged him to break a band which must lead to deplorable results, and return to his allegiance as a good and dutiful subject. The conversation gradually warmed, and Douglas, unused to such remonstrances, replied with an insolence which was itself scarcely less than treason, and proceeded to violent recriminations. He reproached the king with having taken from him his office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and spoke in the most intemperate abuse of the counsellors who he said had insinuated themselves into the king's confidence. Then, losing all restraint over his temper, he declared that he cared nothing for the name of treason with which his proceedings had been branded; that as to the band with the earls of Ross and Crawford, he had no longer the power to break it, and if he had he would not quarrel with his friends to gratify the idle caprices of his sovereign. The king's temper was naturally violent, and he had borne with difficulty the language of his guest; but at this insolent de-

fiance he lost all command over himself, and snatching the dagger from his side, he exclaimed passionately, "False traitor, if thou wilt not break the band, this shall!" and struck him first in the throat and almost at the same instant in the lower part of the body. Sir Patrick Gray, who happened to be standing nearest the king, raised his pole-axe with right good-will, and with one blow felled the earl to the ground, and the other nobles of the court rushed forwards and buried their daggers in his body. He expired instantly, without uttering a word, and his body, which was covered with twenty-six wounds, was cast through a window into the open court.

Such is the simple story of the slaughter of the earl of Douglas, as we gather it from the contemporary or nearly contemporary annalists. It appears to have been the work of a moment of ungovernable anger, the result of great and unjustifiable provocation, and we see no reason for suspecting that the king ever intended to break his promise of safe conduct. The deed was probably looked upon by all good subjects as a public benefit, and people were too much habituated to scenes of blood and treachery to think much of the way in which it was effected. But the whole Douglas faction, with their numerous vassals and retainers, set up one general cry of indignation and vengeance, which was probably the louder, as they knew their treasonable designs were discovered, and they were convinced that they had no hope but in civil war. During the absence of the king, who had marched with a strong force to Perth in pursuit of the earl of Crawford, who had risen with the earl of Ross in rebellion, sir James Douglas, who as brother of their late chief, succeeded to the earldom, with the earl of Ormond, the lord Hamilton, and six hundred barons, gentlemen, and other supporters of the family, suddenly took possession of the town of Stirling. After having, according to the ancient custom of defiance, blown upon the king twenty-four horns at once, they proceeded to the cross, and there exhibiting the king's letter of safe-conduct, they nailed it ignominiously to a board which was tied to the tail of a mean horse, and thus it was dragged through the streets with shouts of contempt and hatred against the sovereign. The town was then plundered and burnt, and the perpetrators of this outrage departed to join their friends in rebellion. The assembly

at Stirling took place on the 25th of March.

The death of the earl of Douglas had only precipitated the appeal to arms, and each side now prepared for the struggle. His five brothers had met, and, with their friends, recognised the eldest, sir James, as his successor in the title, and they proclaimed a general gathering of his kin and confederates. The king, on the other hand, showed an energy and activity which encouraged those who were already faithful to the crown, and brought not a few accessions to the cause of order. Among these were some leading members of the great house of Douglas itself, such as the earl of Angus, and the lord Douglas of Dalkeith. Among the most determined supporters of the crown, at this moment, was Alexander Seton, earl of Huntley, who was at this trying moment named by James lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and who instantly raised the forces of the north, and directed his march towards Stirling. The earl of Crawford had been no less active in the field, and assembling a strong army among his adherents in Fife and Angus, he took post on a level muir by the town of Brechin, to intercept Huntley in his march to the south. On the evening before the engagement between the two earls, Huntley encouraged his men, not merely by promises of reward, but by a liberal distribution of lands among their chiefs. His opponent, the fierce "tiger," as he was called, disdained to conciliate any one; but, on the contrary, gave mortal offence to one of his best leaders, Colessie of Balnamoon, who commanded the left wing of the Angus bill-men, by sternly refusing his earnest request to enter his son as vassal in his fief. The battle was contested with desperate resolution, and the royal army, though superior in number to its opponents, was on the point of giving way; but at this critical moment, Colessie of Balnamoon, on whom all depended, withdrew his bill-men, and deserted to Huntley. The rebels were almost immediately routed, and hotly pursued. The earl of Crawford's brother, John Lindsay of Brechin, with Dundas of Dundas, and sixty other lords and gentlemen, were slain on the field. Huntley's loss was not great, but it included two of his own brothers, sir William and sir Henry Seton. Crawford fled with as much of his army as he could keep together, to his castle of Fin-

haven. We are told that a yeoman of Huntley's army, following too close in the pursuit, and becoming involved among the earl of Crawford's personal attendants, sought his own personal safety by passing on as one of them, to Finhaven. On his escape he related, that when they reached Finhaven castle, the ferocious earl, amid a volley of blasphemous oaths, called for a bowl of wine, and drinking it off, with horrible curses on the wretch who had deserted his banner, swore that he would willingly undergo seven years' roasting in hell, to have purchased that day's victory; and as a proof of the truth of his story, he produced a silver cup engraved with the arms of Crawford, which he had abstracted from the sideboard at Finhaven castle.

Huntley, although victorious, was not allowed to pursue his march to the south, for he received intelligence that the earl of Moray, a brother of the late earl of Douglas, had raised his vassals and invaded his estates in Strathbogie. In revenge, Huntley swept through the rich lands of the Douglasses in Moray, and not only reduced them to a desert, but burnt to the ground that half of the city of Elgin which belonged to his opponent. The other half of the city had been burnt by the earl of Moray because its inhabitants were favourers of the Setons. For a moment the earl of Huntley struggled with difficulty against his powerful opponents, and he was defeated by Murray at a place called the Bog of Dunkintie; but at length Moray and Ormond, unable any longer to make head against the king's forces, retired into the Hebrides. While Huntley was engaged with these two earls, Crawford, who held possession of his own territory undisturbed, proceeded to ravage and destroy the lands of all those who had refused to join his standard. The fury of the Douglasses in the south was turned against their kinsman, the earl of Angus, and they laid siege to his castle of Dalkeith, after burning the town, and binding themselves by an oath not to leave the siege till they had levelled the castle with the ground. But they were disappointed in their purpose by the bravery of its governor, sir Patrick Cockburn, and were obliged to satisfy themselves with ravaging the country around. The new earl of Douglas entered into a correspondence with the Yorkists in England, and by a new treason against his country, as well as against his king, offered for himself and his

friends to do homage to the king of England as lord paramount of Scotland.

In the miserable condition to which the kingdom was now reduced, James saw the necessity of vigorous and active measures, and he called a parliament to meet at Edinburgh on the 12th of June, 1452. The earl of Douglas and some of his chief adherents were summoned to appear before it and answer to the charge of treason. But on the night before the meeting, a placard, signed by James earl of Douglas, three of his brothers, and the lord Hamilton, was fixed to the door of the parliament house. In this document, the Douglasses publicly renounced their allegiance to king James, whom they branded as a perjured prince and a murderer, and they declared that thenceforth they held no lands of him, and that they would obey none of his mandates. The king and his friends were doubly exasperated by this insulting defiance, and the parliament proceeded against the offenders with great severity. They first agreed unanimously to a solemn declaration setting forth that, inasmuch as the late earl of Douglas had when he was killed avowed himself an enemy to the king, and acknowledged a treasonable league against the crown with the earl of Ross and Crawford, he was at that time in a state of open rebellion, and that the king was justified by the law in putting him to death without further process. A parliament having thus justified the king, the latter proceeded to reward those who had on this great occasion given proof of their attachment to the crown. Archibald Douglas earl of Moray, having been attainted, that earldom was conferred on sir James Crichton, the eldest son of the chancellor. Lord Hay, who held the high office of constable of Scotland, was at the same time created earl of Errol; sir George Crichton of Caithness was created earl of Caithness; and the baron of Darnley, Hepburn of Hailes, Boyd, Fleming, Borthwick, Lyle, and Cathcart, were made lords of parliament. Lands, consisting partly of the forfeited estates of the Douglasses, were given freely to lord Campbell, his son sir Colin Campbell, sir David Hume, sir Alexander Home, sir James Keir, and other loyal chieftains.

Everything now seemed to turn in favour of the king, and the general joy of the royal party was increased by the birth, on the 1st of June, 1452, of a prince, who was named James. No sooner had the parlia-

ment closed its deliberations, than the king summoned his barons to assemble in arms on the muir of Pentland, near Edinburgh. His cause had already gained so much in popularity, that he then found himself at the head of an army of thirty thousand men, well armed and equipped, and he immediately marched against the earl of Douglas, shaping his course through the districts of Peebles, Selkirk, Dumfries, and Galloway, where the chief estates of the Douglasses lay. It was the approach of harvest, and the crops were everywhere destroyed on the ground by the soldiers, who, in their rage against the Douglasses, who were in rebellion, too often involved in the same destruction the property of those who had joined the banner of the king. The earl soon saw the hopelessness of resistance, and when the royal army appeared before Douglas castle, he announced his willingness to submit, and, with professions of the deepest contrition, begged that he might be readmitted into the royal favour. James listened to his appeal, and, anxious to restore tranquillity to his kingdom, he agreed to grant him his pardon, on conditions which were committed to writing, and not only assured by the earl's seal and signature, but by his solemn oath on the holy gospels. By this bond, which is still in existence, Douglas promised never to attempt to possess himself of the lands of the earldom of Wigtown or of the lordship of Stewarton, forfeited by the last earl, and since given to the queen. He engaged, for his brother and the lord Hamilton, as well as for himself, to forgive fully and for ever all manner of rancour, feud, malice, and envy, which they had entertained in time past, or might conceive in time to come, against any of the king's subjects, and more especially against all those who were art and part in the slaughter of the late earl; and it was even stipulated that, in obedience to the king's wishes, he should cordially receive those persons into his friendship. By another article of this bond, the earl promised that the whole body of his tenants and rentallers should enjoy the protection of their leases, and remain unmolested in their farms till twelve months after the following Whit-Sunday, except those tenants who occupied the granges and farmsteadings which the late earl had retained for his own use, and these should be permitted to remain till the Whit-Sunday following, to give them full time to gather in their crops. By other provisions he

bound himself to break all treasonable bands and confederations already made, and to make none such in future, to make amends for past injuries, and to perform in future all the duties of a faithful subject towards his king.

By this submission, the earl of Douglas, who seems to have acted without sincerity, not only recovered the immense power he had previously held, but he soon took steps to increase it; and the king, who seems to have believed in his repentance, imprudently assisted him in the attainment of his object. By the death of the late earl, all that part of the possessions of his house which had been brought to him by the maid of Galloway, reverted to his widow, who was still very young, and the new earl was now supported by the king in obtaining from the pope a dispensation to marry her. The dispensation, by means of such intercession, was obtained without difficulty, and the unhappy widow was forced into this union sorely against her inclination. The king also gave or promised to give back the earldom of Wigtown and the lands of Stewarton, and the whole of the immense possessions of the earls of Douglas were again united in the hands of a person who soon showed himself unworthy of the confidence and favour which his sovereign was so unsuspiciously conferring upon him. There seems every reason to believe that at this very moment the earl was secretly engaged in a treasonable correspondence with the English Yorkists, the object of which was to drive king James from his throne.

But the king now felt at ease with regard to the southern part of his dominions, and he proceeded with a small body of troops as a guard to his person, to make a progress in the north, which had also been reduced to better order by the exertions of his lieutenant-general, the earl of Huntley. The earl of Crawford had already made his peace with Huntley, and had requested his intercession in his favour, and by his advice, as well as that of Crichton and of bishop Kennedy, he presented himself before the king in his progress through Angus, with a few of his followers, all as well as himself barefoot and bare-headed, and clad in miserable apparel. The king was touched with their appearance, and generously offering his hand to the earl of Crawford, he told him that he was more anxious to gain the hearts than the lands of his nobles, and that he freely forgave him and his all that was past, in the

hope that they would atone for it by their future loyalty. James appears to have had no reason to repent of his generosity on this occasion, for Crawford proved himself a faithful supporter of the throne during the rest of his life, which, however, was short, for he died of a fever six months after. On receiving the royal pardon, with the restoration of his estates and honours, Crawford assembled a strong body of the barons and gentry of Angus, and placing himself at their head, accompanied the king in his progress, until on his return they reached his castle of Finhaven, where the king was entertained with great magnificence. A story was afterwards told how the king had, in his anger

against the earl, made a vow that he would level the highest stone of Crawford's fortress with the lowest, and how, on this occasion, he mounted upon the battlements, and threw one of the highest stones of the building down into the ditch, in order that he might fulfil his vow with the least possible injury to his host.

It may be well to note, ere we pass on, that in the very midst of these scenes of turbulence, another school of learning was founded in Scotland. In the course of the year 1451, William Turnbull, bishop of Glasgow, having obtained a bull from pope Nicholas for that purpose, laid the foundation of the university of Glasgow.

CHAPTER XII.

NEW CONSPIRACY OF THE EARL OF DOUGLAS; ENERGETIC MEASURES OF THE KING; THE EARL RETIRES TO ENGLAND; INSURRECTION OF THE EARL OF ROSS; DISPUTES WITH ENGLAND.

SCOTLAND now was in appearance quiet, but this appearance was a false one, and it was soon to be shown that the power of the house of Douglas was incompatible with the peace of the kingdom. The absence of historical records has left the events which immediately followed the submission of the earl of Crawford, in great obscurity. We can only gather that the earl of Douglas, in spite of all the favours he had received from the crown, was still meditating treason, and that his correspondence with the Yorkists in England had not been discontinued. In 1454, when the duke of York had again lifted himself into power, Douglas's ambition led him into a plot with that prince, the aim of which was to overthrow the present government of Scotland, and lodge the supreme power in the hands of Douglas himself. Douglas began to raise his troops, and to collect his friends, and he sent the lord Hamilton into England to obtain a supply of money and men, which it was agreed should be given immediately; but it appears that one article assented to by Douglas was, that he and his friends should prove their sincerity by immediately taking the oath of homage to the king of England. This was a condition which Hamilton was unwilling to perform, and as far as we can gather, he

returned to Scotland to consult with his chief.

But the treasonable designs of Douglas were now known at court, and, before further negotiation could be entered into, the royal vengeance fell in all its fury upon his devoted house. The king first invaded his lands in the north, and stormed and destroyed his castle of Inveraven. Proceeding thence without meeting with any resistance to Glasgow, he raised another army from the north and west, with which he laid waste the earl's possessions in Douglas-Dale and Avondale, and carrying the same destruction through the lands of the lord Hamilton, he continued his progress to Edinburgh. Here he raised a third army, consisting chiefly of lowlanders, and taking the field again, he invaded the forests of Selkirk and Ettrick, and finally laid siege to the strong castle of Abercorn.

The earl of Douglas, who had been occupied in concentrating his forces at Lanark, advanced hastily with his kinsman lord Hamilton, to raise the siege. The king is said to have felt some alarm at the formidable army which had assembled under the earl's banner, and even to have shown signs of despondency at the difficulties with which he was surrounded, but he derived encouragement from the exhortations of his faith-

ful councillor bishop Kennedy. Sir Alexander Crichton had died in the castle of Dunbar, at the close of the preceding year (1454). Bishop Kennedy told the king that Douglas's army was composed of discordant materials, held together by bonds which were various in their nature, and easily broken. Many followed the standard of Douglas merely from fear, and others from the hope of gain. These would all go over to the side which appeared safest and most profitable. The bishop, therefore, recommended that an attempt should be made to negotiate with the separate chiefs, and he offered to begin with trying the lord Hamilton, Douglas's particular friend. Hamilton appears to have been shaken in his attachment to the rebel cause by the conditions which were made with the Yorkists, and he had begun to feel doubts of the probable result of this mad contest, so that he was not averse to listen to Kennedy's proposals, though he did not immediately agree to them. But the events which immediately followed are said to have decided him. The king advanced against the rebels, and when the two armies were drawn up in view of each other, the royal heralds advanced, and in the king's name ordered the army of Douglas to disperse. The earl returned a scornful answer, yet he perceived such strong symptoms of hesitation among his men, that he drew them off and returned to his camp, announcing his intention of fighting on the morrow. He was visited in his tent by the lord Hamilton, who requested to be informed positively if it was his intention to fight or not, as it was high time they should know what he intended to do, for the royal army was increasing daily, while theirs was rapidly falling away. We are told that the proud spirit of the Douglas took fire, and that he replied scornfully, that if Hamilton was tired of his service he might leave it when he liked. The offended baron took him at his word; he marched with the troop under his command to the royal camp. Hamilton was known throughout the rebel camp as a wise and prudent man, and no sooner was his desertion reported abroad, than the chiefs rivalled each other in following his example, so that next morning, when the earl of Douglas intended to give battle to the royal forces, he found that he had no army to fight with. In his fury and despair, he fled with the few followers who remained attached to him, and sought

a temporary asylum in the wildest parts of Scotland. In the meantime his brothers, the earls of Moray and Ormond, had succeeded in collecting together an army of undisciplined outlaws in Annandale, and the earl hastened to place himself at their head. But the time was past when the magic cry of Douglas could stir up the country from one end to the other; and the Maxwells, Scotts, Johnsons, and other warlike clans of the border, had all joined the royal standard. The tumultuous army which the earl of Douglas now commanded, was met at Arkinholme, on the Esk, by the king's troops under the earl of Angus, and utterly defeated. The earl of Moray was slain in the fight; Ormond was captured, and immediately executed; and the earl of Douglas himself escaped with difficulty, and fled with his only remaining brother, sir John Douglas, lord of Balveny, to the wilds of Argyleshire, where he was received by his only remaining friend the earl of Ross.

The king was still occupied with the siege of Abercorn, and the first intelligence he received of the defeat of the rebels at Arkinholme was brought by a soldier, who laid at his feet the ghastly head of the earl of Moray. It gave courage to the besiegers, who had been foiled by the extraordinary strength of the castle, which defied all their efforts, though assisted by powerful warlike engines, and by a very large cannon, which was charged and directed by a French engineer. At length, after a month's siege, it was taken by escalade, and the chief persons of the garrison were immediately hanged. The rest were dismissed with their lives, after the castle itself had been undermined and reduced to a ruin.

Immediately after the capture of Abercorn castle, James called a parliament, which assembled at Edinburgh on the 9th of June, 1455. The earl of Douglas was duly summoned to appear and answer charges brought against him, and as he did not appear, he was declared a traitor. His mother, Beatrix countess of Douglas, and his brother the lord of Balveny, were involved in the same act of condemnation. These three personages were declared to have forfeited their lives; and their estates, as well as those of the members of the family and their adherents, who had already fallen in battle or been executed, were declared to be forfeited to the crown.

After the defeat of Arkinholme, the earl of Douglas as it has been stated, found

a refuge with the earl of Ross, and he soon afterwards made good his retreat to England, where he was received with great favour by the duke of York. But before his departure, he raised up a new insurrection against the Scottish throne. The earl of Ross, whose power, as lord of the isles, lay chiefly in the Hebrides, collected a fleet of a hundred light galleys, in which were embarked five thousand combatants, under the command of Ross's near kinsman, Donald Balloch, lord of Isla and of the Glens in the north of Ireland. With this formidable array of forces he plundered the Scottish coast from Innerkip, along the forth of the Clyde to Bute, the Cumbrays, and the isle of Arran, but without making any serious impression. They concluded with attacking Lauder bishop of Lismore, a prelate obnoxious to the Douglasses, who himself narrowly escaped with his life, while a great part of his attendants were slain.

Nor did the earl of Douglas's power of doing mischief end here. It happened that in England the duke of York was in power, and the fugitive noble not only found a hospitable reception, but he immediately received an annual pension of five hundred pounds, in consideration of his devotion to the English interests; and this pension, by the terms of the gift, was "to be continued to him until he should be restored to his possessions, or to the greater part of them, by the person who then called himself king of Scots." In this expression we no doubt trace the rival claim to the crown, which had been secretly set up by the Douglasses. The hostility of the dominant party in England did not stop here. When James wrote a letter to king Henry, complaining of the reception and encouragement given to his traitor, warning him of the evil consequences that might result to himself in England by fostering the example of rebellion elsewhere, and of the hostile feeling which it must engender between the two countries, he received an extraordinary reply, full of the bitterest hostility, of which the following is a literal translation. "The king, to an illustrious prince, James, *calling himself king of Scotland*, sends greeting: We presume that it is notorious to all men, and universally acknowledged as a fact, that the supreme and direct dominion over the kingdom of Scotland appertains by law to the kingdom of England, as monarch of Britain. We presume it to be equally acknowledged and notorious, that fealty and

homage are due by the king of Scots to the king of England, upon the principle that it becomes a vassal to pay such homage to his superior and ever lord; and that from times of so remote antiquity that they exceed the memory of man, even to the present day, we and our progenitors, kings of England, have possessed such rights, and you and your ancestors have acknowledged such a dependence. Wherefore, such being the case, whence comes it that the subject hath not scrupled insolently to erect his neck against his master? And what, think ye, ought to be his punishment, when he spurns the condition, and endeavours to compass the destruction of his person? With what sentence is treason generally visited? or have you lived so ignorant of all things, as not to be aware of the penalties which await the rebel, and him who is so hardy as to deny his homage to his liege superior? If so, we would exhort you speedily to inform yourself upon the matter, lest the lesson should be communicated by the experience of your own person, rather than by the information of others. To the letters which have been presented to us by a certain person calling himself your lion-herald and king-at-arms, and which are replete with all manner of folly, insolence, and boasting, we make this brief reply: it hath ever been the custom of those who fight rather by deceit than with open arms, to commit an outrageous attack in the first instance, and then to declare war; to affect innocence, and shift their own guilt upon their neighbours; to cover themselves with the shadow of peace and the protection of truces, whilst beneath this veil they are fraudulently plotting the ruin of those they call their friends. To such persons, whose machinations we cordially despise, it seems to us best to reply by actions. The repeated breaches of faith, therefore, which we have suffered at your hands; the injury, rapine, robbery, and insolence, which have been afflicted upon us, contrary to the rights of nations, and in defiance of the faith of treaties, shall be passed over in silence, rather than committed to writing; for we esteem it unworthy of our dignity to attempt to reply to you in your own fashion, by slanders and reproaches. We would desire, however, that in the mean season you should not be ignorant that, instead of its having the intended effect of inspiring us with terror, we do most heartily despise this vain confidence and insolent boasting, in which we have observed the weakest and

most pusillanimous persons are generally the greatest adepts; and that you should be aware that it is our firm purpose, with the assistance of the Almighty, to put down and severely chastise all such insolent, rebellious, and arrogant attempts, which it hath been your practice contumaciously to direct against us. Wishing, nevertheless, with that charity which becomes Christian princes, that it may please our Lord Jesus Christ to reclaim you from error into the paths of justice and truth, and to inspire you for the future with a spirit of more enlightened judgment and counsel, we bid you farewell."

So insulting a proceeding as this must have greatly shaken the good understanding between the two countries, and we are not surprised to find that it was followed by serious hostilities on the borders. A war, however, was prevented by the partial recovery of Henry VI., and the consequent removal of the duke of York from the government. The return to power of the duke of Somerset, whose policy had always been favourable to Scotland, counteracted the evil influence of the intrigues of the earl of Douglas, and the irritation between the two countries soon began to subside. Nevertheless, a serious alarm had been given, and the Scottish parliament assembled twice at Edinburgh during the autumn, to make preparations for defence against an invasion from England, as well as to provide for the re-establishment of order throughout Scotland. The statute relating to the regulation of border warfare is curious, as consecrating by law the code of regulations which custom had long established among the freebooters of the marches. It was ordered that when an invasion of the English border took place under the immediate command of the lord warden of the border, or under that of any other chieftain, no man was to be permitted, under pain of death and forfeiture of his whole goods, to abstract any part of the general booty until, according to the ancient custom of the marches, it had been divided into three parts, in presence of the chief leader of the raid. Any one thus abstracting part of the plunder, or furnishing supplies to the English garrisons of Roxburgh or Berwick, or giving warning to the English of preparations for an invasion of their territory, or of journeying privately into England without the safe-conduct of the king or warden, would be punished as a traitor with the loss of life and estate. The last of these provisions was no doubt directed against

the treasonable correspondence carried on by the earl of Douglas and his friends.

A still more interesting regulation, which appears in the acts of this parliament, is that which explains to us the system of transmitting information by beacons, or, as they were called in Scotland, bale-fires. These beacons were to be regulated as follows: one fire was to be understood as signifying that an enemy was reported to be approaching; two fires, that the enemy was known to be at hand; and if four fires were lighted at the same time, "like four candles, and all at once," that was to be understood as announcing that the enemy was advancing with a great army. The first beacon was placed at the passages of the Tweed between Roxburgh and Berwick, where the English forces usually crossed the river, and watchmen were placed there, whose duty it was to light the "bale-fire" the moment they received intelligence of the approach of an enemy. This beacon was to be so placed that it might be distinctly seen at Hume Castle, whither the watchmen were to retire when they had performed their duty at the first station. Another beacon was immediately to be fired at Hume Castle, and the alarm was to be carried from beacon to beacon, from Hume Castle to the castle of Eggerhope (or Edgerton), and thence progressively to Soutra Edge, Dunbar, Haddington, Dalkeith, and Edinburgh, rousing all Lothian in its way. Four beacons were instantly to be lighted at Edinburgh, to give warning to the people at Fife, Stirling, and the eastern part of Lothian. Other beacons were at the same time to be set on fire on North Berwick Law and Duncopder Law, to communicate the alarm to the coast side of the sea. The fighting men from the west side of Edinburgh were to assemble in the capital; while those to the east of it were to muster at Haddington; and all merchants and burghers were directed to join the host as it passed through their respective communities.

The late rebellions had been a warning to the parliament of the necessity of strengthening the throne, and diminishing the power of the nobles, and various statutes passed in the parliaments of 1455 were directed to this object. A statute for this purpose fixed certain revenues, estates, and castles, as the permanent property of the crown, inalienable except by the solemn resolution of the whole parliament, and if

otherways alienated, the power was given to the king by this statute to resume it at once without any previous process or form. The king, on his accession, was to be required to take a solemn oath to observe strictly this statute. The property of the crown was declared to be, the whole customs of Scotland as they were in the hands of James I. on the day of his death; the lordships of Ettrick forest and Galloway, with the castle of Thrieve, which had been part of the possessions of the house of Douglas; the castle of Edinburgh, with the lands of Ballinereich and Gosford, and all other estates belonging to the king within the sheriffdom of Lothian; the castle of Stirling, with all the crown lands round it; the castle of Dumbarton, with the lands of Cardross, Roseneath, and the pension from Cadyow, with the pension of the farm-mill of Kilpatrick; the whole earldom of Fife, with the palace of Falkland; the earldom of Strathern; the house and lordship of Brechin, with the services and superiority of Cortachy; the castles and lordships of Inverness and Urquhart, with the water-mails or rents due for the fishing of Inverness; the lordship of Abernethy, and the several baronies of Urquhart, Glenorchane, Bonnechen, Bonnochar, Auarache, Edderdale, Peety, Braehly, and Strathern; and the Redcastle, with the lordships attached to it in the county of Ross.

Another grand reform effected by this parliament, was the abolition of hereditary offices, which had given undue influence and power to the families who held them. The important office of warden of the borders, had been held for some generations by the Douglasses, and as the appointment had reverted to the crown by the attainder of the present earl, it was ordained by act of parliament, that not only that, but all other offices should cease to be hereditary, with the exception of certain offices the king had bestowed on his son Alexander, earl of March and lord of Annandale.

Some other statutes were passed for facilitating the regular administration of justice, and punishing false-coiners and "sorners," a class of stout armed vagrants, apparently peculiar to Scotland, who wandered about insisting on taking up their quarters for an indefinite period at the various houses they visited. Among other acts was a sumptuary law, interesting as showing the condition of society at the time, and curious for its minute description

of the apparel of the different orders who met in parliament. It was ordered by this law, that earls should use mantles of "brown granyt," open in the front, furred with ermine, and lined before with the same, surmounted by little hoods of the same cloth, which covered the shoulders. The other lords of parliament were to have a mantle of red cloth, open in front, and lined with silk, or furred with "cristy gray, grece, or purray," with a hood furred in the same manner, and composed of the same cloth. All commissaries of burghs were directed to have "a pair of cloaks" of blue cloth, made to open on the right shoulder, to be trimmed with fur, and having hoods of the same colour. Any one who appeared in parliament without the appropriate costume of his order, was condemned to a fine of ten pounds to the king. All men of law employed as pleaders, were to wear a dress of green cloth, made after the fashion of a tunicle, or little tunic, with the sleeves open like a tabard, under a penalty of five pounds each to the king, if they appear otherwise dressed, either in parliament or at general councils.

In this moment of calm, circumstances of a more domestic character attract our attention which would have passed almost unnoticed in the turbulence which had preceded it. The heiress of Galloway, who had received the title of countess of Douglas from two successive husbands, both of whom had treated her with great cruelty, instead of following her lord into England, went to court and threw herself on the protection of the king. James received her with kindness, and, after she had been divorced from her husband, or on a plea that her marriage was illegal, we are not told, she was married to sir John Stuart, a son of the black knight of Lorn by the queen mother, and therefore half-brother to the king, who soon afterwards created him earl of Athol, and gave him the forfeited barony of Balveny. She had been hitherto childless, but she bore two daughters by her third husband. Another fugitive lady was the countess of Ross, a daughter of the house of Livingstone, who had deserted her rebel lord, and also sought an asylum at court. The king received her also with favour, and assigned her a maintenance suitable to her rank. James's own sister, Annabella, who had been betrothed to a son of the duke of Savoy, but whose intended marriage was afterwards broken off, returned about this

time to Scotland, and was married to the earl of Huntly, whose fidelity to the crown had been so well tried during the late troubles.

A dispute arose at this moment with the court of Norway, on the subject of the annual payment which had been secured to that crown by the king of Scotland when he purchased the Western Isles and the kingdom of Man from Norway. The king of

Norway had been at this time offended by the disrespect shown by the officers of the king of Scotland to his lieutenant Biorn, who, having been driven into the Orkneys by a storm, was seized as a pirate and thrown into prison. The difference between the two kings was however, after some explanations and somewhat difficult negotiations, easily arranged by the intervention of their mutual ally the king of France.

CHAPTER XIII.

UNCERTAIN STATE OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND; PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS; SIEGE OF ROXBURGH AND DEATH OF JAMES II.

IN consequence of the course pursued by the earl of Douglas, the relations between Scotland and England became more and more perplexed and embarrassing. Factions were becoming so powerful in the latter country, that even when the party friendly to Scotland was uppermost, it was incapable of restraining its opponents from making an open manifestation of hostility. It was thus that, although a new truce was concluded between the two kingdoms, it was still considered necessary to be prepared for immediate defence. A parliament held at Edinburgh in 1456, passed an act, ordering that all Scottish subjects possessed of lands or goods should be ready, mounted and armed according to their capability, to ride for the defence of their country the moment they received warning by sound of trumpet, or by lighting of the beacon; and that all manner of men between the ages of sixteen and sixty should hasten to join the number on the first intelligence of the approach of an English army, except they were too poor to furnish themselves with weapons. Every yeoman worth twenty marks was to furnish himself with a jack and sleeves down to the wrist, or at least with a pair of splents, a sellat or headpiece, or a prieked hat, a sword and buckler, and a bow and sheaf of arrows. In case he was not skilled in archery, he was to have an axe, and a targe made either of leather or fir, with two straps in the inside. A still more curious proviso was that by which the king was recommended to request some of his greater barons "that

they make carts of war;" in each cart they were to place two guns, each of which was to have two chambers, to be supplied with the proper warlike tackling, and to be furnished with a man who knew how to shoot them. "And if they have no skill in the art of shooting with them, at the time of passing the act, it is hoped that they will make themselves master of it before they are required to take the field against the enemy." This is a curious notice of the early history of cannon in Scotland. From some provisions with regard to the borders, it is evident that they were now the scene of frequent warfare. At this time, Scotland was again visited by a dreadful pestilence, which was also the subject of anxious legislation. Other enactments related to the reform of the current coinage, and to the reformation of some abuses in the levying of duties and other matters of less consequence. About the same time the earldom of Mar, by a proceeding not much more just than that by which the earldom of March was seized by James I., was taken from the family of Erskine and annexed to the domains of the crown.

Meanwhile, the earl of Douglas was not idle in England, where he had obtained considerable influence with the Yorkists. With the assistance of the earl of Northumberland, he raised a formidable army, and crossing the borders, for a short time carried devastation over the rich district of the Merse. But he was at length encountered and entirely defeated by the

earl of Angus, and with a loss of nearly a thousand slain, and seven hundred taken prisoners, he fled to England, deprived for the present of the power of making any impression on his native land. Angus was rewarded for his attachment to the royal cause, by a large share of Douglas's forfeited estates, and, in consequence of the king's repeated favours, the wealth and power of this new house bid fair to be as great as that of the house of Douglas in its prosperous days. This last defeat of Douglas, which is said to have occurred on the 23rd of October, 1458, appears at length to have struck terror into the ferocious earl of Ross, who saw himself at length utterly cut off from the support of those allies on whom he had formerly reckoned, while there could be little doubt that the king would, before long, turn all his power against him. He sent a submissive message to the king, praying to be admitted to the royal pardon, and promising to make every reparation in his power for his former misdeeds. At first James refused to listen to the appeal, but at length he was persuaded to give him a period of probation, promising his full pardon only when the earl should have shown that he merited it, by some notable exploit. Ross seems eventually to have obtained the king's favour, and he does not appear to have subsequently faltered in his loyalty.

The truce with England expired again on the 6th of July, 1459, but affairs had taken a turn in that country which facilitated the renewal of it for four years. A struggle had taken place, in which the duke of York was defeated, and he fled to Ireland, leaving the power entirely in the hands of the Lancastrians. Douglas, without fidelity, as he was without principle, no sooner saw the power of the duke of York declining, than he joined his enemies against him, and was rewarded with a confirmation by the Lancastrian party of the pension which had been given him by the Yorkists. An attempt appears now to have been made to draw closer the alliance between the two monarchs, and perhaps Henry wished to secure the active assistance of the king of Scotland against his own rebellious subjects. But the negotiation was carried on in the strictest secrecy, and we can only guess at its character by some vague reports that appear to have been whispered abroad. It is said—and we can

only take it as a report—that, in return for certain substantial assistance to be afforded him, king Henry offered to give up to Scotland the whole county of Northumberland, with Durham, and some adjacent districts. If such an agreement was ever entered into, it would certainly have been as unwise on the part of king James to accept it, as it was impolitic of the king of England to offer it.

One part of the aid which was to be given by the king of Scotland, is understood to have consisted in an attack on the Yorkists in their stronghold in the north. It is certain that in the month of August, 1459, James assembled a formidable army, amounting, it is said, altogether to sixty thousand men, with which, although a truce existed between the two kingdoms, he marched into England, and in the space of a week captured and destroyed seventeen towers and castles, and ravaged Northumberland and part of Durham with indiscriminate fury, sparing neither Yorkist nor Lancastrian. Alarmed at a proceeding which was calculated to alienate his subjects of all parties, Henry, in haste, dispatched a messenger to the Scottish camp, who was admitted to a private interview with king James, and who is said to have represented to him that his resentment had been excited only by the insolence of the Yorkists, who alone merited punishment, but that he hoped in a short time to destroy his enemies by himself, without being under the necessity of calling in his ally. He therefore requested him to discontinue an invasion, in which it was impossible to prevent his friends from suffering as severely as his foes. After the messenger had left the camp, James suspended all hostile operations, and very soon afterwards quietly withdrew his army. He had hardly left the borders, when a temporary reconciliation having been made between the two parties in England, the duke of York, with the earl of Salisbury and other leaders, raised an army of forty thousand men, and hastened towards the border to invade Scotland in revenge for the raid of the Scottish king. But owing to dissension among the leaders, this formidable army dispersed without performing anything of consequence.

Civil war now recommenced in England, and after several sudden turns of fortune, the decisive battle of Northampton at length placed the king's person in the power of the Yorkists, and obliged his

queen and the young prince to seek a refuge in Scotland. The Lancastrians now appealed to James for assistance in their distress, which he prepared without hesitation to grant. He immediately issued his writs, calling together the whole forces of Scotland, which he placed under the command of his favourite commander, the earl of Huntley, as lieutenant-general of the kingdom. But before we follow him in this expedition, it will be necessary to turn our attention to the deliberations of another parliament which was held at Edinburgh in the previous year, and which lasted longer than usual. Its acts are particularly interesting for the light they throw on contemporary manners, and on the condition of the kingdom.

One of the first measures of this assembly was the appointment of committees of the parliament to sit for the administration of justice. The lords of the session, as they were called, were to sit three times in the year, for forty days each time, in Edinburgh, Perth, and Aberdeen respectively. The court was to be composed of nine judges, who were all to have votes in the decision of causes, three from each estate, along with the clerk of the register. At each session, the sheriff was to be ready to receive them in ceremony when they entered the town, and he was to undergo such trouble and charges as the occasion might require. In a subsequent statute, it was observed that, considering the shortness of the period for which the lords of session were to hold their court, and the probability that they would not be called upon to undertake such a duty more than once every seven years, they ought, out of their benevolence, to pay their own costs. In the first instance, the names of the nine lords of session, three from the clergy, three from the barons, and three from the burghers, were specified in the act; and the king and his council promised, on the conclusion of the three sessions of the first year, to select other lords from the three estates, who should sit in the same manner as the first, at such places as should be judged most convenient.

Having thus provided for the careful distribution of justice, the parliament proceeded to measures for the defence of the kingdom. The whole disposable force of each district was ordered to be assembled four times in the year, in order that they should be exercised in arms, and that their

weapons should be inspected. The popular games of the football and the "golf," which were supposed to have drawn the Scottish youths from their martial exercises, were to be utterly abolished. It was ordered that a pair of butts should be made adjoining to each parish church, at which shooting was to be practised every Sunday. Every man between the age of twelve and fifty was to practise regularly with his bow, and each was to shoot at least six shots. Any person refusing to attend was to be fined each time twopenny, which was to be given to those who attended for drink-money. In every head town of the shire there was to be a good bow-maker, as well as a fletcher, or maker of arrows, who were to be furnished with the materials for their trade, as they required them, by the town. Where the parish was large, a greater number of butts were to be set up, so that every man in the parish within the ages just mentioned might be able freely to practise with his weapons. It was calculated that in this manner by the next midsummer all persons would be sufficiently instructed and practised in the use of their bows to be called out to oppose the enemy. All men above fifty years of age, who were excused from military service, were to amuse themselves with such honest games as were adapted to their condition, but even they were forbidden to play at football or golf.

One of the most curious statutes of this parliament was the act against sumptuous clothing. It appears that the taste for extravagant apparel had been gaining ground rapidly, a proof of the increasing wealth of the middle classes, and it was thought necessary to legislate against it. Such laws originated in the jealousy of the aristocracy, who considered that the commons, in imitating their costliness of apparel, trespassed on their rights, and they were afraid that the distinction of rank should be broken down entirely. This, however, was not the motive stated in the act, which declared that, "seeing that each estate has been greatly impoverished through the sumptuous clothing of men and women, especially within the burghs, and amongst the commonalty 'to land-ward,' the lords thought it speedful that restriction of such vanity should be made." No man within burgh that lived by merchandise, except he were a person of dignity, as one of the aldermen or bailies, or other good worthy men of the council of the town, should either himself

wear, or allow his wife to wear, clothes of silk, or costly scarlet gowns, or "furring of mertricks." People were ordered in general to cause their wives and daughters "to be habited in a manner correspondent to their estate; that is to say, on their heads short curches, with little hoods, such as are used in Flanders, England and other countries; and as to the gowns, no woman should wear mertricks or leewis, or tails of unbefitting length, nor trimmed with furs, except on holidays." "Poor gentlemen living in the country," whose property was within forty pounds, were to regulate their dress according to the same standard. No labourers or husbandmen were to wear on their work-days any other stuff than grey or white cloth, and on holidays light blue, green, or red; their wives dressing correspondingly, and wearing curches, or kerchiefs, of their own making. They were not to wear stuff exceeding the price of forty pence the ell. No woman was to come to the kirk or market with her face concealed, or, as the law expresses it, "muzzled," that she might not be known, on pain of forfeiting the "cureh." Among the clergy, no one was to wear a gown of scarlet, or furring of "mertricks," unless he were a dignified officer in a cathedral or collegiate church, or a nobleman or doctor, or a person having an income of two hundred marks. Laws like these seem to have been ineffective against the evil, for we find them continually repeated and amended; and from this time forward, the cry against extravagant apparel becomes more energetic almost every year.

By other enactments it was attempted to relieve tenants of lands from many of the grievances under which they had formerly suffered, and to do away with other oppressive customs. The bonds or leagues among individuals, which had produced so many evils to the country, were strictly forbidden, as well as all "rising or commotion among the commons," for the purpose of hindering the execution of the common law of the realm. It was further enacted that no person who dwelt within burghs should enter into "man rent," or ride or rout in warlike apparel, with any leader except the king, or his officers, or the lord of the burgh within which he dwelt, under penalty of forfeiting life and goods. Other regulations were made intended to restrain and check the turbulence of all classes. Among them was one by which all persons, of whatever degree, barons, lords-spiritual, or simple free-

holders, were directed, when they attended the justice ayres, or sheriff courts, to go thither in a sober and quiet manner, with no more attendants than formed their ordinary household, and, on entering their inn or lodging, they were to lay their harness and warlike weapons aside, and to use for the time only their knives. In case any persons at deadly feud should meet at such assemblies, the sheriff was to take pledges from both parties to keep the peace. It was further ordered that, where such courts were held, the king's justice was to search for and apprehend all masterful beggars, sornars, itinerant bards, and feigned fools, and banish them the country, or commit them to the common prison. Several new laws were passed for the encouragement of agriculture, for the preservation of game and fish, and for the destruction of wolves, which appear to have been very troublesome. The man who killed a wolf was to receive a penny from every household in the parish where it was killed, on bringing the head to the sheriff; and he was to receive from the sheriff sixpence for the head of a fox.

It is evident, from some of the acts of this parliament, that the king was looking forward to war, and we accordingly soon find him assembling an army. He was at this time watching anxiously the course of events in England, as the close ally of the house of Lancaster, and the bitter enemy of the Yorkists. We have already seen him marching into England for the professed purpose of supporting king Henry on the throne, but acting in a way calculated to ruin the cause he pretended to be advocating. As long as the English Lancastrians had any hope of reducing their opponents without foreign assistance, it was evidently their best policy to do so; but now, since the victory of the Yorkists at Northampton, king Henry was a mere captive in the hands of his enemies, and his queen and son were fugitives at the Scottish court, soliciting James's interference. The Scottish king appears to have seized the occasion with eagerness, and not to have hesitated a moment in declaring war against England under the Yorkist government. Formidable preparations had been long making, and he had no difficulty in bringing at once into the field a numerous and well-equipped army.

James determined to open the war with an attack upon the castle of Roxburgh, a strong and important fortress, situated at the confluence of the Tees and the Tweed,

in one of the finest border districts. It had been now in the hands of the English upwards of a hundred years, ever since the disastrous battle of Neville's-cross, and its commander at this time was a staunch adherent of the house of York, Neville lord Fauconberg. As James determined to open the siege of Roxburgh castle in person, he summoned all his principal nobility to meet him in the camp before that fortress. Among the rest came the earl of Ross, with a strong force of highlanders and men of the isles, armed with shirts of mail, two-handed swords, bows, and battle-axes, and with these he offered to take the van-guard of the army, if they entered England, and to march a mile before the main body, so as to encounter the first brunt of battle; but all ideas of invasion were destined to be dispelled by a fatal accident, which cut short the war at its very commencement. With one of the most formidable armies that had long been assembled in Scotland, James sat down before Roxburgh, and beleaguered it on every side. He was particularly proud of his train of cannon, and had in his employ a French engineer, whose boast it was that he could level a gun so truly, that it was certain to hit within a fathom of the spot he aimed at. One day, soon after the siege had begun (it was Sunday, the 3rd of August), the king proceeded in company with the earl of Angus, and some others of his nobility, to visit the batteries, especially one which had newly opened its fire upon the town, and on which there was an unusually great cannon, which had been brought from Flanders in the time of his father. We are told that it was made, according to the rude system of that time, of iron bars, placed longitudinally, and held together with iron hoops, which were tightened with strong oaken wedges. The king and his attendants approached to see this gun fired off. But it happened that the gunner, either through ignorance or by accident, had overcharged it, and the consequence was that it burst, and one of the wooden wedges struck the king on the groin with such terrible force that he was instantly killed. The earl of Angus, who stood near, was also severely wounded.

The distress of the king's ministers and friends on this lamentable accident was

great, but they acted with loyalty and with wisdom. A messenger was sent in haste to court, to communicate the death of her husband to the queen, and to require her immediate attendance, bringing the young heir to the throne along with her. Her conduct was worthy of the high spirit and talents which had endeared her to her husband; for, without allowing herself to be overcome by the sudden and profound grief which she must have felt, she called together some of the bishops in whose counsels the late king had placed most confidence, and, with a few other attendants, hastened to Roxburgh. She there at once presented herself in the midst of the army, in mourning attire, holding the young prince, then only eight years of age, by the hand, and showing him to them as their king. The soldiers and their leaders received her with the utmost enthusiasm, and when she urged them to show their attachment to their late sovereign, by fulfilling the wish of his heart, in the capture of Roxburgh castle, they rushed on to the assault, and took that strong fortress by storm the same day.

Thus again was a king of Scotland cut off prematurely in the middle of his exertions for the amelioration of his country, and that country once more exposed to all the evils of a protracted minority. James left five children; three sons—James, who succeeded him on the throne, and was, as we have said, at the time of his father's death, eight years of age; Alexander duke of Albany, and John earl of Mar: and two daughters,—Mary, married first to the lord Boyd, and afterwards to the lord Hamilton; and Margaret, married to sir William Crichton, a son of the chancellor.

At his death, James II. was only thirty years of age, and it is impossible to say how far his reforms might have been carried if his reign had been prolonged. He had effectually reduced the power of his nobles, although he had contrived to attach them generally to his person. Among the other classes of his subjects he seems to have been generally popular. He obtained from his contemporaries the popular title of James with the Fery Face, because, though his countenance was remarkably mild and intelligent, it was disfigured by a large red mark on the cheek.

CHAPTER XIV.

MINORITY OF JAMES III.; HOSTILE RELATIONS WITH ENGLAND; REBELLION OF THE EARL OF ROSS; DEATH OF THE QUEEN-MOTHER; INTRIGUES OF THE FACTION OF THE BOYDS; THEY MAKE THEMSELVES MASTERS OF THE KING'S PERSON.

It was fortunate for Scotland, at this moment, that the queen-mother possessed the wisdom and energy of character which the sudden occasion required. The castle of Wark had been stormed by a division of the Scottish army, and, following the policy recommended by Robert Bruce, the queen caused both it and Roxburgh to be dismantled. The youthful king was then carried by the nobility to the monastery of Kelso, where they crowned him with all the solemnity which the hurried nature of the proceedings would allow. More than a hundred knights are said to have been made on this occasion. The court then removed to Edinburgh, carrying with it the remains of the late king, which were interred in the abbey of Holyrood. This ceremony was hardly concluded, when intelligence came that the fugitive queen of England, with her son, had arrived at Dumfries, where she was lodged in the college of Lincluden, and thither immediately the queen-mother removed the court. It was certainly not a favourable moment to ask for assistance from Scotland, yet queen Mary acted cordially on the sympathies of her husband, and the English princess was encouraged by her promises to return into England, and soon afterwards the battle of Wakefield gave a temporary restoration of the crumbling power of the house of Lancaster.

This revolution was favourable to the preservation of domestic peace in Scotland; yet a violent outbreak in the turbulent north occurred almost immediately on the king's accession. It arose in the barbarous ambition of a chief of Lorn, Allan of the Wood, who seized upon his elder brother, Ker of Lorn, and threw him into a dungeon in the isle of Kerera, with the intention of starving him, that he might succeed to the lordship. The earl of Argyle, who was related to these chiefs, interfered, and attacking Allan of Lorn by sea, burnt his fleet, and slew the greater part of his men. He then liberated Ker of Lorn from his prison, and restored him to his rightful inheritance. The feud, however, was not so easily appeased; the island chiefs, joining the different parties,

carried on for some time a destructive warfare in the islands and coasts.

Meanwhile, a parliament had been summoned immediately after the death of James II., and it assembled at Edinburgh on the twenty-third of February, 1461. It was largely attended by the nobles, and even by the highland barons, who expected to find an open field for their individual ambition and aggrandisement, but they were disappointed by the vigorous measures of the queen-mother; and although their factious behaviour disturbed and almost nullified the deliberations of the great national assembly, they separated without success, mortified to think that their designs had been thwarted by the prudence of a woman. To her hands the parliament committed, for the present, the custody of the king's person and the government of the kingdom; and she at once established her authority by placing the principal fortresses of the kingdom, the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dunbar, in the hands of some of her most faithful friends. She entrusted the chief management of her affairs to her husband's confidential adviser, Kennedy, bishop of St. Andrew's. Another of the late king's particular friends, lord Evandale, a baron celebrated as much for his learning as for his abilities as a statesman, was appointed chancellor. The office of justiciar of Scotland was given to Robert lord Boyd; the privy seal was entrusted to James Lindsay, provost of Lincluden; James lord Livingston was appointed chamberlain; and Liddele, rector of Forres, was made secretary to the king; David Guthrie, of Kilcaldrum, treasurer; and sir John Colquhoun, of Luss, comptroller of the household. All these appointments, however distasteful they may have been to the old nobles, shewed that the queen-mother was resolved to govern with energy and justice.

The prospects of the kingdom now began to be affected in different ways by the state of the neighbouring countries. The dispute with Norway relating to the annual payment for the possession of the western islands and the Isle of Man, had been sub-

mitted to the judgment of the king of France, who had suggested that the question should be brought to an amicable conclusion by the marriage of the princess Margaret of Norway, the daughter of king Christian, with the eldest son of James II. The Scots were not averse to this mode of settling the dispute, and it was proposed on their part that, in consideration of this marriage, Norway should renounce all claim for arrears, that the Shetland and Orkney islands should be ceded to Scotland, and that a hundred thousand crowns should be paid with the princess as pin-money, while the king of Scotland was to settle on the princess a dowry suitable to her rank. The Norwegian commissioners had not yet received their king's answer to this proposal, and the French king was with them at Bourges, presiding over the convention, when intelligence arrived of the sudden death of the king of Scotland before Roxburgh castle. The negotiation was, as might be expected, abruptly broken off, with a recommendation from Charles VII. that the two countries should continue their peaceful relations, and wait till the two parties most interested in the projected alliance should have reached an age when their union could be completed. The ministers of both countries seem to have quietly acquiesced in this recommendation, and to have looked forwards to the marriage as a matter of course.

On the side of England the posture of affairs was less satisfactory; within a few weeks after the triumph of queen Margaret, at Wakefield, the cause of the house of Lancaster was ruined in the great battle of Towton. Henry, and his queen, with a suite of only six persons, reached the court of Scotland as miserable fugitives, and were received with the utmost sympathy. The queen-mother seems always to have had at heart to have carried out the intentions and plans of the late king; she was anxious for the restoration of Henry VI. to his throne, and she consulted with the ministers on the most effectual mode of contributing towards this object. Under the present circumstances it was a dangerous subject even to deliberate on; for Edward IV., aware of the favour with which his enemies had been received at the court of Scotland, had already begun to intrigue with such of the Scottish chiefs as he knew were dissatisfied with the government of their country. Among those to whom he imme-

diately addressed himself, were the two powerful chiefs, John earl of Ross, and the lord of Isla, Donald Balloch, popularly called Mac Ian Vor. The banished earl of Douglas and his brother John Douglas of Balveny, were sent to negotiate with these chiefs. The Scottish government foresaw the evils which threatened to result from its interference in the affairs of England; yet a strong prejudice in favour of the Lancastrian party, and above all the temptation held out by king Henry's offer to give up to Scotland the important towns of Berwick and Carlisle in consideration of the assistance now to be given him, overcame its scruples. The town of Berwick was actually delivered up by Henry's officers, and a Scottish garrison was placed in it. This could only be regarded by king Edward as a declaration of war, and he pursued more earnestly his negotiations with the island chieftains. On the 15th of October, 1461, the earl of Ross held a council with Donald Balloch and his son John of Isla, and they sent their commissioners to England with authority to enter into a treaty, which was concluded and signed at London, on the 13th of February, 1462. By this treaty, Edward undertook to assist the earl of Ross with a powerful body of English auxiliaries, apparently to be commanded by the earl of Douglas, to effect the conquest of the kingdom of Scotland. The earl of Ross, on his part, in consideration of a sum of money to be paid by the king of England, agreed to become for ever his sworn vassal, with the whole body of his subjects, and he promised to assist him in the wars in Ireland and elsewhere. If the earls of Ross and Douglas effected the entire subjugation of Scotland, the whole kingdom to the north of the firth of Forth was to be divided equally between the earl of Douglas, the earl of Ross, and Donald Balloch; and Douglas was further to be restored to the southern estates of which he had been stripped by the act of attainder. When this partition had been effected, the salaries which the king of England agreed now to give the earl of Ross and his associates were to cease. The earl of Ross lost no time in proceeding to the fulfilment of his part of the treaty. He began by proclaiming himself king of the Hebrides, and, having assembled an army, placed it under the command of a natural son named Angus. This chief, in conjunction with Donald Balloch, immediately took possession of the

castle of Inverness, and invaded the country of Athol, proclaiming that none should in future obey the officers of king James, and that all taxes were to be paid to the earl of Ross. After ravaging the country in a merciless manner, they stormed the castle of Blair, and forced the earl and countess of Athol to take shelter in the sanctuary chapel of St. Bridget, from whence they were sacrilegiously dragged, and were thrown into a dungeon in Isla. Donald is said in his haste to have attempted thrice in vain to set fire to the holy building, and when at length he departed, a heavy storm of thunder and lightning destroyed a great part of his fleet, and buried his richest booty in the waves. This accident was believed by the superstitious islanders to be a miraculous manifestation of the anger of the saint, and Donald Balloch himself became so firmly impressed with this idea, that he was struck with a sort of moody penitence, and with his principal leaders, all as well as himself stripped to their shirts and drawers, he went humbly to the altar of St. Bridget, to restore as much of the plunder as remained. The earl and countess of Athol were set at liberty. Angus, the other commander in this sacrilegious expedition, does not appear to have repented, but it was said that he also was followed by the vengeance of the indignant saint, which was believed to have been manifested in his ignominious death. He was murdered eventually by an Irish harper, whose resentment he had wantonly provoked. With this outburst ended, as far as we can learn, the insurrection of the islanders. The earl of Douglas seems never to have taken the field.

King Henry, on his side, had succeeded no better in the attempt to raise a Scottish army. He had tempted the earl of Angus with the promise of an English dukedom, to undertake his cause, but we have no information on their plan of operations. Queen Margaret sailed with a convoy of four Scottish ships from Kircudbright to Bretagne, and obtained from the duke a loan of twelve thousand crowns. She next procured from the king of France a further advance of twenty thousand livres, and a force of two thousand men, commanded by the sieur de Brézé, seneschal of Normandy, on a promise of the surrender of Calais as soon as Henry should be restored to his throne. With these troops Margaret sailed to England, and landed near Bamborough, in the belief

that the population would rise to assist her, and that she would immediately be joined by the Scottish auxiliaries. Alnwick was garrisoned by the French under the command of Brézé's son, and the duke of Somerset and the earl of Pembroke, who were with the queen, took possession of the castle of Bamborough. But intelligence soon arrived that king Edward, with the earl of Warwick, were marching at the head of a numerous army, and the queen and her French troops were obliged to make a hasty retreat to their ships. They were overtaken at sea by a violent storm, which dispersed and destroyed their fleet. The French were nearly all captured, and Brézé himself only made his escape in a fishing-boat, while the queen with difficulty reached Berwick, which was in the power of the Scots, and thence she fled again to France. Bamborough, Dunstanburgh, and Alnwick, surrendered to the Yorkists, but the French garrisons were carried off by the earl of Angus, who had advanced at the head of a considerable force to relieve them. The earl of Angus, in whom chiefly the Lancastrians rested their hopes, died soon after, which was a heavy blow to king Henry, and king Edward soon afterwards attempted to enter into friendly relations with the Scottish court, and is said even to have made proposals of marriage with the queen-mother. The death of the queen-mother of Scotland on the 16th of November, 1463, and the entire suppression of the Lancastrian faction in England, was followed by more active negotiations, in which the earls of Warwick and Northumberland acted as commissioners for England, and the bishop of Glasgow and the earl of Argyle, with the lords Livingston, Boyd, and Hamilton, for Scotland. The result was the conclusion of a truce for fifteen years, one of the conditions being that Scotland should give no further countenance or assistance to Henry VI. or his family.

The history of Scotland during the next two or three years is very obscure. It was the evil of the system of government, that no sooner had the king succeeded in reducing the aristocracy to its just limits, than a minority came to open again the field to intrigues amongst the nobles, which ended in raising some family to a degree of power which was incompatible with the interests of the nation, and which was always abused for selfish ends. The queen-mother, as long as she lived, held the reins of government with a tolerably firm hand, but they had

been loosened by her death. The great family of Douglas was utterly destroyed. That of Angus, which was now the most powerful in the kingdom, was paralysed by the circumstance that its chief at this moment was only a boy. It was now not one of the older, but one of the lesser families which pushed itself into power. Robert lord Boyd had but recently been created a peer, it is supposed, through the favour of bishop Kennedy, who had induced the queen-mother to appoint his brother, sir Alexander Boyd, a knight celebrated at that time for his chivalrous accomplishments, as the tutor of the young king in his martial exercises. The two Boyds gradually gained an influence over the affections of the young prince. We find the Boyds largely engaged in the bonds or confederacies so common among the nobles at this time, and one of these written engagements, which has been accidentally preserved, gives us a curious insight into the character of these complicated intrigues. The document to which we refer is an indenture by which Robert lord Fleming engages himself to support the party of Gilbert lord Kennedy, the elder brother of the bishop, and sir Alexander Boyd; and we gather from it that Fleming was already engaged by similar bonds to lord Livingston and lord Hamilton, and that Kennedy and Boyd had already engaged in their party the earl of Crawford, lord Montgomery, lord Maxwell, lord Livingston, lord Hamilton, lord Cathcart, and a prelate of the church, Patrick Graham, who, after the death of bishop Kennedy, was raised to the see of St. Andrews by their influence. In this deed it was accorded and declared, "that the said lords are bound and obliged, themselves, their kin, friends, and men, to stand in 'afald' (single) kindness, supply, and defence, each to the other, in all their causes and quarrel, lawful and honest, moved and to be moved, for all the days of their lives, in contrary and against all manner of persons." They except from this their allegiance to their sovereign, and "to the lord Fleming his bonds made before to the lord Livingston and to the lord Hamilton, and in like manner excepting to the said lord Kennedy, and sir Alexander their bonds made before." It was then covenanted that the lord Fleming should be of the king's privy council as long as lord Kennedy and sir Alexander were "special servants and of council to the king;" and he was under an obligation that he should in no way be privy

to or consent or assent to the taking away of the king's person from the lord Kennedy and sir Alexander Boyd, nor from any in whose temporary keeping they might entrust him; and if any design so to take him away came to his knowledge, he was to give information of it, and do all he could to hinder it, "and take such part as they do, or one of them for the time, in withstanding of that matter, without fraud and guile; and the said lord Fleming shall advise the king "at all his partly power" with his good counsel, to be heartily and kindly to the foresaid lord Kennedy, and sir Alexander, and to their children and friends, and to those that belong to them for the time." Next came the stipulated reward for the lord Fleming's support. "Item, if there happens any vacancy to fall in the king's hands, that is a reasonable and meet thing for the said lord Fleming's service, that he shall be furthered thereto for his reward; and if there happens a large thing to fall, such as ward, relief, marriage, or office, that is meet for him, the said lord Fleming shall have it for a reasonable composition, before another."

This bond, solemnly sealed and ratified by their oaths upon the holy gospels, is dated at Stirling, on the 10th of February, 1466, when bishop Kennedy lay upon his death-bed, and no doubt in contemplation of his death. This event, doubly mournful for Scotland at that moment, took place on the 10th of May following, and immediately afterwards the nobles who had been banding together, proceeded to carry their designs into execution. The king had now reached his fourteenth year. As he sat in the exchequer court in the palace of Linlithgow, in the July of 1466, the lord Boyd, with lord Somerville, Adam Hepburn, master of Hailes, and Andrew Ker, of Cessford, entered the court, and dragging the king away, placed him on horseback behind one of the exchequer deputies, and led him to Edinburgh. It is said that lord Kennedy, who is known to have been a principal conspirator, endeavoured to remove the odium of the deed from himself, by pretending to stop the party on their way, and to wish to take the king from them, and that his interference ceased with a slight blow from sir Alexander Boyd's hunting-staff. We have seen, from the bond above-mentioned, that the chamberlain, lord Livingston, who had the charge of the court, and must have connived at this transaction, was an ally of the Boyds.

A parliament was soon afterwards held at Edinburgh, at which, according to a pre-concerted plan, lord Boyd appeared before the king, and, throwing himself at his feet, besought him to make a full declaration before the parliament, if he were displeased at the part which he had acted in taking him away from Linlithgow, in order to relieve him from the imputation which many cast upon him, of having carried his monarch to Edinburgh by force. The king immediately rose, and declared that he had accompanied the lord Boyd on that occasion of his own free will and pleasure, and that those who said the contrary had not spoken truth; and an instrument was drawn up, under the great seal, justifying and pardoning that nobleman and all his accomplices. The parliament shewed its satisfaction by appointing lord Boyd to the office of governor of the king's person and of those of his brothers. Thus was the object of the bond, of which we have given the substance above, effectually completed.

The parliament proceeded to various acts of legislation, of no great importance, and chiefly modifying or confirming former laws. They consisted mainly of restrictions on foreign trade, and on the exportation of money, and of attempts to enforce the administration of justice. A coinage of copper farthings was directed to be made, for the purpose, as it was pretended, of encouraging charity to the poor. Some resolutions were passed relating to the marriage of the king and his two brothers, from which it would appear that a matrimonial alliance with England was contemplated at this time; and it was determined that the dowry of the future queen should be one-third of the king's rents. The states seem to have been guided in all their acts by the ruling faction of the Boyds. They formed a committee of peers, to whom they entrusted full parliamentary powers during the interval between the dissolution of this parliament and the meeting of another; and these peers proceeded at once to sit and judge all who, refusing to attend the summons to parliament, shut themselves up in their castles, in contradiction to the royal authority. From this we learn that there was a party opposed to the Boyds, but we know nothing of their number or of their proceedings. The faction now in power seemed to be increasing in strength, and the Boyds, who had gained a great influence over the mind of the youthful monarch, used it unsparingly for their

own aggrandisement, and for the advancement of their partisans. Sir Thomas Boyd, the eldest son of lord Boyd, was raised to the earldom of Arran, and enriched with estates in the counties of Ayr, Bute, Forfar, Perth, and Lanark. He had previously received in marriage the king's eldest sister, the princess Mary, who had once been affianced to the eldest son of Henry VI. of England.

The negotiations with the court of Norway seemed almost to have been forgotten, when the turbulence of one of the northern barons led to its renewal. The Orkney and Shetland islands still belonged to the crown of Norway, although their feudal lords were mostly Scottish subjects. Tullock, bishop of Orkney, a Scot and an ecclesiastic of great distinction, who stood high in the favour of Christiern, king of Denmark and Norway, appears to have been intrusted with a considerable share in the government of these islands, and it is not likely that he could exercise it without frequent disputes with the turbulent islanders. The Scottish earl of Orkney, was himself a man of violent character, and his son appears to have resembled him, for, in consequence of some quarrel with the prelate, he caused him to be seized and thrown into a dungeon. The offenders easily placed themselves beyond the limits in which the king of Norway had the power to punish them; upon which the indignant monarch dispatched an ambassador with letters to the young king of Scotland, expostulating on the outrage offered to the bishop, requesting that he would cause him to be set at liberty, and declaring that he would not permit the earl of Orkney to oppress his subjects of Norway. This messenger was followed by another, bearing a still more pressing letter, containing the same request, coupled with another for the restoration to favour of sir John Ross of Halket, and joined with a demand for the payment of the arrears due from Scotland to Norway, which had been the subject of negotiation at the time of the sudden death of James II.

The arrival of these messengers had the immediate effect of reviving the old proposal for a marriage between king James, who had now completed his sixteenth year, and the daughter of king Christiern. The bishop of Orkney seems to have been soon set at liberty; sir John Ross was recalled from his banishment; and king James announced his intention of sending an em-

bassy to the northern court to renew the negotiations for an amicable arrangement of the dispute relating to the debt, on the same basis as when it had been so unexpectedly broken off. Accordingly, a commission was given to the bishops of Glasgow and Orkney, lord Evandale, the chancellor, the young earl of Arran, and the king's almoner and confessor, Mr. Martin Vans, to proceed to the court of king Christiern, for the purpose of negotiating a marriage between his daughter, the princess Margaret, and the king of Scotland. They were further empowered, in case this negotiation failed, to visit successively the courts of England, France, Spain, Burgundy, Britany and Savoy, in search of a consort for their youthful king. The Scottish ambassadors proceeded direct to Copenhagen, and there they conducted their negotiations with so much prudence and discretion, that all difficulties were soon smoothed down. It was the grand object of the Scottish court to obtain by this marriage a cession of the Orkney and Shetland islands, which, so near the Scottish coast, while a possession of a foreign power, could not be other than a thorn in the side of the country. After some consideration, the king of Denmark and Norway agreed to give his daughter in marriage to the king of Scotland, with a portion of sixty thousand florins, and a full discharge of the arrears of the Scottish debt, which had been a subject of dispute. He agreed to pay down ten thousand florins before his daughter's departure for Scotland, and to give a mortgage of the sovereignty of the Orkney islands, which were to remain the property of Scotland until the remainder of the marriage portion was paid. It was agreed on the part of the king of Scotland, that his young queen should, in the event

of his death, be put in possession of the palace of Linlithgow, and the castle of Doune, with their territories, with a revenue amounting to one-third of the rents of the royal lands. The exchequer of the northern monarch was at this time so low, that it was necessary the ambassadors should wait some months at his court before he could raise the ten thousand florins, and in the meantime the earl of Arran returned to Scotland to obtain king James's signature to the treaty, and further instructions relating to the bringing home of the bride. It was now late in the autumn of the year 1468, and as the navigation of the northern seas in the winter season was considered dangerous, it was determined that the princess should not leave Denmark till the following spring. Before that time Arran returned to Denmark to take charge of the bride. But a new difficulty arose, from the circumstance that the king's finances had been so entirely exhausted by his civil wars in Denmark, that he had no prospect of raising even the first ten thousand florins. It was finally agreed that he should pay down only two thousand florins, and that the Shetland islands should be mortgaged to the crown of Scotland for the other eight thousand. On these conditions, the princess, a lady of great beauty and accomplishments, embarked with a splendid train of Danish nobles, and she landed at Leith in the month of July, 1469. The marriage ceremonies were celebrated in the abbey of Holyrood with great pomp, and were followed with extraordinary festivities. The king of Scotland immediately took possession of the Orkney and Shetland islands, and, as the remainder of the queen's portion was never paid, they remained ever afterwards attached to the crown of Scotland.

CHAPTER XV.

FALL OF THE BOYDS; THE SEE OF ST. ANDREWS MADE AN ARCHBISHOPRIC; JAMES'S SON BETROTHED TO A DAUGHTER OF EDWARD IV.; TURBULENCE AND INTRIGUES OF THE SCOTTISH NOBILITY.

FROM all we can learn, the earl of Arran acquitted himself in this embassy with prudence and fidelity, yet it proved the immediate cause of the overthrow of his family.

It has been supposed that his fellow ambassadors had informed king Christiern of the overgrown power of the Boyds, and of the thralldom in which they held the king, and

that he determined to employ his influence against them. Perhaps he knew of the formidable conspiracy of the Scottish nobles to undermine them, in which the young king, who, with a fickleness which is not easily understood, suddenly showed the bitterest animosity against his former friends, joined heartily. James's sister, the countess of Arran, became acquainted with his intentions, and with the danger which threatened her husband, and she secretly left the court and carried him intelligence of it on board the fleet before he landed. He immediately fled with his wife in a vessel which was proceeding to Denmark.

Meanwhile the young king was enraged at the escape even of one of his victims, and no sooner were his marriage festivities ended, than he called a parliament, and summoned to appear before it the lord Boyd, his brother sir Alexander Boyd, and the earl of Arran, to answer to charges there to be brought against them. Arran had fled; but his father, the lord Boyd, reckoning on his numerous friends, assembled his vassals, and marched with a formidable array towards Edinburgh, thinking to overawe the parliament. But his troops deserted him as soon as they saw the royal banner displayed against them, and he fled with difficulty and almost alone over the English border into Northumberland, where he died soon after. He was now an aged man, and his misfortunes seem to have broken his spirit. Sir Alexander Boyd, whose flight was impeded by sickness, was the only one captured.

The parliament now proceeded against the offenders. The crime imputed to them was the violent abduction of the king's person from Linlithgow, which was a notorious fact, and capable of easy proof. Sir Alexander Boyd, the only one in custody, was first brought to trial, and was found guilty of high treason, and condemned to death by a jury on which were more than one lord who had supported him in the treason of which he was accused. With merciless severity, he was executed on the castle hill of Edinburgh on the same day on which his judgment was pronounced, the 22nd of November, 1469. The lord Boyd and the earl of Arran were tried in their absence, and condemned of the same crime. Their extensive estates were forfeited to the crown. It is conjectured that the Boyds owed their disgrace in no little degree to the hostility of the chancellor Evandale and the lord

Hamilton, two of their old partizans; and the Hamiltons specially seem to have risen to power and wealth on their ruin. The king obliged the princess Mary to quit her husband, the earl of Arran, and return to Scotland, and immediately after her arrival a divorce was obtained, and she was remarried to the lord Hamilton. Arran himself, who was a man of no ordinary talents, soon quitted Denmark, and entering into the service of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, he distinguished himself in the diplomatic transactions of the age.

After the destruction of the Boyds had been thus completed, the parliament proceeded to various acts of legislation, some of which were calculated to ameliorate the condition of the people. The mode in which the ordinary laws had been carried into effect under the feudal system, was extremely iniquitous. It had been the custom, when any one of the lords of the land fell into debt, for the creditor, after having obtained a judgment against him for a certain sum, to obtain his redress by seizing the whole property of some of the lord's tenants, to their utter ruin and destruction. A law was now passed to remedy this, which declared, that in future, no tenant should be distrained for the debts of his landlord, further than he might be himself indebted to him for rent. Before they separated, the parliament appointed a committee of prelates, barons, and commissaries of the burghs, to whom they gave a delegated power to enter upon the examination of certain subjects committed to them, and report upon them to the next parliament. One of these matters of deliberation was a revision of the laws of the realm, which were to be reduced into one code, and all such as had become obsolete were to be formally repealed.

The king, who had completed his eighteenth year, had now assumed the royal authority, and delivered himself from control, and he had already begun to show that weakness of judgment and capricious temper which subsequently brought calamity on himself and his kingdom. He had, at this moment, to contend with foreign intrigues, as well as with those of his own subjects. Edward IV. of England knew well the leaning of the Scottish court to the party of the Lancastrians, and he did his best to stir up troubles and discontent among king James's subjects, as he hoped by that means to give him too much occupation

at home, to allow him to take part with the king of France, against whom he was at this moment entering into hostilities. The French king, on the other hand, was anxious to urge James into a war with England; whilst Charles the Bold, of Burgundy, who took part with king Edward, was no less anxious to interrupt the friendly feelings between Scotland and France. Scotland must have suffered injury at this moment by a quarrel with any of these three great powers, and it was fortunate for that country that domestic circumstances called for a policy of neutrality. The brief triumph of the Lancastrians in England, towards the end of the year 1470, could not fail to produce considerable agitation among James's nobles; but on the return of king Edward, and the utter overthrow of his adversaries, which immediately followed, it subsided, and friendly negotiations were entered into between the two countries, which appear to have had for their object a matrimonial alliance.

At the same time the Scottish court became involved in new and complicated relations with the foreign powers, which rendered it more necessary to preserve peace with England. The parliament which met in 1471, appointed an embassy to proceed to the principal courts of the west, ostensibly to seek a husband for the king's sister, but with secret instructions, with the nature of which we are not acquainted. It was manifestly the interest of Scotland, in regard of her commerce, to preserve friendly relations with the court of Burgundy, yet the duke regarded king James with hostile feelings, excited, it was said, by the intrigues of the earl of Arran. Louis XI., aware of these feelings, dispatched an ambassador to king James, to urge him into a war with the duke of Burgundy, and offered to confirm and assure the duchy of Brittany to the Scottish crown for ever, if he would invade and take possession of it. James at first caught at the bait, and he gave orders for raising six thousand men-at-arms, with which he announced his intention of proceeding to Brittany in person. The parliament had even resolved to contribute six thousand pounds for his expenses. But there were two strong parties in the country on this subject, and the wiser of the king's counselors strongly opposed it. They represented the disastrous position in which the country would be placed if any misfortune should

happen to the king's person in such a hazardous expedition, and they pointed out the little dependence which could be placed in the promises of the French king, and the duplicity and bad faith which he had shown in not putting James in possession of the comté of Xaintonge, which was his undoubted right. They recommended that instead of attacking Brittany, he should make an absolute demand for the delivery of Xaintonge, and that, if it were refused, he should ally himself with the duke of Burgundy for the purpose of obtaining possession of that territory, as well as of the duchy of Gueldres, to which it was pretended that the Scottish king had a claim, in consequence of the imprisonment of the duke. In the midst of these contending opinions, James's martial ardour seems to have cooled, and we cannot discover that any farther steps were taken on either side. The duke of Burgundy eventually took possession of the duchy of Gueldres for himself.

James now began to exhibit tastes which were by no means in accordance with those of his nobles. His disposition was shy and retiring, and he was attached to indoor studies, and pursuits which demanded quiet and retirement. With considerable talent and many accomplishments, he possessed a mind that was weak and superstitious, and astrology and such disreputable sciences were his favourite studies. Through these he was often made the dupe of designing persons, while he became gradually an object of contempt and dislike among his more boisterous and less accomplished barons. The facility with which he was drawn into the intrigues of his courtiers was strongly exhibited in the case of Patrick Graham, bishop of St. Andrews, who had succeeded Kennedy in that see. We have seen that this ecclesiastic, who was a virtuous and highminded man, was included in the bond with the Boyds, which was the commencement of their elevation to power; but probably, when he saw their designs, he withdrew from their faction, for it is said that his election to the bishopric was made contrary to their will, and that their hostility towards him was so great, that he was obliged secretly to leave the country, and fly to Rome. His election, however, was confirmed by the pope. Still, however, he thought it unsafe to return, and he remained at Rome waiting till the storm should have passed over, and labouring at the papal court for the interests of the Scottish

church. The archbishops of York and Canterbury formerly asserted a right of spiritual superiority over the church of Scotland, a claim which had only been left in abeyance to be now revived by archbishop Neville. The question had, indeed, never yet been settled by the pope, and it happened while Graham was at Rome to be brought forward for judgment. The Scottish prelate exerted himself so earnestly, and pleaded so successfully, that the pope finished by proclaiming the independence of the Scottish church, and thereupon he raised the see of St. Andrews into an archbishopric, and all the bishops of Scotland were enjoined obedience to it as their head. While Graham was thus successful at Rome, he received intelligence of the disgrace of his enemies, and he immediately prepared to return to Scotland. He appears to have been a man of enlightened understanding, and he had observed many disorders and corruptions in the church of Scotland which called for reform. With the object of carrying this reform into effect, the archbishop of St. Andrews obtained from the pope the office of legate for the space of three years, within which time he hoped to effect a complete reformation in the church of Scotland.

But the treatment he experienced on his arrival there, shows us how little force law and justice still possessed, when they were contrary to the personal interests of the nobility. Among the greater abuses which it was archbishop Graham's wish to reform, was the misappropriation of church property, much of which had passed into the hands of the nobility; the sale of church livings, by which they also had profited; and the disorderly living of the clergy. The nobility were naturally opposed to any reform by which they were likely to be losers, and the Scottish clergy, in general, seem by no means to have participated in the liberal ideas of their prelate. A conspiracy was formed against him, in which the Scottish bishops joined, and the king was told that Graham had committed a grave offence against the royal dignity, in carrying on, for his own personal aggrandisement, private negotiations with the court of Rome, without his permission or cognizance. The king listened to their suggestions, and the new archbishop was no sooner landed in Scotland, than he was cited to answer the accusations which had been presented against him, and he was

at the same time inhibited from assuming his title of archbishop, or exercising his functions of legate. New accusations were forged against him, and an unprincipled ecclesiastic named Schevez, who was in great favour with the king, in consequence of his profound learning in astrology, was employed to gather information in support of them. Agents were sent to Rome for this purpose, and they not only gathered up some pretended imputations of heresy, but they engaged the Roman bankers and others, who had lent the archbishop sums of money, which he had expended in supporting the interests of the Scottish church at the papal court, to insist on immediate payment, although the period for which they were lent was not expired. It is said that in Scotland, even the clergy contributed large sums of money to bribe his judges, so that it was in vain for him to protest the honesty of his motives, and to exhibit the bulls which he had brought with him. To crown the whole, the rector of his own university of St. Andrews, raising up a false accusation, and, summoning him into his court, pronounced against him sentence of excommunication. When the archbishop represented that he was not subject to the jurisdiction of his inferior, the king, instead of allowing of his appeal, confirmed the sentence of the rector's court, and at length, the victim, who was driven by this base persecution into a state of distraction, was committed to the charge of his worst enemy, Schevez, who was promised the succession to the archbishopric. By his orders he was removed from prison to prison, till he died broken-hearted in the castle of Lochleven, and his unworthy persecutor became primate of the Scottish church.

The history of Scotland for the next few years presents few events of stirring interests. A son, who was named James, was born to the king on the 17th of March, 1472. Not long after this, a violent feud arose between the two northern earls of Ross and Huntley, which gradually threw the whole highlands into an uproar. For months the northern districts of the kingdom witnessed continual scenes of plunder and slaughter. In 1473, a parliament again recommended for consideration the imperfections and incongruities in the laws. During the same year the friendly relations with England were drawn still closer, by a treaty of marriage between the infant

heir of Scotland and the princess Cecilia, daughter of Edward IV., then in her fourth year. This treaty, which was to be the basis of a lasting peace between the two nations, was solemnly ratified on the 26th of October, 1474, in the church of the low grey friars at Edinburgh, by the earl of Crawford, as procurator of the king of Scotland, and John lord Serpe, as procurator of the English king, and the commissioners of the two countries. During the life of king James the prince and princess were to possess all the lands and rents which anciently formed the inheritance of the prince apparent of Scotland during the lifetime of his father, namely, the duchy of Rothesay, the earldom of Carriek, and the lordship of the lands of the high steward of Scotland. King Edward was to give a dowry of twenty thousand marks. It was further agreed that, in case of the death of the prince or of the princess, the heir apparent of Scotland should marry a princess of England on the same terms. The English king showed the good faith with which he entered into this negotiation, by immediately paying two thousand five hundred marks on account of the dowry; and he showed his wish to cultivate peaceful relations with Scotland, by immediately affording redress, when the king of Scotland remonstrated on an attack which had been made by English privateers on two Scottish ships.

The Scottish government now found it necessary to proceed with vigour against the earl of Ross, who had continued in rebellion ever since his feud with the earl of Huntley. At a parliament which met at Edinburgh in 1475, Ross was declared a traitor, and his estates were confiscated to the crown, and at the same time a considerable military force was called together, under the command of the earls of Crawford and Athol, to proceed against him, in conjunction with a formidable fleet. The earl, terrified at these preparations, made his submission, and petitioned through the earl of Huntley, his late enemy, for a pardon. He was accordingly allowed to come in person to Edinburgh, where he placed himself in the king's mercy, and surrendered into his hands the earldom of Ross, with the lands of Knapdale and Kentire, and the office of hereditary sheriff of Inverness and Nairn. These were inalienably annexed to the crown. The suppliant baron was pardoned, the forfeiture was withdrawn, and he was created a lord of parliament,

under the title of John of Isla, lord of the Isles.

It was not long after this when the good understanding with England began to be disturbed through the intrigues of France. After a proposal had been made by the Scottish king to enter into new ties of friendship with Edward IV. by a double marriage, one between the princess Margaret of Scotland and the duke of Clarence, and the other between Edward's sister, the dowager duchess of Burgundy and the duke of Albany, brother of king James, he seems to have begun to listen to counsels of a different tendency. In the mean time the king's pursuits and his attachment to what the Scottish barons looked upon as low favourites, rendered him very unpopular among his nobility. On the contrary, the king's two brothers, the duke of Albany and the earl of Mar, were universal favourites; they possessed all those princely qualities which commanded respect, and gained admiration and sympathy, and they were consequently as popular as the king was unpopular. The duke of Albany was an ambitious man, and it is not much to be wondered at, if, feeling his influence with the aristocracy, and probably despising the king's tastes and employments as much as they did, he soon began to entertain hopes which aimed at the crown itself.

James's tastes, indeed, were of a class then ill-fitted for a prince, if they were not balanced with great qualities of a more masculine character. He was fond of literature and art, and loved to surround himself with musicians, architects, mathematicians (who were then generally astrologers), and men of letters in general, and, shocked at the rudeness of his nobles, he was driven from them more and more by this non-congeniality of tastes, and was induced weakly to bestow on men of comparatively low birth the favours and honours which those nobles claimed for themselves. They complained that while they could themselves with difficulty obtain audiences of the king, or when they approached him were received with coldness, he lavished his leisure and his treasures even upon masons, smiths, and tailors. Among his prime favourites were an architect named Cochrane, a musician of great talent named Rogers, and one Dr. Ireland, a man who had received his education in France, and was distinguished by his proficiency in science and literature. These men's heads appear to have been turned by

the consciousness of enjoying the favours of royalty, and they seem to have been ambitious of still greater honour and power; while the influence of the king's brothers, to whom the king still remained attached, alone kept the nobility to their allegiance. But a very unworthy intrigue, if we are rightly informed by the old historians, cut asunder this tie of domestic peace.

The duke of Albany held by appointment of his father the important offices of governor of Berwick and warden of the east marches, and he was possessed of the earldom of March and the castle of Dunbar. A violent quarrel arose between him and the fierce border families of the Humes and the Hepburns, who had resisted his authority in some ease where he seems to have acted towards them with something approaching to tyranny and injustice. To save themselves, the border chiefs contrived to gain over to their party Cochrane and the rest of the king's favourites, and we can only understand the conduct of these latter by supposing that they were glad to seize an occasion of compassing the destruction of the king's brothers. They immediately entered into a dark plot, founded on their intimate acquaintance with James's weaknesses. They employed a Flemish astrologer named Andreys, who was residing at the Scottish court, to bring out a prophecy which said that a lion would soon be devoured by his whelps, and at the same time a woman, who used also to be seen about the court, and who pretended to have a familiar spirit, was made to say that the earl of Mar was attempting to shorten the king's life by magical arts, and that she had been informed by her spirit that the monarch would die by the hands of his nearest relatives. This was of course immediately interpreted to refer to the duke of Albany and the earl of Mar, and the king soon became thoughtful and moody, shutting himself up from the world, and admitting none to his presence but the very men who were poisoning his mind against his kinsmen. They easily found subjects of complaint to aggravate him against the two princes, who in their turbulent pride had more than once insulted the English borders, and had committed acts of lawless violence. At length the king, by a sudden exercise of energy, caused his two brothers to be seized, and committed the duke of Albany to custody in the castle of Edinburgh, while the earl of Mar was confined in that of Craigmillar.

A parliament, held immediately after the arrest of the two princes, was called to deliberate on the distracted state of the two countries. From the brief report of its proceedings we learn that the district of Angus was thrown into commotion by a violent feud between the earls of Angus and Errol, the master of Crawford, and the lord Glamis; that Ross, Caithness, and Sutherland were in open rebellion; and that the lairds of Caerlaverock and Drumlanrig in Annandale, the Turnbulls and the Ruthberrys in Teviotdale, and the sheriff of the latter district and the lord Cranstoun, were all engaged in deadly feuds. The other parliamentary measures of this session were of no great moment; but before the three estates separated, they expressed their wish that the friendship with England should be strengthened, and granted a subsidy of twenty thousand marks towards promoting a marriage between the princess Margaret and king Edward's brother-in-law, lord Rivers.

No accusations appear to have been brought forward against the duke of Albany and the earl of Mar in this parliament. The fate of the latter prince is involved in great obscurity, except that it is certain he fell a sacrifice to his brother's fierce vengeance, and that a number of miserable wretches, under the imputation of being witches and wizards, accused of having conspired with the prince to shorten the life of the king by means of their unlawful arts, were condemned to the flames and executed. According to the account most advantageous to James, and apparently the most authentic, the earl of Mar having been hurried to the castle of Craigmillar and there committed to close confinement, the agitation of mind caused by his arrest threw him into a fever, which soon produced delirium. He was immediately, by the king's order, carried back to Edinburgh, where he was committed to the charge of the royal physicians, who bled him in the arm and temple to reduce the fever. The prince, immediately afterwards, being in a warm bath and attacked suddenly by an access of frenzy, tore the bandages from his arm and temple, and bled to death before assistance could be procured. The popular report was, that, having been found guilty and condemned, the earl was offered his choice of the manner of his death, and that, in imitation of the classic example of Petronius, he had

chosen to have his veins opened in a warm bath. That the king considered him guilty, is evident from the fact that his earldom was declared to be forfeited to the crown.

The duke of Albany, more fortunate, contrived to make his escape from the castle of Edinburgh. He is said to have effected this with the complicity only of one faithful attendant, by whose means he intoxicated, or, according to other accounts, poisoned the captain of the guard. He had fixed a rope to the battlements of the castle, by which his attendant first descended, but finding it too short, he fell and broke his thigh bone. Albany then took the sheets of his bed, and tied them to the end of the rope to lengthen it, and so reached the ground in safety. It is added that he took his more unfortunate attendant on his back, and carried him to a place of safety. He then hurried to his castle of Dunbar, which he strengthened with stores and ammunition, and, having collected there some of the fiercest warriors of the borders, placed them under the command of his constable, Ellem of Butterden. Having thus made preparations for resistance, the duke of Albany embarked in a

ship, which carried him to France, where he was received with distinction, but he failed in obtaining the assistance he expected.

Meanwhile king James sent his chancellor Evandale, at the head of a strong army, with what was then considered a formidable train of artillery, to lay siege to the castle of Dunbar, which was nevertheless bravely defended, and was not surrendered until after a siege of some months. The governor and most of the garrison, having the advantage of a free communication with the sea, escaped in boats to the English coast, before the besiegers entered the castle. Proceedings were thereupon taken against the duke for high treason, and he, with many of his principal adherents, including Ellem of Butterden, George Home of Polwarth, John Blackbeird, Pait Dickson the laird, and Tom Dickson of the Tower, were cited by name at the market-cross of Edinburgh, and before the gates of Dunbar, to answer to this charge. The king subsequently so far listened to the intercession of the king of France, that he put off the delivery of judgment against the duke and his friends, to give them the opportunity of returning to their allegiance.

CHAPTER XVI.

RIFTURE WITH ENGLAND; ALLIANCE OF THE DUKE OF ALBANY WITH EDWARD IV., AND INVASION OF ENGLAND; CONSPIRACY OF THE SCOTTISH NOBLES; SEIZURE OF THE KING, AND ELEVATION OF THE DUKE OF ALBANY; HE LOSES HIS TOWER.

THE lenity shown by the king to the duke of Albany was, as we have stated, the result of an appeal from the king of France, who had sent over as his ambassador one of James's own favourites, Dr. Ireland, to persuade him to assist France in its war with England, by breaking the truce and invading the border. In spite of the treaty of marriage, between his son and the princess of England, in consideration of which king Edward had paid three instalments of the dowry, and of other agreements of a pacific character, James acceded to the wishes of his French ally, and prepared to rush into a war which was at this moment unpopular among his subjects, and which was in the

highest degree impolitic, in the condition of his kingdom. When king Edward, who had been amused by Louis IX. with deceitful promises and pretended pacific negotiations, saw that he was on the eve of a war with that monarch, and that even the king of Scotland was making preparations of a hostile character, he expressed the utmost indignation, and began to take his measures for meeting this double attack with the utmost vigour.

Although the Scottish parliament agreed to support the king in this war, there was a strong party who earnestly opposed it. They saw how the prosperity of Scotland had been increased by its long peace with Eng-

land, and they were well aware of the disastrous effects of former hostilities. The more patriotic of the king's councillors saw, with alarm, that the country was already filled with feuds and private war, and that the throne was surrounded with intrigues, while the church was becoming extensively corrupt under the disorderly government of the primate Schevez, and they deplored the prospect of perhaps a long war, which destroyed all their hopes of reformation in church or state. It is said that one of the prelates, Spence, bishop of Aberdeen, finding his exertions to persuade his king to adopt a more salutary policy of no avail, retired broken-spirited, and was seized with a melancholy despondency, from which he never recovered. The king, however, hurried forward in the course upon which he had now entered, and before any act of hostility had been committed by England, the earl of Angus, with a small army, crossed the borders, burnt Bamborough, ravaged Northumberland during three days, and after committing great damage, returned into Scotland, driving before him a numerous convoy of plunder and prisoners.

After this act of aggression, the Scottish king was more anxious to hasten his preparations, and he called together a parliament in 1481, to strengthen his hostile measures by its authority, and assist him with resources. The command of the eastern and western marches was given to the earl of Angus and lord Catheart respectively; the castles of Dunbar and Lochmaben were put in a condition of defence; all the barons on the borders and on the coasts were ordered to have their castles well garrisoned and provisioned; and stringent laws were made relating to musters and the arming of the population. The parliament also granted a tax of seven thousand marks for the defence of the town of Berwick. As soon as the deliberations of the parliament had been completed, James sent an envoy to the king of England, with a letter threatening that he would join his forces with those of the king of France, unless Edward ceased to give aid to the duke of Burgundy. But the English monarch treated the message with contempt, and a herald sent to expostulate verbally, was detained some time, and then sent away without an answer. James now marched with a numerous and well-provisioned army towards the frontier, and had reached the border, when a nuncio from the cardinal legate, then resident in

England, presented himself with a papal bull, commanding the king, under pain of excommunication, to abstain from violating the peace which had been enjoined by the pope throughout Christendom, that all Christian princes might unite their arms against the infidels. The king immediately obeyed the summons, and dismissed his host, expecting that the king of England would do the same.

But Edward, having once prepared for war, was not so easily turned from his purpose. He began by fomenting intrigues among James's own subjects, and he soon gained over the lord of the Isles, with Donald Gorm, and other northern chiefs. He dispatched a messenger secretly to France, to communicate with the duke of Albany, who, actuated by ambition and revenge, instantly threw himself into the arms of England. In the meanwhile the English king issued orders for equipping a fleet; and having appointed his brother Richard duke of Gloucester lieutenant-general of the north, he authorized him to levy an army for the purpose of making war on the Scots. The denunciation of the papal bull passed unheeded; after a vigorous attack on Berwick, which was not successful, the English army entered Scotland, and carried devastation through the finest districts of the south. The English fleet was less successful, having been repulsed at the mouth of the Forth by the Scots, under a skilful and gallant commander, Andrew Wood, of Leith.

The duke of Albany came to England, and entered into an alliance with king Edward, the object of which was to dethrone king James, and place Albany himself on the throne. This alliance was immediately joined by the lord of the Isles and Donald Gorm, and by the banished earl of Douglas, and a secret treaty was entered into at Fotheringay castle, by which Albany bound himself, as king of Scotland, and his heirs, to assist the king of England in his quarrels against all persons whatever; and he engaged to swear fealty and perform homage to the king of England as lord paramount, to break entirely the alliance between Scotland and France, and to deliver up to England the town and castle of Berwick, the castle of Lochmaben, and the lands of Liddesdale, Eskdale, and Annandale. Another article of the agreement was that, if he could obtain a divorce from his duchess, he would marry king Edward's

daughter, the lady Cecilia, and if not, he promised further that if he should himself have a son and heir, he would not marry him without Edward's consent. In return, the king of England undertook to assist the duke of Albany in obtaining the crown of Scotland. Albany was so confident of success, that he signed his name to these documents, as though the crown was already on his head, Alexander R.

The league was soon afterwards joined by others of the nobility, and it is evident that Albany had still a strong party in Scotland. Names are mentioned in the treaty, such as those of the earl of Angus and lord Gray, which show that men of highest rank and power in Scotland were not only in his interest, but that they were acquainted with his treaty with king Edward, although this was probably not the case with most of the nobles who soon afterwards deserted James's cause. The latter appears to have been totally ignorant of the extensive conspiracy against him. When he heard of the formidable preparations in England, and that Berwick was threatened with a siege by a powerful force, under the duke of Gloucester, accompanied by Albany and Douglas, he again called his forces together. The principal barons of Scotland, including the earls of Angus, Huntley, Lennox, Crawford, and Buchan, and the lords Gray, Hailes, Hume, and Drummond, obeyed the summons with alacrity, but they assembled their forces with the intention of betraying the king into the hands of his enemies. The army was mustered on the Borough Muir, to the west of Edinburgh, and amounted to fifty thousand men. Thither came the king, with his favourites, on the principal of whom, Cochrane, he had recently bestowed the earldom of Mar, and he had raised this man to an influence in the government which gave further provocation to the nobles. He appears to have been a vain proud man, which he showed by the splendour of his apparel and the haughty manner in which he bore himself towards the rest of the Scottish barons. He was however a man of great courage, and skilful in warlike affairs, and he now appeared in the camp as commander of the king's artillery, to which James prided himself of having given his especial attention. Here Cochrane exhibited his usual ostentation; his tent was of silk, the fastening chains being richly gilt; and he had a body guard of three hundred retainers, in sumptuous

liveries, and armed with light battle-axes. We are told further that he had a helmet of polished steel, richly inlaid with gold, carried before him, and that his usual dress, when not armed for the field, was a riding suit of black velvet, with a massive gold chain round his neck, and a hunting horn, richly adorned with gold and precious stones, slung across his shoulder.

The army moved first to Soutra, and thence to Lauder, where it encamped between the church and the village. The next morning the leaders met in the church, in obedience to a secret summons, of which no information had been given to the king or Cochrane. They proceeded to deliberate on the best means of carrying their conspiracy into effect, and it was resolved to have recourse, immediately, to summary measures against Cochrane and the other favourites. A question now arose, as to the way in which they should commence their proceedings, and how they should seize Cochrane, who was surrounded and would be defended by the king's personal attendants, as well as by his own. As they hesitated on this important point, lord Grey addressed them, and told them the well-known fable of the mice, who, to escape the persecutions of the cat, resolved to tie a bell round its neck to give notice of its approach, and how the whole plan fell to the ground because no one was found bold enough to undertake the task of attaching the bell to its neck. "If that is all," said the earl of Angus, stepping boldly forwards, "I will bell the cat!" and from this circumstance he afterwards gained from his countrymen the homely title of Archibald Bell-the-Cat. It was finally concluded that all the king's favourites should be seized and put to death, and that the king himself should be placed under restraint, until he had given satisfactory assurance of his intention to change his measures.

Just at this moment a loud and rude knocking was heard at the door, and when Douglas of Lochleven, who acted as door-keeper, demanded the cause, he was proudly answered, "It is I, the earl of Mar." It appears that Cochrane had heard of the meeting of the nobles in the church, and, supposing it to be a council of war, he had come to take a part in it. It seemed a providential circumstance, and the conspirators, rejoicing, ordered Douglas to unbar the door. Cochrane entered with an air of haughtiness, in his usual splendid dress, with

a riding-whip in his hand. The first to lay hands upon him was the earl of Angus, who insolently snatching the gold collar from his neck, said, "This is not fit for thee to wear, a rope would suit thee better." At the same instant, Douglas of Lochleven tore the hunting-horn from his side, declaring in an insulting tone that he had been too long a hunter of mischief. Cochrane at first thought the Scottish nobles were in a merry humour, but becoming alarmed, he demanded indignantly, "Is it jest or earnest?" Upon which the conspirators, telling him there was little room for jest there, bound him ignominiously and placed him under a guard. A party of the nobles then proceeded to the royal tent, and suddenly entering it, seized upon Dr. Rogers, the king's master of music, and the other royal favourites, and hurried them away in spite of James's remonstrances. One only, a youth named Ramsay of Balmain, who clung to the king's person, was spared at his earnest intercession. James himself was given to understand that he was a prisoner in the hands of his nobles. As soon as the conspirators had so far executed their design with success, the royal favourites were dragged to the bridge of Lander to be hanged. Cochrane, who seemed to have carried his love of ostentation to the last, begged hard that he might be hanged with a silken cord, observing that they would find one among the fittings of his tent; but they told him brutally that he should die as became so mean a slave, and passing a rope of horsehair, which was considered the most degrading implement of death, round his neck, they threw him from one of the battlements of the bridge. Dr. Rogers was the next who suffered the same fate, and he was followed by Hommil (the king's tailor), Torphichen (a dancing master), Leonard, Preston, and some others, all of whom appear to have been persons of talent, whose chief crime was the lowness of their birth. The execution of Cochrane was a subject of universal rejoicing. He was generally odious among the people, who looked on him as a proud upstart, and as the originator of several oppressive measures. In a recent season of dearth, he had advised the king to debase the coinage, by issuing money in which the silver was mixed with a large quantity of copper, the effect of which was immediately to raise the prices of provisions, and increase the public distress. This new money was called in

derision the Cochrane-plack; and he is said to have prided himself so much on the invention, that when some one told him it would be called in, he replied scornfully, "Not till the day on which I shall be hanged," a prophecy which was too fatally fulfilled. He is reported to have been of a very rapacious disposition, and people said that this base money was invented only for the gratification of his avarice, and that by such means he amassed the treasures with which he bought from their unworthy sovereign the inheritance of the murdered earl of Mar.

It appears that the army took part entirely with the nobles—in fact it consisted chiefly of their own retainers. The conspirators having thus made themselves masters of the king's person, they disbanded their forces, and returned to Edinburgh, where they shut him up in the castle. The English army, under the dukes of Gloucester and Albany, were thus allowed to advance to the capital without any opposition, Berwick having been given up to them. Everything appeared propitious to the design in which Albany and Angus had entered for the dethroning of James, and substituting his brother on the throne. But it seems that very few of the nobility knew of the disgraceful treaty which had been concluded at Fotheringay, and when Angus began to sound their inclinations, he found that, however popular the name of Albany might be amongst them, it would be impossible to gain them over to his purpose of dethroning their lawful king. A powerful party was soon formed to support king James, and they collected an army near Haddington, to watch and oppose the proceedings of Albany and Angus.

It was now thought advisable by all parties, to make the best arrangement that the circumstances would permit. A negotiation was opened between the two factions, and by the intermediation of Schevez archbishop of St. Andrews, Livingston bishop of Dunkeld, the lord chancellor Evandale, and the earl of Argyle, a reconciliation was effected. These prelates and noblemen engaged to procure for the duke of Albany a free pardon, and that he should be restored to his estates and dignities, on condition of his returning to his allegiance, and assisting his sovereign in the government of the realm. The duke's friends were to be included in the pardon. The duke of Albany agreed to these conditions,

and the duke of Gloucester, finding that his further interference only tended to throw odium on the party he supported, withdrew his army, satisfied with the recovery of Berwick.

The intrigues which followed are somewhat obscure. The king remained a prisoner in Edinburgh castle, in the custody of the earls of Athol and Buchan. It seems doubtful whether these two nobles were acting really in opposition to the party who had now joined with Albany, or whether they were in secret understanding with them, and acted their parts by appointment, to give Albany the credit of having delivered the king. The duke was formally restored to his offices of warden of the marches and lord high admiral, and he immediately, by the authority thus placed in his hands, assembled an army and laid siege to the castle of Edinburgh. The two nobles made a show of resistance for some time, and then capitulated; and the duke, having rescued the king from prison to place him under the control of himself and a large body of the nobility, assumed the government.

The next thing to be done was to establish peace with England. The burgesses of Edinburgh were anxious to hasten the retreat of the English army, and as they were aware that their king had somewhat abruptly broken through the treaty of marriage, they offered to repay the sum which had been advanced on the dowry of the princess Cecilia, if king Edward wished to break off the marriage between her and the young heir of Scotland. Edward at once declared that it was his intention the marriage should be broken off, and thereupon the citizens of Edinburgh fulfilled their promise. The only permanent result of the movements of the hostile armies was, that Berwick remained in the hands of the English.

A parliament was next called at Edinburgh, which confirmed all the recent changes, and the king, under the absolute control of his keepers, placed his signature and seal to everything they laid before him for that purpose. He was made to thank Albany for his great love and loyalty in rescuing him from captivity, and the earldom of Mar and Garioch was conferred on him for his service on that occasion, while his friends and abettors also received commendation and reward for the part they had all acted on that occasion. At the strong

recommendation of this parliament, Albany was appointed to the high office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and he took care to place his supporters and dependents in all offices of trust. He courted the favour of the citizens by his affability towards them, and by extending many of their privileges; and they were rejoiced at the apparent affection between him and his royal brother. It is said that they slept every night in the same bed, and that on one occasion they rode together on the same horse from the castle along the principal street to the abbey of Holyrood.

It appears, however, that this concord was not real, and it was not destined to last long. The king's friends, headed by the archbishop of St. Andrews, lord Evandale, who had been deprived of the chancellorship, and the earl of Argyle, began to raise their heads. Albany, on his side, renewed secretly his treasonable negotiations with the English king, although he concealed them under acts of profound duplicity. At the very moment when he was engaged in intrigues with Edward, he issued summonses to arm the population, under pretence that he was resolved to carry on the war with England vigorously, and performed other open acts which seemed calculated to excite the enthusiasm of the Scottish national feelings. Yet another secret treaty was at this time agreed to, between Albany and the English king, in which the earl of Angus, lord Gray, and sir James Liddel, acted as the duke's commissioners. By one article of this treaty, the king of England, with the three Scottish commissioners just named, engaged that they would not only preserve the truce between the two kingdoms unbroken, but that they would assist Albany in the conquest of the crown of Scotland for himself, in return for which he and the nobles of Scotland were to assist Edward against the king of France. As soon as Albany was king, he was to break the league with France, to resign formally all claim to the town and castle of Berwick, to restore the banished earl of Douglas to his lands and dignity, and to marry one of the daughters of king Edward. The three Scottish commissioners engaged for themselves, in case Albany should die without issue, that they and their friends and adherents would keep their castles, houses, and strengths, from James, the then king of Scots, and live under the sole allegiance of the king of England. Edward, on his

part undertook to support the duke of Albany, in case any attempt were made to deprive him of his power, with such aid of archers and men-at-arms as might be thought necessary, under the command of the duke of Gloucester and the earl of Northumberland; for the present he was to place at his disposal a force of three thousand archers; and in case of a more formidable attack upon Albany by the party of king James, he promised to send an army sufficient for his protection.

It is evident that at this time the duke of Albany meditated an attempt to possess himself of the crown, but he appears to have acted without judgment and without firmness. Suspicions of his designs had gone abroad, and many, who had no love for their present sovereign, considered, nevertheless, that by rallying round him they would secure the independence of their country. Albany seems to have made a futile attempt to seize the king on the pretext that he had joined in a conspiracy to poison him, which had only the effect of weakening his own faction, and strengthening that opposed to him. When he saw that the latter had become so powerful, that he must either give way to the stream, or at once declare himself and make a resolute stand, he chose the alternative which seemed to bring with it least risk, and sought a reconciliation, which he obtained on condition of immediately resigning his office of lieutenant-governor of the kingdom. An agreement to this effect, between the king and the duke, was drawn up and signed on the 16th of March, 1483. The duke of Albany received a full pardon, and was even allowed to retain his office of warden of the marches. But he, as well as his principal adherents, the bishop of Moray and the earls of Athol, Buchan, and Angus, whom he was accused of "holding in daily household," were inhibited from approaching within six miles of the king's person. The earl of Buchan was

deprived of his office of chamberlain, which was given to the earl of Crawford, and he, as well as the lord Crichton,* and sir James Liddal, were banished from the kingdom for the space of three years. The earl of Angus, John of Douglas, and other adherents of Albany, were also deprived of whatever offices they held, and Albany was made to promise that he would hold no further communication with them, and that he would in future persevere faithfully in his allegiance to his brother.

It appears that now the conspirators did not deny that their object was to deprive James of the crown, and that they had entered into an alliance with king Edward for that purpose; and we can only explain the leniency of the other party, now they had obtained the government, by a consciousness of weakness, and fear to provoke the party of Albany to desperation. The duke seems to have looked upon it in this light, and retiring to his castle of Dunbar, garrisoned and provisioned that and his other fortresses, as though preparing for war. He then called his old confederates about him again, and the league with king Edward was renewed. So openly were the negotiations with England now carried on, that Edward despatched the Blue-Mantle herald, as his commissioner, to Albany, and the latter in consequence repaired in person to the English court, where he remained, concerting further measures with the king and with the earl of Douglas, while the lord Crichton was labouring to concentrate the strength of his party in Scotland. As a measure of precaution, an English force marched across the Scottish border, and was put in possession of the castle of Dunbar. Everything seemed to threaten Scotland with some new and terrible calamities, when suddenly, in the midst of their preparations, the plans of the conspirators were disconcerted by the death of Edward IV., on the 9th of April, 1483.

* The lord Crichton was one of the most powerful and warlike of the Scottish barons, and was remarkable for his bitter animosity against James III. Buchanan repeats a story of Crichton's wife having been seduced by the king, and attributes his hatred of James to this cause. But the bitterness of the different parties against one another at this period,

and the unscrupulousness with which they circulated calumny and abuse against each other, renders it difficult to distinguish truth from falsehood in the accounts of the old chroniclers. An examination of official records has thrown much light on the history of this period, and led to the detection of many misstatements.

CHAPTER XVII.

PACIFIC POLICY OF RICHARD III. OF ENGLAND; NEW REVOLT OF THE DISCONTENTED NOBLES; CIVIL WAR;
BATTLE OF SAUCHIE BURN; MURDER OF JAMES III.

THE death of Edward IV. disconcerted entirely the duke of Albany's plans. The accession of Edward V., followed quickly by his murder and the usurpation of Richard III., rendered it necessary for the latter monarch, ill-established on the throne, to preserve peaceful relations with his neighbours, and, though he received Albany with courtesy and distinction, he showed no inclination to assist him in his designs. Meanwhile James determined at once to proceed against the duke and his accomplices, and he called a parliament to meet at Edinburgh, at which Albany was summoned to attend and answer to a charge of treason. Failing to appear, he was tried in his absence, the charges against him being that he had sent frequent messengers to England, that he had gone thither himself without the king's permission, and that he had conspired with the English against the king's life. The parliament found him guilty, and condemned him to forfeiture of his life, offices, and property. A long list of his adherents, at the head of which were the lord Crichton and sir James Liddal, were struck with the same sentence. According to Buchanan, the latter were all pardoned, but Crichton was immediately proceeded against on a new charge of carrying on a correspondence with the duke of Albany through the medium of a priest named Dickson, and of having garrisoned Crichton castle against the king's officers, when ordered to surrender it in obedience to the sentence of forfeiture. He was summoned to answer these charges, but he made his escape, and he was outlawed and his estates confiscated.

A new monarch, Charles VIII., had now succeeded to the throne of France, and his ambassador, Bernard Stuart lord of Aubigny, came to renew the ancient league with Scotland, and gave James assurance of his readiness to assist him against his rebellious subjects. Richard III. of England was at the same time listening eagerly to his proposals for a renewal of the truce, and James was encouraged by these circumstances to

lay siege to the castle of Dunbar, but it was too strongly garrisoned with English soldiers to be easily taken. Albany found that he had nothing to expect from the king of England, but he seems to have had friends among the English nobility, and he had still a staunch ally in the earl of Douglas, who, though now advanced in years, had lost none of his appetite for revenge. Albany and Douglas determined to make one desperate effort before they gave up their hopes, and supposing that they would be joined by some of their fellow-conspirators as well as by their own tenantry, they raised a body of five hundred horse in England, and advanced to Lochnaben on the day of the fair of St. Mary Magdalene. As soon as the approach of these adventurers was known, the gentry and yeomanry who happened to be collected in the town, joined with the burghers, and, not knowing who they were, but supposing them to be plunderers, marched out boldly to meet them. Both sides fought bravely, but the battle would have ended in the defeat of the Scots, had not a party of the king's troops arrived very opportunely, and falling furiously on the English, dispersed them with great slaughter. The duke of Albany escaped by the fleetness of his horse, but Douglas was taken prisoner by Kirkpatrick of Kirkmichael, one of the leaders of the Scottish troops, who carried him to the king. James is said to have felt compassion upon the misfortunes and age of his captive, and, instead of punishing him as a traitor against his country, he merely directed that he should be sent to pass the remainder of his days in the monastery of Lindores. It is said that when Douglas was brought into the royal presence, he turned his face from the king, perhaps with the pride which had marked his whole career, and that when he heard his sentence he muttered with a smile of scorn, "He who may be no better, must needs turn monk." The duke of Albany proceeded to England, and thence to France, where he was some time afterwards slain in a tournament.

The negotiations with king Richard of England were now soon brought to a conclusion, and a truce for three years was agreed to, one condition of which was that the son of the Scottish king, James duke of Rothesay, now in his fourteenth year, was to marry king Richard's niece, the lady Anne. With regard to the castle of Dunbar, it was stipulated that there should be a cessation of hostilities for six months, and that after that period James was to be allowed to recover it by force of arms if he could. James had made great preparations for the siege, but he was appeased by various excuses for retarding the surrender till Richard's death, when, seizing the opportunity of the unsettled state of England, immediately after the battle of Bosworth Field, he suddenly invested Dunbar castle, and compelled the English garrison to yield it up.

Meanwhile new troubles were preparing in Scotland. James had never forgiven the slaughter of his favourites and the violence offered to himself at Lauder, and the nobles who acted against him on that occasion, saw enough to convince them that they were not safe from his vengeance. They seem to have attempted to strengthen themselves by a new alliance with the king of England, but how far Richard listened to their proposals is unknown. A parliament was held in the beginning of the year 1485, at which the division between the two factions in the state became more clearly defined. The majority of the barons and clergy on this occasion combined in supporting the king's government. But a large proportion of the nobles began to show that they believed the continuance of James III. on the throne was incompatible with their own safety. In fact, before the parliament separated, it passed a resolution recommending the king to appoint a commission of the lords and head men of his kingdom, to bring to trial and execution all notorious offenders, which was believed to aim at the destruction of the barons who had conspired against the king at Lauder.

But a new revolution in England came suddenly to delay king James in the immediate execution of his purpose. The two factions in Scotland had continued to interfere secretly in the affairs of England, and there is reason for believing that James looked forwards with satisfaction to the prospect of the dethronement of Richard III. We know that the plot for bringing in the earl of Richmond was encouraged by

the court of France, and that Bernard Stuart, lord of Aubigny, who was a near relation of the earl of Lennox, commanded a body of French soldiers which accompanied the earl to England. The accession of Henry VII. to the English throne seemed favourable to James's designs, yet there is room for believing that Henry intrigued with the confederate nobles, and was not ignorant of their ultimate designs. Nevertheless his conduct was distinguished by the same astute caution which was exhibited in all his foreign relations. To him, as to his predecessor, peace was necessary to give him the leisure to strengthen his hold on the crown; and, after some negotiation, a truce of three years was concluded, and it was stated to be preparatory to a final treaty of peace. Measures were taken at the same time for securing the tranquillity of the borders. James appointed the earl of Angus and the lord Maxwell wardens of the middle and western marches, and the earl of Northumberland and lord Dacres were appointed wardens of the eastern and western marches in England. It was also proposed that a marriage should take place between the king's second son and the lady Catherine, daughter of Edward IV.

James's queen died in the year 1486, and the annalists say that he lost in her one whose counsels generally restrained him from violent measures. They also tell us, that now relieved from the apprehensions which had been caused by the intrigues of Albany and Douglas with Edward IV., the king relapsed into his old vice of favouritism, and that, avoiding the society of his nobility, he again surrounded himself with low companions, on whom he conferred the offices of the government, with its cares and duties. His chief favourite now is said to have been John Ramsay, the same who was saved by his intercession from the massacre of the bridge of Lauder. Ramsay was created steward of the household, and was enriched with grants of lands. He is represented as treating the nobles with scorn, and as proportionally hated by them; and it is said that, apprehensive of their designs, he obtained an order of the king that none should be allowed to carry arms in the places where the king lodged, except himself and his friends. The nobles, on the other hand, began to confederate together, and to parade in arms. This was intended less against the favourite personally, than

as a measure of precaution in their own defence, for they became more and more convinced that the king was meditating some great act of vengeance against them. Latterly, the king's measures had been always successful; he was in perfectly good intelligence with the nations around, and he had triumphed over his most formidable domestic enemies; while he was himself exhibiting a degree of prudence and firmness which he had not been supposed to possess. The nobles saw that, unless they stood firm together, and concerted their plans well, they must inevitably become his victims. They resolved, therefore, to muster their strength at the ensuing parliament, to observe warily the king's temper, and thus to form their resolution, either to accept a reconciliation, or at once to take up arms and forcibly depose their sovereign from his throne.

Buchanan has preserved a story of the manner in which the nobles became acquainted with the king's designs against them, which, at all events, is not unworthy of being repeated. Pretending, according to this account, to be reconciled with several of those whom he considered the leaders in the rebellion at Lauder, James behaved to them courteously, and treated them with an unusual degree of familiarity. Some of them he loaded with honours and rewards. Thus, wishing to attach to his interests David Lindsay, earl of Crawford, he created him duke of Montrose. He held frequent consultations with the earl of Angus, "communicating to him his most secret designs, as if he had received him wholly into his favour, yet he could neither by gifts or flattery, convince any one of his sincerity. For those who knew his disposition, did not doubt but he assumed this show of kindness, that he might separate the nobility, and arrest them apart, or that he might set them at variance among themselves, which appeared more plainly when he had collected them at Edinburgh. Having invited Douglas to come to him in the castle, he pointed out to him what an admirable opportunity presented itself for executing his revenge; for by apprehending the chiefs of the faction, and bringing them to punishment, the rest would be overawed, and if he neglected this opportunity, spontaneously afforded him, he might never after hope to find one similar. Douglas, who knew that the king was not better affected to himself than to the rest, discussed with him warily

this cruel and hazardous design; he argued that every person would pronounce the action base and flagitious, if so many noblemen, who had been promised pardon for their former conduct, who were but lately reconciled, and who were now secure in the public faith which they had accepted, should, without a trial, be brought suddenly to punishment; that the fierce minds of his enemies would not be broken by the destruction of a few, but that, faith being once violated, all hope of agreement would be at an end, and, despairing of pardon, their anger would become madness, whence would follow greater stubbornness, and contempt for the king's authority and their own lives. 'But if you trust me,' he said, 'I will show you a method by which the royal dignity may be preserved, and your vengeance satisfied. I will gather together my friends and vassals, and in the face of day, and openly, seize whoever you wish, bring them to trial, and punish them according to law, a method not only more honourable, but safer than if they were put to death secretly, and in the night, as if murdered by robbers.' The king, believing that the earl was sincere, for he knew he could perform what he promised, returned him his thanks, and dismissed him with many professions. Douglas, having warned the nobles to withdraw from such imminent danger, himself also immediately left the court."

Having resolved to be ready for every alternative, the next care of the nobles was to appoint themselves a leader, and here again they were favoured by the treachery of officers employed under the crown. James Shaw of Sauchie, governor of Stirling castle, where the young duke of Rothesay, the heir to the throne, then in his fifteenth year, was residing, had already joined the party of the nobles, and he and the others who had the care of the young prince's education, used the influence they had naturally gained over his mind to inflame his feelings against his father. The prince, who was of an aspiring and impetuous temper, with a mind beyond his years, gave in to the snare, and his natural affections were so entirely estranged that he lent the rebels the authority of his name.

On the 13th of October, 1487, the parliament met which was to decide the relative position of the different factions. Although the nobles attended in far greater numbers than usual, the king resolved to show his enemies that he had the power and the will

to avenge himself. The nobles judged it prudent first to attempt a reconciliation, and they proposed an amicable adjustment of all grievances and discontents, on condition of a full pardon being granted to all such barons as had hitherto made themselves obnoxious to the laws, more especially by their treasonable proceedings. James, overconfident in his own power, met this proposal with an absolute refusal. The king then, at the request of his parliament, declared his intention to refuse all applications for pardon by traitors, murderers, and such like offenders. This was followed by a resolution of the three estates, that in all time coming they would cease to maintain or stand at the bar with traitors, men-slayers, robbers, and the like, and they engaged to assist the king and his officers in bringing all such offenders to justice. These and other acts left no doubt in the minds of the barons, whose rebellion at Lauder and whose confederacies with Albany had laid them open to the charge of treason, that extreme measures were meditated against them; and, when parliament was prorogued to the 11th of January, 1488, they went to their homes to make every preparation for a general rising.

In the meantime James's relations with the king of England went on less smoothly. Soon after the death of the queen, the Scottish monarch had signified his wish to marry queen Elizabeth, the widow of Edward IV., and now, after having agreed to a prolongation of the truce between the two kingdoms till the first of September, 1489, he was urgent for the arrangement of this marriage treaty, and he proposed at the same time to cement the friendship between the two kingdoms by marrying his two sons to English princesses. But as a preliminary James insisted on the surrender of Berwick to the Scots, upon which king Henry, highly offended at his pertinacity in this demand, broke off the negotiation, and began to manifest a decided partiality for the disaffected nobles.

The barons, who had been actively engaged in preparing for the approaching struggle, and who had been joined by some of the prelates and dignitaries of the Scottish church, were encouraged by the altered policy of the king of England; and when the parliament reassembled in January, they attended in great force. They had now entirely gained the duke of Rothesay to their party, and estranged him from his father;

and the king at this moment widened the breach by making an ostentatious display of partiality for his second son, whom he created duke of Ross, marquis of Ormond, earl of Edridale, and lord of Brechin and Novar, conferring upon him so many honours, that people generally imagined that he intended him for his successor on the throne, to the disinheritance of his elder brother. James showed at this moment an unusual degree of energy and activity. He distributed honours and offices among his own friends and adherents, to strengthen their attachment. Drummond, Crichton of Sanquhar, Hay, and Ruthven, were made lords of parliament. He had already gratified his favourite, Ramsay, by creating him lord Bothwell. He sent another embassy to England, to treat of the marriages. But he alienated many of his clergy by resisting the claim of the pope to dispose of benefices in Scotland, and he gave mortal offence to the great border families of the Humes and Hepburnes, by annexing the priory of Coldingham to his royal chapel of Stirling. Those two families had been accustomed to look upon this religious house as their own property, and had exercised a right of giving the office of prior alternately to a member of their own house, and now they protested against the king's proceedings and joined the party of the nobles. They would have purchased the interference of the pope, but the king and parliament had passed some stringent measures prohibiting all appeal to the pope on such matters. After these and a few other acts had been passed, the parliament again adjourned to the 5th of May.

The nobles were convinced that if the parliament assembled again, it would be for the purpose of their destruction, and soon after the prorogation, the earls of Angus and Argyle, with the lords Lyle, Drummond, and Hailes, the bishop of Glasgow, and many other powerful barons, assembled their forces. This was no sooner known, than the young prince left Stirling castle, and placed himself at the head of the insurgent army. The king was taken by surprise; he had allowed the barons of his own party to disperse to their several homes after the adjournment of the parliament, and finding himself almost alone in the midst of his enemies, he determined to abandon the south, and trust himself to the more approved loyalty of his subjects in the northern provinces. He first sent the earl of

Buchan, the lord Bothwell, and the bishop of Moray, to Henry VII., of England, to request that he would send a body of English troops to his assistance. He deprived the earl of Argyle of his office of chancellor, and gave it to the bishop of Aberdeen, and he sent proposals to his son, but without success, to detach him from the hostile faction. The nobles, on the other side, proceeded with the utmost confidence. They declared that James III., by his oppressions and misgovernment, had forfeited the crown of Scotland, and then proclaimed his son king, under the title of James IV. The earl of Argyle was formally reinstated in his office of chancellor; and this nobleman, the bishops of Glasgow and Dunkeld, the lords Lyle and Hailes, and the master of Hume, were sent as ambassadors to the king of England, who did not hesitate to give them passports as the representatives of the king of Scots.

The king now found it necessary to hasten his retreat to the north, and he had only time to escape from his enemies by hurrying on board a ship belonging to sir Andrew Wood, which carried him over to Fife, while the rebels captured his baggage and money at Leith. From Fife the king rode to Aberdeen, and he soon found himself at the head of a numerous army, collected from the northern parts of his dominions. Among the northern barons who immediately joined his standard were the earls of Athol, Huntley, and Crawford, and the lord Lindsay of the Byres, a veteran commander who had served with distinction in the French wars. The latter baron brought to the king's assistance a body of three thousand foot and a thousand horse. When he approached James, he dismounted from his horse, and presenting it to the monarch, begged him to accept it as the best and fleetest war-horse in Scotland. Soon after lord Ruthven arrived, at the head of a thousand gentlemen, well mounted and clothed in complete body armour, with a thousand archers and a thousand infantry. The king was subsequently joined by the earls of Buchan and Errol, the lords Glamis, Forbes, and Kilmaurs, and a number of other barons.

The royal army now amounted to thirty thousand men, and the king, encouraged by the loyalty of his northern barons, determined to march against the rebels. They had taken possession of Edinburgh, and were masters of the whole of the south, and he found their army, with the prince at its

head, posted at Blackness, on the coast between Queensferry and Borrowstounness. The prospect of a father and son thus arranged in mortal hostility against each other, seems to have shocked the feelings even of the fierce warriors who were now assembled under their banners, and an attempt at reconciliation was made by the earls of Huntley and Errol. The insurgents were probably intimidated by the great force which the king had brought with him, and the latter hesitated at proceeding to extremities. An agreement was accordingly drawn up, and had already received the royal signature, when, we are told, the king himself, yielding to the influence of the earl of Buchan, violated it. Buchan suddenly marched out with a part of the king's army, and, although the affair was but a skirmish, gained an advantage which augured well for the final success of the royal cause. The king's party was, however, at the same time weakened by the defection of the earl marshal, the earls of Huntley and Errol, and the lord Glamis, who, irritated at the undue influence which they believed the earl of Buchan exercised over the king, left the camp and retired to their estates.

A new negotiation was now opened, and the king sent the earl of Athol with proposals for a reconciliation, and he eventually agreed to conditions which, considering that he appears at this moment to have been stronger than his opponents, shows that James was anxious to avoid hostilities. It was stipulated on his side, that the royal estate and authority of the sovereign should be maintained, so that he might continue to enjoy and exercise all his prerogatives; that his person should at all times be in honour and security; and that such prelates, earls, lords, and barons as were most noted for wisdom and fidelity, should be kept about him. The prince's advisers and adherents were to have security for their lives, honours, and estates, on condition that in future they should adopt a more discreet line of conduct. The king engaged to maintain the household of the heir-apparent, and to support the lords and officers of his establishment in befitting dignity, provided they were honourable and faithful persons, whose councils were likely to lead him in an honourable course, and encourage the natural affection and obedience which a son ought to entertain towards his father. On these conditions the king declared his wi-

lingness to forgive and take into favour all his son's friends and servants against whom he had conceived any displeasure, and the prince was in like manner to dismiss from his mind all rancorous feelings against the lords and barons who had on this occasion adhered to the royal cause. All feuds and dissensions between the great barons were from this moment to cease, among which that between the earl of Buchan and the lord Lyle was particularized.

A pacification having been thus effected, the king, confiding in the good faith of his rebellious barons, dismissed his army, and proceeded to Edinburgh, while the northern lords returned to their several estates. One of his first cares was to reward such of his barons as had distinguished themselves by the promptitude and courage they had shown in supporting his cause in the late insurrection. He raised the earl of Crawford to the rank of duke of Montrose, and lord Kilmaurs received the title of earl of Glencairn, while his standard-bearer, sir Thomas Turnbull, the gallant sea commander sir Andrew Wood, with the lairds of Balnamoon, Lag, Balyard, and others, were rewarded with grants of lands. James seems to have imagined that his disaffected nobles would be entirely pacified by the intervention of the pope and the kings of France and England, and he sent embassies to solicit their good offices for this purpose.

It is impossible to understand fully the motives which influenced the different parties at this moment. The insurgents appear to have looked on the king's forbearance as a sign of weakness which they might turn to their advantage; and, instead of dispersing their army as he had done, he had hardly reorganized his court in the castle of Edinburgh, when he received intelligence that they were assembling in greater force than ever. We are told by Buchanan that the barons of what was now called the prince's party, having held consultation together, and having no faith in the king's professions and promises, came to the resolution that they should never be safe until they had compelled James to resign the crown to his son, and that they agreed to have again recourse to arms to carry this resolution into effect. James now perceived his error in dismissing his army too hastily. Encouraged, however, by the counsels of the few stanch supporters who happened to be with him, he sent urgent sum-

mons to his friends in the north to reassemble their warriors, while he himself kept possession of the castle of Edinburgh, and in a very brief period, a considerable force had been brought to his rescue, under the new duke of Montrose, the earls of Menteith and Glencairn, and the lords Erskine, Graham, Ruthven, and Lindsay. It was at first determined to remain at Edinburgh, until further reinforcements from the north arrived, but the king subsequently listened to the plausible advice of some of his counsellors, who recommended him to remove to Stirling castle, as a place equally strong, and better situated for communicating with his fleets, and for receiving his northern friends. James accordingly marched out, and attacking his son, who lay encamped near with a part of the rebel forces, dispersed them, and compelled him to fly across the Forth. He then continued his march to Stirling, and demanded admittance to the castle, but this was resolutely denied him by the governor, Shaw, who had all along acted with the rebels. Disconcerted at this reception, the king seems for a moment to have been undecided what course to follow, but his deliberations were soon cut short by the intelligence that the whole rebel army had advanced against him from Falkirk, and already occupied the high level ground above the bridge of the Torwood.

James, perceiving that it was impossible to avoid a battle, marched forward, and took up a position on the east side of a small brook called the Sauchie Burn, about two miles from Stirling. His army is said to have been considerably inferior to that of his opponents, but he had about him some of his most experienced commanders, such as lord Lindsay of the Byres, and by their advice he drew up his forces in three divisions. The first consisted of highlanders, armed with bows, long daggers, swords, and targets, and commanded by the earls of Athol and Huntley. The rear division, commanded by the earl of Menteith and the lords Erskine and Graham, consisted of the men of Stirlingshire and of the west-highlands. The main battle, composed of the burghers and commons, was commanded by the king in person, mounted on the tall and spirited grey horse given him by lord Lindsay. At his right rode the duke of Montrose, with a fine body of horsemen from Fife and Angus, and lord Ruthven was on his left, with nearly five thousand spear-

men from Strathern and Stormont. The rebel lords also formed their army in three battles, the first of which was composed of the men of east Lothian and the Merse, and was commanded by the lord Hailes and the master of Hume. The borderers of Liddesdale and Annandale, with the men of Galway, formed the second division, which was commanded by the lord Gray. In the main battle was the young prince, with the principal lords who had taken part in the conspiracy.

The attack appears to have been begun by the rebels, and while it was limited to showers of arrows from the bowmen, produced little effect on either side; but when the two armies met, the loyalists with their spears drove back the first line of their opponents, and continued their victorious course, till they were checked by the advance of the borderers, who are said to have had an advantage in the superior length of their spears, but whose real superiority consisted rather in better discipline, and in the constant habitude of war. In a short time the first division of the loyalists, under the earls of Huntley and Menteith, not only lost the ground they had gained, but, although the struggle was carried on with great resolution and bravery on both sides, were themselves driven back on their main battle, where the king commanded in person. The slaughter was now great, and the tumult approached nearer and nearer the spot where James stood, when his nobles, representing to him the disasters which would fall upon the country, if he were killed or captured, urged him to flight, whilst they remained on the field, at least to hold their enemies at bay as long as possible. The king followed their advice, and, spurring his swift steed, fled in the direction of the village of Bannockburn, which was situated at the distance of about a mile from the field of battle. He crossed the stream of the Bannock at a hamlet called Milltown, and was riding at full speed through the hamlet, when his horse started at the sudden appearance of a woman who was drawing water in a picher, which she threw down hastily and fled at the sight of the horseman in armour. The king lost his seat, and was thrown to the ground, and the fall was so heavy, that when the cottagers came to his assistance they found him senseless. He was carried into the cottage of a miller, which stood by the road, where he was laid on a bed, and at

length restored to consciousness by the homely cordials which the anxious attendants administered. When he opened his eyes, the first words he uttered were to call for a priest, that he might confess before he died. The cottagers, with unaffected anxiety for his welfare, questioned him respectfully as to his name and rank, on which he incautiously acknowledged that he was the king. On hearing this, the woman of the house was overcome with alarm and terror, and rushing into the road, she cried out for a priest to confess the king, at the same time wringing her hands and exhibiting other marks of the greatest distress.

Meanwhile, after the flight of the king, the victory had not remained long undecided, and the lords of the king's party having drawn off their forces as well as they could, some of the rebel soldiers pursued in the road which James had taken in his flight. Among the foremost, we are told, was Patrick Gray, Stirling of Keir, and a warlike priest, named Borthwick, in the service of the lord Gray. Borthwick came up just as the woman was crying out frantically in the road for a priest for the king, and, telling her he was a priest, requested her to take him immediately to the dying man. She obeyed, and he entered the cottage, and found the monarch extended on a flock bed, and covered with a coarse cloth. Borthwick approached and kneeling down by the king's side, demanded with apparent solicitude how it fared with him, and if he thought he could recover with the help of a physician. The king, who had now regained his full consciousness, and probably felt that he was not so much hurt as he imagined, replied that there was hope; upon which the priest, bending over him, under pretence of listening to his confession, drew his dagger and stabbed him to the heart, and continued his blows till he was satisfied that he was dead. The ruffian then made his escape, and we cannot discover that he was ever heard of again. He was said to have carried the body of the king with him, but if so, he did not carry it far, for the king's body was found, and was buried with royal honours by the side of his queen in the abbey of Cambuskenneth.

Thus died in the prime of his age a king concerning whose real character historians are singularly divided in opinion, and on which the circumstances in which he lived, and the bitterness of party animosity, render it almost impossible to decide.

His principal fault appears to have been his weakness, and he certainly wanted the judgment and prudence necessary to contend with the difficulties that surrounded him. He appears to have shared largely in the taste for letters and science which had distinguished many members of his family, but this taste led him into great political errors, and he allowed himself to be made the dupe of men who possessed ambition, without honesty or talents for ruling. With the same jealousy of his nobles, and the same unrelenting and unforgiving hos-

tility towards those who rebelled against them, which had distinguished his father and grandfather, he wanted the skill and caution with which they carried out their object. At the time of his death, James III. was in his thirty-fifth year. By his queen, the daughter of the king of Denmark, he left three children, James, his successor, another son, also named James, created marquis of Ormond, but who subsequently became archbishop of St. Andrews, and John, earl of Mar, who died childless.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ACCESSION OF JAMES IV.; PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE NOBLES OF THE LATE KING'S PARTY; INSURRECTION OF THE LATTER; BATTLE OF TALLA MOSS; SUCCESSES AT SEA; ELEVATION OF SIR ANDREW WOOD; ADVENTURES OF PERKIN WARBECK.

As we have stated, the flight of the king had decided the battle which proved so fatal to him, and the lords of his party were suffered to withdraw towards Stirling without any vigorous pursuit, while the victors passed the night on the field. The loss was not very great on either side, though on that of the king the earls of Glencairn and Bothwell, and the lords Erskine, Semple, and Ruthven, were among the slain. When intelligence was brought to the camp of the manner of the king's death, it is said that the prince was overwhelmed with grief and remorse, which, however, were soon forgotten amid the pomp and ceremony of his accession to the throne.

The day after the battle, the victors fell back upon Linlithgow, and dismissed their army, and the first act of the new king was to reward those who had supported his cause. On this very day, the 12th of June, grants of lands were made to the Humes and Hepburns, who had been among the most powerful of the prince's supporters. The principal castles were committed to the keeping of officers of known fidelity, and others were sent to take possession of the late king's treasures and jewels. After the interment of the late king, the court removed to Perth, and James IV. was crowned, with the usual ceremonies, in the abbey of Seone on the 26th of June. The new king

there committed the privy seal to the keeping of the prior of St. Andrews; and he appointed the earl of Argyle chancellor; Hepburn lord Hailes, master of the household; the lord Lyle justiciary on the south of the Forth; and the lord Glamis justiciary of the north. He chose Whitelaw, subdean of Glasgow, as his secretary, and Hepburn, vicar of Linlithgow, was appointed to the office of clerk of the rolls and of the council. Having thus arranged his ministry, the king proceeded to his palace of Stirling, and there fixed his residence. There the nobles endeavoured to bind the young king to them by the eagerness with which they administered to his pleasures. James had before his elevation to the throne formed an attachment to the beautiful Margaret Drummond, the daughter of lord Drummond, and her father, baser in his subserviency even than the other courtiers, encouraged an intimacy so dishonourable to his family. A perpetual succession of theatrical entertainments, balls, hunting parties, and other amusements, were got up for the king and his youthful mistress; and when, by direction of parliament, he accompanied the lords justiciaries to their circuit of the local courts, care was taken that he should be attended by the lady Margaret, and by his hunters and falconers, with his fool, who we are told was named English John.

One of the first cares of the new government was to examine the foreign relations of the kingdom, which were likely to be considerably shaken by a revolution of so violent a character. An embassy was sent to Henry VII. of England, who, with his characteristic caution, made every profession of friendship, while he prepared to meet any emergency by provisioning and strengthening the castle and town of Berwick. But war was at this moment the interest of neither party, and soon afterwards a truce for three years was concluded between the two countries. The party now in power proceeded next to take summary measures against their political opponents, and the earl of Buchan, lord Forbes, Ramsay lord Bothwell, and a number of others, were summoned to appear and answer the charge of treason at the ensuing parliament.

This parliament assembled at Edinburgh on the 6th of October. It was well attended, and there were present, besides a numerous array of inferior ecclesiastics, the archbishop of St. Andrews (Schvez), and the bishops of Glasgow, Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Whitechurch, Dunblane, and the isles; while the secular aristocracy was represented by the earls of Argyle, Angus, Huntley, Morton, Errol, Marshal, Lennox, Rothes, and Athol; the lords Hailes (the master of the household), Lyle (high justiciar), Hamilton, Glaminis, Gray, Oliphant, Montgomery, Drummond, Maxwell, Graham, Carlisle, Dirleton, and other noble personages. After the first preliminaries of parliamentary business were over, the persons charged with

* The first baron accused before the parliament, lord Lindsay of the Byres, is said to have escaped by the special pleading of a younger brother. Lord Lindsay was a stout old soldier, who knew no better answer to make to the indictment than by offering to fight with his accusers, venturing his own person against any two of them. The lord chancellor apologized to the king for the veteran's rudeness, as the natural consequence of a military education, and advised lord Lindsay to submit to the king's pleasure, who, he ventured to say, would be gracious to him. There stood near the lord Lindsay his younger brother Patrick, who, understanding it was the wily meaning of the chancellor to obtain a submission on the part of his brother, that he might impose some mulct or penalty upon him, trod upon the lord Lindsay's foot, as an intimation to him not to plead guilty. The hint was totally lost upon Lindsay, who was on bad terms with his brother, and happened besides to have a corn on his toe, which made him resent the treading on his foot, for which he fiercely rebuked his brother. Nevertheless Patrick knelt down, and prayed to be heard as counsel for his brother, and the house of his forefathers. This could not decently be refused; and

treason, including all who had borne arms on the late king's side in the field of Stirling, were summoned to appear and defend themselves. One great object of these proceedings was to throw the blame of the late rebellion, and especially of the king's death, upon the party who had supported the crown, and, by a strange perversion of terms, the men who had supported the reigning monarch against his insurgent subjects, were described as rebels and traitors. They were accused, singularly enough, of having attempted to bring into the kingdom their enemies of England, and to reduce the crown of Scotland to a dependence on that country; and of having advised the late king repeatedly to break the agreements which he had made with his nobles. The earl of Buchan made a confession of guilt, and threw himself upon the king's mercy, in return for which he was pardoned, and taken into favour. Ramsay lord Bothwell, the late king's favourite, who had escaped out of the kingdom, failing to appear, was condemned, and his estates confiscated. The latter were given to the lord Hailes, who was made an earl. Ross of Montgrenen, the late king's advocate, who had distinguished himself by his bravery in a skirmish at the bridge of Stirling before the battle of Sauchie Burn, when the person of the present king is said to have been in danger, appears to have been an object of special animosity. He also was condemned in his absence, and his lands were given to Patrick Hume of Eastcastle.* It was subsequently enacted that,

in consequence of the great displeasure con- the pleader, in an exordium of some eloquence, implored those whom he addressed, that, as victors in the civil conquest, they would recollect that they were still liable to the vicissitude of human affairs, and might themselves hereafter stand at that very bar, and implore the protection of the laws against such triumphant enemies as might be in power for the time. He therefore conjured them to administer the laws impartially, as they would desire to enjoy their protection if they should need it in their own case. The chancellor assured Lindsay that his pleading should be fairly heard and decided upon. The advocate proceeded to object to the presence in court of the king, in whose name the suit was brought, and to his retaining a seat in the judicature in a case where he was one of the parties concerned. The parliament yielded to his reasoning on the subject, and the young king, to his no small displeasure, was obliged to retire from the assembly. The counsel next stated, that the term of the charge, which ought to run on the summons, had been suffered to elapse, and that the citation bore no continuation of days. This was an objection in point of form which the parliament also thought it necessary to sustain, so lord Lindsay was dismissed from the bar. He

ceived by the king against all who by their appearance in the field of Stirling under the royal banner were to be considered as the chief promoters of the slaughter of his late father, such of the rebels as were in possession of hereditary offices, should be deprived of them for the period of three years. The parliament afterwards proceeded to investigate the causes of the late "rebellion," which, as might be expected, ended in a complete justification of the present king, and a general condemnation of his opponents. It was declared, that the whole matter having been examined by the three estates, they were unanimously of opinion, each man for himself, and under his loyalty and allegiance, that the slaughter committed in the field of Stirling, where the king's father happened, with others of his barons, to be slain, was wholly to be ascribed to the offences, falsehood, and fraud, which had been practised by him and his perverse counsellors. It was their further opinion, "that our sovereign lord that now is, and the true lords and barons who were with him in the same field, were innocent, quit, and free of the said slaughters, battle, and pursuit, and had no blame in fomenting or exciting them." It was recommended that a declaration to this effect should be drawn up, to be shewn to the pope, and to the kings of the various countries in alliance with Scotland; and that the seals of a certain number of the representatives of each estate assembled in this parliament should be attached to this declaration, along with the great seal of Scotland. By another act, all grants signed by the late king since the 2nd of February, when the prince took the field in arms against his father, were revoked, because, as it was pretended, they were made for the assistance of the treasonable faction which had been enemies to the realm and to the present king. At the same time, as a manifestation of the clemency of the party which now held the government, it was ordered that all property seized during the late troubles by either party, should be restored to the rightful owners, and that the heirs of those in arms against the present king who fell in the battle of Stirling, should be allowed to succeed to their hereditary

was so much astonished at his escape, for it appears that he comprehended nothing of the nature of the defence, that he swore, in a rapture of gratitude, that he would reward his brother's fine pyot words, (i.e. magpie talk) with the lands of Kirkfother. The king, on the contrary, displeased with the personal disrespect which he pretended had been shown

estates and honours, in spite of any legal impediment that might arise from the circumstance of their being slain while in a state of rebellion.

The parliament was prorogued from time to time, holding, in fact, four different sessions; the first of which began on the 6th of October, 1488, and the last on the 3rd of February, 1489. Besides the proceedings against the rebels, and the acts of justification already mentioned, the attention of the legislature was called to various subjects of importance connected with the state of the country. An attempt was made to restore order throughout the realm, and put an end to the practice of murder and robbery which then prevailed, by dividing the kingdom into districts, each of which was entrusted to the care of certain barons, who promised, on their oath, to do their utmost to detect and bring to punishment all offenders. Other laws were passed, providing for the better administration of justice, for the regulation and improvement of the commerce and coinage of the realm, and for putting a check on the practice of purchasing at the court of Rome presentations to benefices in Scotland. It was ordered that the castle of Dunbar should be destroyed, that it might not again become a stronghold for the enemies of the state; the command of Edinburgh castle, with the tutelage of the king's brother, was given to lord Haulles, the master of the household; and Alexander Hume of Hume was promoted to the office of high chamberlain.

Some naval successes occurred at this time to throw lustre on the commencement of the young king's reign. Sir Andrew Wood, a naval officer of great talent and experience, had distinguished himself in several actions against the English during the reign of James III., his known faithfulness to whom is said to have been a matter of considerable embarrassment to the prince and the nobles of his party after their victory at Sauchie Burn. Buchanan has preserved a story, which appears not to be correct in some of its details, relating to the first negotiations with this commander, who had brought his ships up the Forth to support the movements of the late king. It

to him, declared that he would send the advocate where he should not see his feet for twelve months; and accordingly ordered him to be thrown into the dungeon of the Rothesay of Bute.

It is needless to say that there are some inconsistencies in this story, which would hinder us from giving it much credit.

appears that a report had gone abroad, that the king was not slain in the battle, but that he had escaped to the ships; and more certain information was carried to the court at Linlithgow, that boats had been sent on shore to receive some of the fugitives. The prince immediately despatched a messenger to sir Andrew Wood, desiring that he would come to him on shore; but Wood refused to land, unless hostages were given for his safety. To this the prince consented, and the lords Seton and Fleming went on board as hostages for the safe return of the naval commander. When sir Andrew arrived, he was asked by the council if he knew where the king was, and who they were who had been carried in boats to his ships after the battle? He replied, that he knew nothing about the king, but that he and his brothers had landed from the boats, in order that along with other loyal subjects they might defend their sovereign; but when they saw that their endeavours were in vain, they returned to the fleet. He replied to the lords with a proud bearing, declared his detestation of rebels, and said, if the king were alive, he was bound to obey him alone, and if he were slain, he was ready to revenge him. The lords of the young king's council were offended at his freedom of speech, but they were obliged, by their safe-conduct and by a regard for their hostages, to let him depart. We are told, however, that when the hostages had returned, the citizens of Leith were called before the council, and solicited, with great promises, to fit out vessels and attack sir Andrew Wood. It is probable, however, that sir Andrew was a favourite in that port, and the citizens stated in reply their opinion, that his two vessels were so well equipped, and manned with such experienced seamen, and that he himself was so able a commander, that no ten vessels in Scotland would venture to attack him.

Although he refused to acknowledge the new government, sir Andrew was still active in the service of his country, and successfully protected the coasts against the piratical attacks of the English cruisers, who, unauthorised by their own government, took advantage of the domestic troubles in Scotland, to attack the Scottish merchant and fishing vessels, and even plundered some of the smaller coast towns. A year passes over, during which we know little of the course of events, and the kingdom seems to have remained still in a very

unsettled state. In the February of the year 1490, a fleet of five English piratical ships entered the Clyde, and not only plundered the merchant ships, but gave chase to a vessel belonging to the king, and drove it into Dumbarton. The young king, provoked at this insult, again invited sir Andrew Wood on shore, and appealed to his patriotism, pointing out the danger and disgrace incurred by the whole nation, in thus allowing a few ships to insult their coasts. From this moment Wood appears to have given his entire support to the young monarch. He undertook at once to attack the pirates, and when the courtiers recommended him to provide himself with a more numerous fleet, he replied with some pride, that the two ships he had—the Flower and the Yellow Carvel—were enough for him. He immediately spread his sails, and finding the five English ships at anchor off the town of Dunbar, he captured them all after a desperate action, and bringing his prizes into Leith, presented their five captains to the king.

Sir Andrew Wood now became a favourite with the king, who began to show an extraordinary taste for naval architecture. It was not long before Wood had a new opportunity of distinguishing himself. We are told that his exploits had provoked great jealousy in England, and that king Henry, though he was unwilling to break the truce, had been heard to express his wish that some one would reduce the pride of the Scottish sailors. Wood had been sent, for some purpose or other, to the coast of Flanders, and an enterprising merchant of London, named Stephen Bull, encouraged by what were understood to be the wishes of his monarch, determined to intercept the Scottish commander on his return. Bull fitted out three good ships, and manned them with choice sailors, and a body of crossbow-men and pikemen, and was joined by several adventurous knights, who volunteered their services. With these he set sail for the Scottish coast, and cast anchor behind the May, a small island off the mouth of the Forth, where he watched for the return of the two Scottish ships of war. He had not been long there when the fishermen, whom he had seized and employed in looking out, announced that Wood was approaching with crowded sails, and the Flower and the Yellow Carvel found themselves unexpectedly in the presence of a formidable enemy. Sir Andrew had barely time to prepare for

action, when, as he approached, the English ships opened their fire upon him; but, either from unskilfulness in the use of their canons, or, as it has been suggested, from the inferior size of the Scottish ships, the balls flew over them without doing them much injury. The Scottish ships then closed with the English, and throwing out their grapple-irons, brought their ships close, and lashed them together with cables. A desperate combat followed, which was disputed with so much bravery on both sides, that, although it began early in the morning, at the approach of night it was still undecided, and darkness alone separated the combatants. At the return of day, the trumpets were sounded as the signal for renewing the combat, and they continued to fight with so much resolution, that, unconsciously, they allowed themselves to drift with the tide into the mouth of the Tay. Here the shore on each side was soon covered with crowds of people, shouting and gesticulating to encourage their countrymen. Victory at length decided in favour of sir Andrew Wood, who captured the three English vessels, which he carried into Dundee. Thence he proceeded to court, and presented the English commander to the king. James generously set all the prisoners at liberty, and sent them back to England, with an earnest remonstrance to king Edward on the depredations of his subjects. Wood rose to the highest degree of favour, and the king kept him much about his person at court, as his instructor in naval matters, and rewarded him with grants of lands.

This battle was gained on the tenth of August, 1490. The victory was the more welcome, because it came almost at the same moment that James gained a signal success over the lords who had risen up in arms against him. The vigorous conduct of the faction which had raised the king to the throne, and the unscrupulous use they had made of their power, did not entirely discourage their opponents. Two nobles who had hitherto acted with the party in power, but who are supposed to have been disappointed in their expectations of reward, the earl of Lennox and the lord Lyle, began the revolt. While lord Lyle occupied the strong fortress of Dumbarton, and held it against the king; Lennox and some of his kinsmen and friends raised their vassals in arms, and communicating with the disaffected in the northern districts, where the late king's cause was popular, organized a

formidable rebellion. Lord Forbes, another of the insurgent nobles, marched about with the king's shirt, all bloody and torn with the blows that had caused his death, displayed on the end of a spear, which was thus exhibited through Aberdeen and the chief towns of the adjacent counties. The public were excited by this exhibition, and by the exhortations with which it was accompanied; and the overgrown power of the Hepburns, with the overbearing conduct of lord Drummond and his sons, who presumed on the influence of Margaret Drummond over the king, to commit great disorders, were themes which the opponents of the existing government turned to the utmost advantage.

The king lost no time in proceeding against the northern rebels, and towards the end of the summer of 1489 he laid siege in person to the castles of Duchal and Crookston, which were occupied by the insurgents, while he sent the earl of Argyle to besiege the more important fortress of Dumbarton, the garrison of which was commanded by the lord Lyle and Matthew Stuart, the eldest son of the earl of Lennox. As soon as these two fortresses had surrendered, the king marched towards Dumbarton to join the earl of Argyle.

Meanwhile the insurgents went on collecting their forces, and were gathering from different parts in order to fall upon the royal army. Their main strength, under the lord Forbes, the earl marshal, the lord Crichton, and the master of Huntley, were assembled towards Dumbarton, intending, as soon as they were joined by the earl of Lennox, to raise the siege of that place. Lennox commanded a considerable force, composed almost entirely of highlanders, with which, in his descent to the low districts, it was his original intention to pass the bridge at Stirling, but finding that the king's forces had occupied that town, he changed his place, and determined to pass the Forth at a ford not far from the source of the river. Lennox's army marched without proper caution, and at night they encamped carelessly, and without keeping the necessary watch, on a plain called Talla Moss, at a distance of about sixteen miles from Stirling. They were there betrayed to their enemies by a highlander named Alexander Macalpin, who left the camp and carried information to the king of their incautious position, and of the ease with which they might be taken by surprise, and

utterly defeated. James was then at Dunblane, and rejoiced at the highlander's intelligence, he lost not a moment in turning it to advantage. With the troops he could collect at the moment, consisting chiefly of the royal household, accompanied by the lord Drummond, he marched hastily and noiselessly to Lennox's camp, and, it being a dark night in the month of October, the insurgents were completely taken by surprise, and the whole army was soon either killed, taken, or dispersed. This disaster seems to have so entirely discouraged the insurgents, that they made no further attempt to relieve Dumbarton, which soon afterwards surrendered to the king, and within a very short period the revolt was entirely suppressed.

The successful issue of this expedition against the rebels tended to strengthen the government, which contained in itself many elements of durability. The young king, himself, began to display talent and energy, and among the party by whom he was now ruled, were men of great abilities as statesmen and warriors, such as the lord Drummond, Hepburn of Hailes, who had been raised to the title of earl of Bothwell, the high chamberlain Hume, the earl of Argyle (the lord chancellor), and the king's secretary White-law. The king shewed a generous and open character, which gained him generally the love and respect of his subjects, while, contrary to the course pursued by those who held the throne before him, he surrendered himself entirely to the guidance of his nobles. These now saw that it was their wisest policy to act with a conciliatory spirit towards the party opposed to them, and, after Lennox's revolt had been suppressed, most of those engaged in it were pardoned, and the leaders were soon afterwards taken into favour. "Thus," says Buchanan, "in a short time all parties being reconciled, jocund peace and universal tranquillity ensued; and, as if fortune had become handmaid to the king's virtues, a plentiful harvest followed, and a golden season seemed to have arisen after the more than

iron age. The king, however, when he had repressed public robberies by arms, and other vices by the severities of the laws, lest he should be thought to be a severe avenger to others, and too indulgent to himself, in order to shew openly that his father was put to death against his desire, bound an iron chain round his body, to which he added a link every year during his life. This, although it might be disagreeable to the authors of the murder, yet either trusting to the mildness of the king's disposition, or the power of their party, they abstained from every commotion."*

The tranquillity described by Buchanan continued for a brief period, though it is apparent what kind of tranquillity it must be considered from the proceedings of the parliament which met soon afterwards, one of the first acts of which was an attempt to restore order by fixing a severe punishment for those who committed open slaughter or rapine, and for those who were guilty of dismembering the king's subjects. It was also found necessary to renew the old enactments against the grievance of leagues or bands among the nobles and their feudal tenantry. The chancellor was ordered to sit three times a-year with certain lords of council, or in their absence the lords of session, to administer justice. All sheriffs, bailies, and provosts of burghs, were required to take copies of the acts and statutes now passed, and to cause them to be openly proclaimed within the bounds of their office, in order that none might plead ignorance of the laws. The earl of Huntley was appointed king's lieutenant north of the water of Esk, till James should have reached his twenty-fifth year, to ensure a more vigorous administration of the laws in the north. An embassy had been directed by James's first parliament to be sent to France and other courts to seek a bride for the youthful monarch, but the disturbances which followed seem to have hindered this project from being carried into effect. It was, however, revived on the present occasion, and the parliament

* It is difficult to say how much truth there is in Buchanan's story of the king's chain of iron. Tytler has pointed out from records printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, the existence at this time of a conspiracy against king James in England. Ramsay lord Bothwell, the favourite of James III., had escaped to that country after the king's death, and was joined there by the earl of Buchanan, and a person named in the only document relating to this transaction, "sir Thomas Tod, of the realm of Scot-

land." These, with others whose names are not mentioned, entered into an agreement with Henry VII. by which they undertook to seize and deliver into that monarch's hands the king of Scots, and his brother the duke of Ross. Henry advanced them as a loan two hundred and sixty-six pounds, to enable them to carry out their project; but the want of documents leaves us in ignorance of their further proceedings, and we subsequently find Tod in credit at the Scottish court.

directed that Hepburn earl of Bothwell and the bishop of Glasgow should be sent to France to renew the alliance with that kingdom, and to proceed thence to Spain or other courts to negotiate a treaty of marriage. Another embassy was sent to Denmark, to renew the friendly relations with that country, and the archbishop of St. Andrews went to England, and an amicable arrangement was soon after made with king Henry for the regulation of the borders and the prolongation of the truce.

As James advanced in years, his opinion of those who had hitherto directed his actions appears to have undergone a change, and he probably became convinced that their object in effecting the revolution which placed him on the throne was of the most selfish character; that they sought only to enrich and aggrandise themselves at the expense of the crown and the country. This change is said to have been brought about by the influence of sir Andrew Wood, whose attachment to the king's father is well known, and who would hardly fail to warn him against the counsels of those by whom he had been deposed and slain. James began first to treat with coldness many of the lords who had lately held all the power in their own hands, and they soon found that they were the objects of his suspicion and dislike. One of the chief of them, the earl of Angus, went into England, and entered into a treasonable alliance with king Henry, but he had no sooner passed the border, on his return, than he was ordered to consider himself a prisoner in the castle of Tantallon. He only obtained his liberation on surrendering the lands and lordship of Liddesdale, with the castle of Hermitage, which the king gave to the earl of Bothwell, who now held the high offices of admiral of Scotland, and warden of the west and middle marshes. At the same time the king showed the feelings which now guided him, by issuing a proclamation, offering, after so long a time had elapsed, a reward to any persons who should discover the murderers of the late king. This was followed by a complaint, that a large portion of the treasures and jewels of the late king had disappeared, and never come to the present king's hands, and the king directed a searching inquiry to be made for the discovery of those who had stolen or concealed them. These seem to have been only threats, which were never carried into effect, and they were, perhaps, intended to intimidate, without driving

those against whom they were directed to the necessity of resistance.

A parliament was held at Edinburgh in the summer of 1493, which was occupied with measures of resistance to the encroachments of the court of Rome, in regard to ecclesiastical jurisdiction. New directions were given for a matrimonial mission, and more money was voted for that purpose, but without any immediate result. Acts were passed for the encouragement of commerce, and for regulating the municipal government of the burghs. We also see a return to national peace and tranquillity, in the formal re-enactment of many old laws for the protection of the fisheries, for the preservation of game, for the punishment of idle men and vagabonds, for the protection of the poor, and for other purposes, which had probably been forgotten or neglected amid the recent troubles.

For some time past, James had been making himself remarkable by the activity with which he discharged the duties of a sovereign, and he showed at least a love for business, if not great talents for transacting it. As his mind was gradually alienated from his old partizans, and he reflected on the danger with which the crown had been so often threatened by the turbulent insubordination of the north, he determined to consolidate his kingdom by reducing the highland clans to a more regular form of government than any to which they had hitherto submitted. He appears to have flattered and gained over to his purposes some of the more powerful chiefs, by making them objects of his personal attention and favour. Among those who were thus induced to give him their entire support, were the earl of Huntley, Duncan Macintosh the captain of the clan Chattan, Ewan captain of the clan Cameron, Campbell of Glenureha, the Macgilleouns of Dowart and Lochbuy, Mackaue of Ardnarnrehan, and the lairds of Mackenzie and Grant. To give greater effect to his plans, he made frequent visits to the highlands, and accustomed his subjects in the north to the presence of their sovereign. He thus proceeded twice in the year 1490 from Perth across the mountains to the head of Loch Rannoch; he also made two visits to the highlands, in 1493, penetrating to Dunstaffnage and Mingarry; and, in 1494, he thrice visited the isles. These progresses were attended with the most salutary effects. The wild people of the north, unaccustomed to the pageantry of

the court, were now taught to look with respect on the crown; and the rapidity of the king's movements, the ease with which he penetrated into their mountain wilds, the success with which he proceeded against those who resisted, and the generosity with which he rewarded his friends, produced everywhere a ready submission to his will. The lord of the Isles was the only one whose great power encouraged him to offer serious resistance, and he was cited before a parliament at Edinburgh, and having been condemned of high treason, was deprived of his possessions, which were forfeited to the crown.

While James was thus restoring order and peace at home, his foreign relations were gradually assuming a more hostile character. He knew that Henry VII. had given his countenance to conspiracies against his crown, and he was not unwilling to retaliate by giving his secret support to those who attempted to overthrow the government then established in England. Mutual suspicions increased the estrangement between the two princes, until at length, when the mysterious conspiracy of Peter Warbeck led to an open attack on the English monarch, James did not hesitate publicly to give it his support. It is supposed that the king of Scots had been in the secret of this plot long before the impostor was brought forward on the stage, and there can be no doubt that he had long been engaged in intimate correspondence with the duchess of Burgundy, the inveterate enemy of Henry VII., and the chief fosterer of Warbeck's plot. When this impostor was in Ireland, king James held open communication with him, and formally acknowledged him as duke of York; and when, in the November of 1494, the king received intelligence from Flanders, that the pretended prince would visit Scotland, he made preparations for receiving him in the most honourable manner. James and the Scots in general seem to have been perfectly convinced that Warbeck was the person he pretended to be, and he was everywhere treated as the duke of York, and, among other favours, the king gave him in marriage the beautiful Catherine Gordon, a daughter of the earl of Huntley. He was allowed to state his case before the king's council, and it was determined that he should be assisted in making war on his enemy, the usurper king Henry.

But king Henry was well aware of the

plots against him, and with his usual deep and cautious policy had taken his steps to prevent them. By his system of political espionage, he had made himself acquainted with the intrigues of the conspirators in England, and he had arrested the principal personages on whom Warbeck calculated for any chance of assistance. The Scottish borderers, anticipating war, had begun to invade the English counties, and thus exciting the national feeling of animosity, had rendered doubly unpopular any interference from Scotland. It was in the November of 1495, that Warbeck arrived in Scotland, and he was received at Stirling with royal honours. It had been no sooner resolved by the council to give him assistance, than James ordered a muster of the whole military force of the kingdom at Lander, and the king himself is traced, by the national records, moving about the country to superintend the equipment of his artillery, in which he took great pride. The duchess of Burgundy sent to his assistance a small force of German men-at-arms, with a considerable cargo of arms and military stores, and the arrival at the same time of an ambassador from France, the lord of Concessault, a warm partizan of the pretender, showed the interest which Charles VIII. took in the undertaking. Even some of the English barons of the border repaired to the Scottish camp, to pay their respects to the pretended representative of the house of York.

But domestic treason was as usual busy in Scotland. The war was not popular in the kingdom, and some of the most powerful of the Scottish barons took advantage of this circumstance to intrigue against king James, and to enter into communication with the English monarch. Among those who acted thus was the king's own brother, the duke of Ross. Ramsay, lord Bothwell, the favourite of James III., who now lived in the pay of king Henry, was the chief instrument in carrying on these intrigues; and through him the duke of Ross, the earl of Buchan, and the bishop of Moray, entered into a treaty with the king of England, and undertook to do their utmost to defeat the object for which their king was making war. Ross went so far as to promise to place himself under the protection of the king of England the moment king James crossed the border; and a plot was laid for seizing Warbeck in his tent at night, and delivering him to the English,

which seems to have been hindered from execution by the vigilance of the royal guards. On the other hand, many of James's most faithful counsellors were averse to the war, and vainly endeavoured to dissuade him from it.

James, however, was obstinate, and after exacting from Warbeck a promise that in the event of his success he should restore Berwick to the Scots, and pay a thousand marks towards the expenses of the war, he drew his army to the border, and entered England, confident that the English were going to flock in crowds to the banner of the pretender. To encourage them, a proclamation was published in the name of the duke of York, addressing the English people as his subjects, calling upon their sympathies for his house, promising them liberty from oppression, and relief from taxation, branding Henry as a usurper, and setting a reward of a thousand pounds on his head. To James's great mortification, this proclamation produced no effect, and as he held his course through Northumberland, nobody appeared to join his banner. In his anger, he gave up the country to indiscriminate plunder, and the havoc he made, and the outrages committed by his army, touched the heart of Warbeck himself, who is said to have remonstrated with him on such a cruel mode of making war, and to have declared that he would rather renounce the crown of England than gain it by the destruction of his subjects. It is said that James merely replied with a sneer that he thought that the prince need not be over solicitous for the welfare of a nation which would neither acknowledge him for a king, nor even for a fellow-countryman.

The army began now to suffer from want of provisions, and, as it was announced that a strong English force was approaching, James returned hastily and ingloriously to Scotland. The war was kept up during the winter between the border barons, and considerable depredations were made on both sides, but James's ardour in the cause of Warbeck was evidently cooled, and Henry, who was soon made acquainted with the feelings of the Scottish court, took advantage of this circumstance to enter into negotiations for peace, and he made new proposals for a marriage between king James and his daughter the princess Margaret. These were received coldly, and James refused to listen to Henry's demand of the surrender of Warbeck to the English. Yet the pre-

sence of Warbeck soon became a burthen to James, who was obliged to provide for him out of his own purse, which was not always sufficient for the profuse expenditure of his own gay and dissipated court. He appears too late to have felt the justice of the councils of those who were at first opposed to the war, and he seems to have resolved on continuing hostilities only until he could conveniently get rid of his guest. As the summer of 1497 approached, a serious insurrection in Cornwall encouraged the king of Scots to attempt another invasion of England. On this occasion, James separated his army into two divisions, one of which was sent to lay waste the country round Durham, while the king remained with the other to besiege the strong castle of Norham. But on this occasion, both the king's undertakings were unsuccessful. The bishop of Durham, anticipating that the Scots would take advantage of the disturbed state of the kingdom to invade it again, had strengthened all the fortresses of the bishopric, and had carried away the cattle and other property liable to plunder from the places where they were exposed, and having on the first rumours of the approach of an enemy sent to the earl of Surrey, who lay with a considerable force in Yorkshire, the Scots were obliged to return from Durham empty-handed, and they found their king so discouraged at the resolute defence made by the garrison of Norham, that he soon after raised the siege, and returned home. The English retaliated by an immediate invasion of Scotland, where they destroyed the castle of Ayton, but this seems to have been nearly all the mischief they effected.

Warbeck took no part in this expedition. During the king's absence with the army, a ship commanded by Robert Barton was secretly prepared in the port of Ayr, and thither the pretended duke of York repaired with his beautiful consort and a body of thirty horse. On the 6th of July, 1497, Warbeck set sail, and left the coast of Scotland, never to return. The Scottish king, though glad at his departure, still studiously treated him with all the honours due to his pretended rank. He subsequently proceeded to Ireland, and from thence went over to England to join the Cornish rebels. He was at last taken prisoner, and, after a confession of his imposture had been extorted from him, he was ignominiously hanged at Tyburn. His wife, the lady

Catherine Drummond, was brought from St. Michael's Mount, where she had taken refuge, to Henry's court, where she was long admired for her beauty and misfortunes, and was known by the popular title of the White Rose. Henry generously gave her a pension, which she continued to receive after his death.

CHAPTER XIX.

JAMES'S LOVE FOR NAVAL AFFAIRS; TRUCE WITH ENGLAND; JAMES'S MARRIAGE WITH THE LADY MARGARET OF ENGLAND; REBELLION IN THE NORTH; THE "RAID OF ESKDALE;" DEATH OF HENRY VII. OF ENGLAND.

As king James advanced in years, he gained in the love of his subjects and of his nobility. The latter, accustomed under two monarchs to be treated with suspicious jealousy, and often with stern hostility, seem to have rejoiced in a king whose prejudices were in their favour, and to have been willing at last to remain in tranquillity. James possessed many qualities which rendered him popular among his subjects of the middle and inferior classes. Generous and open in his manners, and fond of gaiety and mixing with the world, he, at the same time, partook in many of the more refined tastes of his father. The reign of James IV. was the golden age of the old Scottish literature, and boasts of such names as Dunbar and Gawin Douglas; but James's favourite pursuits were architecture and navigation. He lived in an age when wonderful discoveries of distant lands had drawn the attention of the wise and learned to the sea, and when the princes of Christendom began to be more than ever anxious for the possession of powerful fleets. Columbus had just astonished Europe with the discovery of America, and even the cautious and parsimonious Henry VII. of England patronised the voyages of the Cabots. It is not surprising, therefore, if an ardent mind like that of James of Scotland, became warmly interested in the prosperity of his navy. Scotland could hardly be said to possess a royal fleet, when the king ascended the throne, yet among her merchants and traders were many able and enterprising seamen, among whom we need only mention sir Andrew Wood of Largo, Andrew and John Barton, sir Alexander Mathison, and William Merrimouth of Leith. These men the king liked to have about his person, and

under their directions he applied himself with great ardour to the study of naval affairs. He went out on short experimental voyages; mixed with the seamen and sailors; encouraged them with rewards and presents; and flattered their commanders by visiting them familiarly in their houses. Above all things he paid attention to gunnery, and he not only prided himself on his train of artillery, but he practised with it himself.

Still James was deficient in the prudence and sound judgment necessary to form a great king, and the effect of his good qualities was often marred by a rash and ungovernable temper. This, combined with an unfortunate accident which happened at the time of which we are now speaking (1498), might have driven the country into a new war with England, had it not been prevented by the forbearance of Henry VII. Two independent kingdoms, placed with relation to each other as Scotland and England then were, could hardly avoid accidental hostilities on the borders, which might easily be taken as provocations to war, although with mutual forbearance they might with equal ease be pacifically arranged. In the present instance, a party of Scottish youths, some of them of good families, crossed the Tweed at Norham to visit the castle. It appears that they had given no notice of their coming, and the governor and his garrison, with their natural prejudices excited by the recent siege, accused them of coming as spies, and, taking up arms, attacked them and drove them back over the river. The Scottish borderers carried their complaints to king James, who was enraged at this unprovoked outrage, and sent an angry message to the king of

England, demanding reparation and threatening war in case of refusal. King Henry returned a temperate reply, describing the occurrence as an accidental and unpremeditated disturbance, which he regretted, and was ready to inquire into and afford redress. The bishop of Durham (Richard Fox), to whom Norham castle belonged, took the matter in the same spirit, and wrote a letter to the Scottish king so conciliating and flattering, that James invited the bishop to meet him at Melrose, where conversations are said to have taken place between them which soon afterwards led to a closer alliance between the two monarchs.

King Henry's policy towards Scotland had been pacific in the extreme, and had been met with no unfriendly feeling by James, who was influenced by the intervention of Spain. Pedro d'Ayala, the Spanish envoy at the court of England, had proceeded to Scotland in the year 1497, with a missive to king James from his sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, and he soon acquired so much influence over the prince to whom he was thus accredited, that he was appointed his principal commissioner in the negotiations with England. The result of these negotiations was a truce of seven years, concluded at Ayton, on the 31st of September, 1497, and it was soon afterwards agreed that this truce should continue during the lives of the two monarchs, and for a year after the death of the survivor. Soon afterwards d'Ayala left Scotland, and James, no longer influenced by his councils, seems to have been less earnest in his pacific negotiations, which were interrupted by the circumstances just related. They were now renewed with increased confidence, and the English king having sent his vice-admiral, Rydor, as ambassador to the Scottish court, the truce was finally ratified at Stirling, on the 20th of July, 1499.

This important matter being arranged, king Henry sought, with a wise policy, to cement the alliance between the two countries by a new tie. A proposal had been made long before for a marriage between king James and king Henry's eldest daughter, the princess Margaret, which had met with the approbation of the wisest statesmen of both countries; but different circumstances, combined with the tender age of the lady, and James's attachment to Margaret Drummond, had interrupted the negotiations on this subject. They were now, however, renewed, and James's nobles,

fearful perhaps of the influence of the mistress, combined with the king's impetuous temper, warmly recommended the union. Commissioners on the part of the two kings held repeated meetings and consultations, the result of which was that the king and the princess were betrothed in the year 1500, although the marriage treaty was not finally signed till the 24th of January, 1503. It was stipulated in this treaty, that as the princess Margaret had not yet completed her twelfth year, her father should not be obliged to send her to Scotland before the 1st day of September, 1503; and within fifteen days after her arrival there, king James was bound to espouse her. The usual arrangements were made as to the income to be settled on the queen, and the dowry to be paid with her. She was to be at liberty to keep twenty-four English domestics, men and women, in addition to her Scottish household, and, if she survived her husband, after his death she was to be permitted to reside, at her pleasure, either in Scotland or England. In general, the terms of the marriage, especially with regard to the dowry to be given with the princess, were less favourable to Scotland than such treaties had usually been in former times.

It was, however, highly popular with the Scottish nobles, who, as far as we can gather, began to be seriously alarmed at the influence of the king's mistress, and to have been fearful that the Drummonds aimed at still greater projects of aggrandisement. It is supposed that the slowness with which the negotiations had been carried on, was principally caused by the opposition of the Drummonds, but the influence on which they relied was suddenly broken by a domestic tragedy, which, though involved in the deepest mystery, we can hardly help connecting with the jealousy of the Scottish nobles. While the treaty of marriage with England had not yet received the royal signature, and James seemed unaccountably backward in giving it, the lady Margaret Drummond and her two sisters, Euphemia and Sibylla, who were then at Drummond castle, were suddenly seized with illness after a repast, and died in great agonies, with all the symptoms of having been poisoned. The circumstances of their death seem to have been studiously concealed, and their bodies were hastily removed to Dunblane, and there buried immediately, without any

further inquiry. After this occurrence no further delay appears to have taken place in the preparations for the English marriage.

The chain was now broken with which James had so long been bound, and he prepared eagerly for his marriage. At the beginning of August, 1503, the princess Margaret proceeded to Scotland, in charge of the earl of Surrey. She was now fourteen years old, while James had reached his thirty-first year. Among the distinguished people who formed the train of the young queen of Scots, were the earl of Northumberland, the lord Dacre, the archbishop of York, and the bishop of Durham. At Lamberton kirk, in Lammermuir, they were met by the archbishop of Glasgow, the earl of Morton, and other Scottish barons, who came as commissioners from king James, and to whom the earl of Northumberland delivered the princess with great solemnity. From hence the cavalcade proceeded towards Dalkeith, and when Margaret reached Newbattle, only a few miles short of Edinburgh, James himself came to meet her. We are told by a contemporary writer that the king flew to Newbattle, like a bird that seeks its prey, and, that entering her chamber, he found her playing at cards. After the first familiar salutation, he entertained her by his performance on the clavicord and lute. When he departed he leaped on his fine courser without putting his foot in the stirrup, and set off at full speed, leaving his train far behind him. Perceiving, however, that the earl of Surrey had come out to greet him, he turned back and saluted the earl barehead. At his next visit, the queen exhibited her musical skill, while he listened with bended knee. On another occasion, the king came with a retinue of forty horse, while he rode himself on a mule. Everything was done to show the ardour of a youthful lover, eager to throw himself at the feet of the mistress of his heart. When at length the princess Margaret left Dalkeith to proceed to the capital, James met her half-way, mounted on a bay horse trapped with gold, he and his attendants riding, to use the phrase of the old writer, as if after a hare. An exhibition of chivalry took place on this occasion. A knight appeared on horseback, attended by a beautiful lady, who held his bridle and carried his hunting horn. Another knight, sir Patrick Hamilton, came forward and seized the lady, on which a conflict took place, which was continued till

the king put a stop to it by calling "peace." When they reached the suburbs of Edinburgh, the princess descended from her litter, and mounted upon a pillion behind the king, and they thus rode through the streets of the city to the palace, amid the acclamations of the populace. On the 8th of August, the marriage was solemnised in the abbey church of Holyrood, by the archbishop of St. Andrews. The marriage dinner was unusually splendid, the walls of the room being covered with tapestry representing the siege of Troy, while the windows presented in compartments the arms of England and Scotland, and a thistle and a rose interlaced under a crown. At the first course, a boar's head, gilt, was brought in with all the attendant ceremonies. Minstrels and players amused the company with their performances after dinner and after supper, and we are told that many moralities were acted "by John Inglis and his company." Several successive nights were occupied with scenes of the most sumptuous revelry, with feasting, morris dances, masks, and dramatic entertainments of various descriptions. The days were passed in tournaments and similar pageantry, in which the king distinguished himself by his strength and martial skill. In one of these pageants, James appeared in the character of the savage knight, surrounded by men disguised in goat-skins. In another, an illustrious French knight, Antoine d'Archie de la Bastie, tilted with lord Hamilton, and afterwards fought in the barriers with him. Hamilton was nearly related to the king, and in great favour, and on the third day after the marriage he was created in honour of the marriage earl of Arran. At the close of these festivities, rich gifts were distributed in lavish profusion to the visitors, both foreigners and Scotchmen.

The numerous attendance of foreigners at James's wedding showed the high respect which he had already gained abroad. Indeed, but a few months had passed since the Scottish king had been enabled to send a strong auxiliary force to assist the king of Denmark against the revolted Norwegians. He was enabled to give effective assistance to his northern ally and kinsman by the excellence of his fleet, for the improvement and perfection of which he never ceased to labour. Among the ships he was now building was one, to which he gave the name of the Great Michael, which far exceeded in magnitude any that had pre-

viously been made in western Europe. The dimensions of this huge vessel are given by Pitscottie, who tells us that in his days they were preserved at Tullibardin, "planted in Hawthorn, the length and breadth, by the wright that helped to make her." She was two hundred and forty feet long, and thirty-six wide within the sides, which were ten feet thick. We are told that in building this vessel, all the oak woods of Fife, except Falkland, was used up, besides what was brought from Norway. Numerous foreign as well as Scottish shipwrights were employed in its construction, and the king in person anxiously urged the work, yet it took more than one year to finish it. Ships at this time only carried cannons on their upper decks, and, in spite of her enormous magnitude, the Great Michael had only thirty-five guns, sixteen on each side, two in the stern, and one in the bow; but she carried an immense quantity of small artillery, such as culverins, double dogs, falcons, hagberths, serpents, and cross-bows. She required three hundred mariners, and a hundred and twenty gunners, and her whole complement of men was about a thousand. These tastes of the king were, it may be supposed expensive, and joined with the outlay in beautifying the palaces of Stirling and Falkland, and other buildings, and the extravagant sums lavished on pageantry, and on less ostentatious pleasures and dissipation, soon drained the royal coffers, and the king was often embarrassed by the want of money. He was thus reduced to expedients for raising it, which were not always strictly just, and which might, but for the king's popularity and redeeming virtues, have provoked a determined resistance. "Among others," Buchanan tells us, "one was proposed, it is generally believed, by William Elphinstone bishop of Aberdeen, which was very oppressive to the whole nobility. Among the tenures of lands among the Scots, there is one by which the landlord holds an estate, obtained either by purchase or gift, which is, that if the possessor dying leaves an heir under age, his pupilage belongs to the king, or some other lord superior, to whom belongs all the rents till the pupil attains the age of twenty-one. There are also other services annexed to this species of property; if the possessor sells above the half of his estate without the consent of his superior, the whole reverts to the superior lord. This law, which had lain long dormant, as unjust,

and enacted by court parasites for readily filling the exchequer, the king was advised to revive, as he would be able to raise some money from those who had violated it, by a process they called *recognition*. This method of exacting money, although it did not deprive any person of his whole estate, being of more general application, was more grievous than his father's avarice: for the injury extended to many and most honourable men, who—since under the two last kings, on account of the external and civil wars in which they were engaged, the very remembrance of such a law had nearly been lost—were forced either to redeem their lands from the collectors of the exchequer, or surrender some part of them. So great, however, was the love to their prince of those who suffered, and such the respect they bore him on account of his other virtues, that their dissatisfaction did not produce any commotion."

While the king was rendering himself popular in the south, the spirit of revolt had again shown itself in the north. We have already mentioned James's personal visits to the highlands in the early part of his reign, and the success which attended them. At the close of the century, for some reason with which we are unacquainted, his policy towards the highlanders was suddenly changed, and in place of his former moderation, he became oppressive and unjust. He summarily revoked charters which he had granted himself, and, having appointed the earl of Argyle his lieutenant, he gave him authority to lease out nearly the whole lordship of the isles. The old landholders were expelled ignominiously from the possessions of their forefathers, which were given to enrich the supporters of the king's policy and measures. At this time (in 1502) Donald Dhu, the grandson of John lord of the isles, had been shut up a close prisoner in the castle of Incheconnal for forty years, and the men of the isles, who, in spite of the illegitimacy of his birth, looked upon him as the true heir of Ross and Innisgail, determined to set him at liberty, and proclaim him their king. The Mac-Ians of Glencoe led the insurrection, and having surprised the castle of Incheconnal, they carried Donald Dhu in triumph to Torquil Macleod's castle, in the isle of Lewis. This exploit was the signal for a general revolt of the fierce population of these districts, who overran Badenoch with fire and sword, and burnt the town of Inverness.

James was well aware of the dangerous confederacy which had been formed in the north, and he instantly called forth the military array of the kingdom, which he placed under the command of the earls of Argyle, Huntley, Crawford, and Marshal, and other barons, and ordered them to advance immediately against the rebels. The supreme command of this army was afterwards entrusted to the earl of Arran. All the king's improvements in ships and artillery were brought to bear upon the northerns, and produced a proportionate impression. It was now especially that James felt the importance of his fleet. A small squadron, under sir Andrew Wood and another of his ablest seamen, Robert Barton, proceeded to the isles, and the king, who was preparing an attack on the turbulent clans of Eskdale and Teviotdale, accompanied them as far as Dumbarton. The islanders had not been used to attacks by sea of this formidable character, and Wood and Barton reduced with ease the strong insular castle of Carneburgh, and spread so much terror among their enemies, that most of the chiefs, such as Macleod, Mac-Ian, and others, returned to their allegiance, or endeavoured to avoid the suspicion of disaffection by the zeal with which they co-operated with the king's officers. The rebellion was thus soon appeased, and the chiefs who had supported the crown were rendered still more loyal by liberal grants of the confiscated lands.

In the midst of these proceedings, between the breaking out of this northern insurrection and the sending the fleet, James had called a parliament to give force to his measures of repression. This parliament met at Edinburgh on the eleventh of March, 1504, and proceeded at once to pass a variety of acts, the direct object of which was the reformation and civilization of the highlands. One of these divided the wilder districts of the north into new sheriffdoms, and placed them under the jurisdiction of permanent judges. It was stated in this act, and not without reason, that the districts thus brought within the pale of the law, had hitherto set justice at defiance, and that their inhabitants had become little better than savages. The isles were divided into north and south; the sheriffs for the north isles were to hold their courts at Inverness and Dingwall, and those for the south in the Tarbet of Lochkilkerran. The inhabitants of Dowart, Glendowart, and Lorn, were ordered to attend

the justice-ayre at Perth, while those of Mawmor and Lochaber were to come to the similar court at Inverness. The courts for Bute, Arran, Knapdale, Kantire, and the larger Cumbray, were to be held at Ayr; those of Argyle were to be held, in the words of the act, "wherever it is found that each highlander and lowlander may come without danger and ask justice," a remarkable testimony to the unsettled state of that district. Ross and Caithness were to be separated from the sheriffdom of Inverness, and placed under their own judges; and the inhabitants of these three extensive districts were to attend as usual the justice-ayre of Inverness. There were wild and unsettled districts in the lowlands, which it was also necessary to reduce to good order, and resolutions were taken for this purpose. Other steps were taken by this parliament for facilitating the administration of justice throughout the kingdom. It appears that much confusion and delay of justice occurred in the court of the lords of the session, from the great accumulation of cases, for the relief of which a court of daily council was appointed, the judges of which were to be appointed by the king, and they were to hold their sittings in Edinburgh. An act was passed restricting the granting of comprehensive pardons under which persons guilty of great crimes had been accustomed to purchase impunity. Various other laws were made at this time for protecting agriculture, for regulating the letting of lands, and for equalizing weights and measures. It was finally declared that all barons or freeholders, whose annual revenue was less than a hundred marks, might absent themselves from the meeting of the three estates, provided they sent their procurators to answer for them; but that those whose income exceeded that sum should be obliged to attend; a law which affected the constitution of the parliament itself.

This parliament was followed, as we have already stated, by the expedition against the highlanders, on his return from which the king marched with a powerful army to punish the borderers for their plundering propensities. He had first sent a messenger to the English king, requesting his co-operation in the task of purging the borders of thieves, who disturbed the peace of both kingdoms, and accordingly the English warden, lord Dacre, was ordered to repair to James's head quarters at Lochmaben. This "raid of Eskdale," as

it was called, was long remembered on the border for the summary justice which was executed upon multitudes of turbulent marauders. Scarcely a month had passed after this expedition, when James found it necessary to make another progress in the north, by way of Seone, Forfar, Aberdeen, and Elgin, as far as Forres, for the purpose of examining the proceedings of the judges and seeing personally that the laws were properly executed. The next year a new insurrection broke out in the isles, headed by Torquil Macleod, with Maclean of Dowart, Macquarrie of Ulva, Macneil of Barra, and Mackinnon. A fleet under the command of John Barton, was again sent to the northern seas, and the earl of Huntley was directed to invade the isles from the north, while the king himself proceeded against them from the south. By these vigorous measures the rebellion was quickly suppressed, and in 1506, the northern hold of Torquil Macleod, the castle of Stornaway in Lewis, was taken by storm, and the power of its lord entirely destroyed. Donald Dhu, whom the insurgents had proclaimed king of the isles, escaped to Ireland, where he died. In this manner the king reduced his whole kingdom to such a state of order and good government, that about a year later he took what might have been considered a somewhat hazardous method of testing the obedience of his subjects to the laws. He set out on horseback secretly and alone, with nothing but his riding cloak east round him, his hunting knife at his belt, and six-and-twenty pounds in his purse for his travelling expenses. Thus equipped, he rode from Sterling to Perth, and thence by Aberdeen and Elgin to the shrine of St. Duthoc in Ross, where he heard mass. The king related with pride that through this long and solitary progress he met with no interruption, and saw nothing but tranquillity; and having made himself known and assembled the principal nobles and gentry of the districts through which he had passed, he returned with them in a sumptuous progress to Sterling.

Proud of his fleet, James began to interfere more in the political affairs of the continent. Among all his foreign allies, he was most partial to France, and entertained a frequent correspondence with its monarch and with the lord of Aubigny. This led to a certain degree of estrangement between Scotland and England, and the breach was

increased when, after the Spanish successes in Italy, James entered into an offensive alliance with France against Spain, the favourite ally of king Henry VII. Soon after this, he exerted himself successfully in protecting the duke of Guelders from the designs of the emperor Maximilian. And when an embassy from the pope came to urge him to break off his alliance with the French king, he was so far from listening to it, that he offered to send Louis an auxiliary force of four thousand Scots to serve in his wars in Italy. In 1508, the archbishop of St. Andrew's and the earl of Arran were sent on an embassy to France, to procure commercial privileges; and not long afterwards the aged lord of Aubigny came from France to induce James to join Louis in the league against the Venetians; but dying at Corstorphine soon after his arrival, the French noble was buried in the tomb of his Scottish ancestry. In this embassy the French king flattered James's personal vanity by asking his advice as to the marriage of his daughter with the king of Castile, and by following his counsel when given. James now assumed a tone of pride towards the English monarch, whose jealousy was excited by his intimacy with the king of France, and who began to anticipate his direct hostility. A circumstance occurred at the same time calculated to raise ill-feeling between the two countries. The earl of Arran and his brother sir Patrick Hamilton had passed through England on their embassy to France without Henry's knowledge, and they now landed in Kent on their return. The English king was probably offended at what might be considered a slight in giving him no notice of the passage of the ambassadors through his dominions, and he now sent an officer to meet them, who was to require them, before they proceeded further, to bind themselves by oath to observe the peace with England. This they refused to do, and they were detained and committed to custody, while Henry sent Dr. West as his ambassador to Scotland to explain and justify his proceedings. But James highly resented the detention of his envoys, declared that they had only done their duty in refusing the oath, and demanded their liberation. This dispute was partially arranged, when the death of Henry VII. on the 21st of April, 1509, came to render more difficult the relations between the two countries.

CHAPTER XX.

HENRY VIII. OF ENGLAND; DEFEAT OF ANDREW BARTON; OUTRAGES ON THE BORDER; JAMES'S HOSTILE PREPARATIONS; EXPEDITION OF THE EARL OF ARRAN; DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST ENGLAND; FLODDEN FIELD.

THE Scottish monarch was becoming gradually so much attached to France, that he allowed himself to be led into a course of policy which was injurious to his country and fatal to himself. The pacific temper of Henry VII. had been extremely favourable to the advancing prosperity of Scotland, and James had begun to assume a proud and haughty bearing in his transactions with the sister country; but in his brother-in-law, Henry VIII., he found a prince who was as proud and intemperate as himself, and although mutual congratulations were exchanged on his accession to the throne, it was not likely that the amity between them would last long undisturbed.

The ocean seems at this time to have been considered a sort of open field, on which the ships of one nation did not scruple to attack and plunder those of another, whenever they thought they could do it with impunity. Some vessels under the name of merchant ships, and even under the still more honourable one of king's ships, were no better than pirates, and enriched themselves by indiscriminate depredations on the high seas. Sometimes several captains seem to have associated together for this purpose. A few years before the time of which we are speaking, the Hollanders had taken and plundered a small fleet of Scottish merchantmen, and slain the crews. This was not considered a subject for diplomatic remonstrance between the two countries; but Andrew Barton, one of a family to whom the king had given great influence in naval affairs, was sent with a squadron to punish the depredators, which he did so effectually, that he sent home to his king a multitude of hogsheads filled with the heads of the Dutch sailors. On another occasion, the Bartons had been attacked and plundered by the Portuguese, upon which king James granted letters of reprisal, which were soon carried into effect. The Portuguese navy and commerce were at this time the richest and most powerful in the world, and the Scottish navigators would gain too much in such an extensive field of depredation to leave it. At length in 1507, John Barton,

the father, was taken in his ship, the *Lion*, and imprisoned at Campvere, in Zealand. This provoked king James to renew and extend the letters of reprisal to Barton's sons. The Bartons now seem for two years to have carried on an indiscriminate war with the Portuguese merchant navy, and under cover of this excuse with those of other nations. It is said that these ships, and especially Andrew Barton with the *Lion* and a smaller vessel, watched off the English ports to attack the merchantmen as they entered, and captured many and carried them to Scotland as prizes, under pretence that they were laden with Portuguese goods. Two English ships were sent to watch in the Downs, and attack Andrew Barton on his return from a cruise which he was making against the Portuguese; according to some accounts the expedition was undertaken by order of king Henry, who was irritated by the frequent complaints of his merchants; according to others the ships were fitted out privately by the earl of Surrey, who is said, when he heard of the continual depredations of the privateers, to have declared that, "the narrow seas should not be so infested whilst he had an estate that could furnish a ship, or a son who was able to command it." It had been for some time the practice of the English nobles to fit out ships for their own private commercial speculations, and some of the young aristocracy were becoming bold sea commanders. The two ships now sent to intercept Andrew Barton, were placed under the command of the earl of Surrey's two sons, the lord Thomas Howard and sir Edward Howard. The two Howards put to sea immediately, and had the fortune to fall in with Barton's two ships, the *Lion* (one of the largest ships in the Scottish navy, and inferior in size only to the *Great Harry*, the largest ship of war belonging to England), and an armed bark called the *Jenny Perwin*. The latter tried to make her escape, and was closely pursued by sir Edward Howard, while the lord Howard engaged with Barton. Both parties fought with the utmost obstinacy, and it is said that Barton, when he lay

on the deck desperately wounded, still continued to encourage his men with his whistle, till he was killed by a cannon-ball. His ship was then boarded, and captured; the bark was overtaken, and soon surrendered, and both ships were carried into the Thames. The vessels were detained as lawful prizes, but their crews, after a short imprisonment, were sent home to Scotland.* King James was enraged at the insult offered to his navy, as well as for the loss of one of his best ships and the death of a favourite officer, and he sent a herald to the court of England to remonstrate and demand redress in threatening language. But king Henry condescended to give no other reply than that the defeat of pirates ought never to be a matter of dispute among princes. The great sensation which the defeat of Andrew Barton seems to have caused in England, and the length of time during which it was remembered with pride, furnishes a decisive proof that the English must have suffered much from the depredations of the Scottish rovers.† The defeat of Andrew Barton is placed by the annalists in the year 1511.

* Stowe, in his Annals, gives the following account of the capture of Andrew Barton:—"K. Henry being at Leicester, heard tydings, that one Andrew Barton, a Scottish man, and pyrate of the sea, seeing that the k. of Scottes had war with the Portingales, robbed every nation, and stopped the kings streames that no marchant almost could passe, and when hee tooke English mens goods, hee bare them in hand that they were Portingales goods, and thus he robbed at every havens mouth. The king displeased herewith, sent sir Edward Howard lord admirall of England [he was not made lord admiral till the year following], the l. Thomas Howard sonne and heirs to the earle of Surrey, and John Hopton, to the sea, which made readie two ships, and taking sea by chance of weatler were severed. The lord Howard lying in the Downs, perceiving wher Andrew was making towards Scotland, chased him so hard, that he overtooke him, so there was a sore battell betwixt them, Andrewe ever blew his whistle to incourage his men; but at length the lord Howard and the English men did so valiantly, that by cleane strength they entred the maine decke. The Scottes fought sore on the hatches; but in conclusion Andrewe was taken, and so sore wounded, that he died there. The remnant of the Scots were taken with their shippe called the Lion. All this while was the lord admirall in chase of the barke of Scotland called Jenny Perwin, which was woot to sayle with the Lion in company, and hee with others did so much, that he laid them aboard, and though the Scottes manfully defended themselves, yet at length the English men entred the barke, slew many, and took all the residue. Thus were these two shippes taken and brought to Blackwall, the second of August. The Scotts taken prisoners were sent to London, where they were kept as prisoners in the archbish. of Yorkes place now called Whitehall, and after sent into Scotland."

Another cause of irritation between the two countries occurred about the same time, though it was the result of a border squabble of the reign of Henry VII. The wardenship of the middle marches had been given to sir Robert Ker, an officer of James's household and master of his artillery, who seems to have drawn upon himself great odium from the borderers of both kingdoms by the severe and rigorous manner with which he exercised his jurisdiction. At length, in revenge for some provocation with which we are not acquainted, he was attacked and slain by three Englishmen, named Lilburn, Starhead, and Heron. The English king showed the utmost readiness to punish the offenders; Starhead and Heron escaped, but Lilburn was taken, and delivered up to the Scottish authorities; and, as Heron had escaped, his brother was seized and sent to king James in his stead. Several years had passed over; Lilburn had died in prison; and the whole affair seemed to be forgotten. Encouraged by this, and by the circumstance that a new king sat on the throne of England who cared less

† Even so late as the days of Elizabeth the fate of Barton was made the subject of a ballad, which seems to have been very popular, under the title of "A true relation of the life and death of sir Andrew Barton, a pyrate and rover on the seas." All the English accounts agree in describing him as a pirate. This curious ballad begins with representing the English merchants carrying their complaints to the king:—

When Flora with her fragrant flowers
Bedeckt the earth so trim and gay,
And Neptune with his dainty showers
Came to present the month of May,
King Henry would a hunting ride,
Over the river Thames passed he,
Unto a mountain top also
Did walk, some pleasure for to see.

Where forty merchants he espy'd
With fifty sail towards him came,
Who then no sooner were arrived,
But on their knees did thus complain:
"An't please your grace, we cannot sail
To France no voyage to be sure,
But sir Andrew Barton makes us quail,
And robs us of our merchant ware."

Vext was the king, and turning him,
Said to the lords of high degree,
"Have I ne'er a lord within my realm,
Dare fetch that traitor unto me?"
To him replyd Charles lord Howard,
"I will, my liege, with heart and hand;
If it will please you grant me leave," he said,
"I will perform what you command."

Minor characters are introduced in the sea-fight which is described with details that were, perhaps, not authorised by history. Barton's ship is described as mounting "eighteen pieces of ordnance."

than his father to conciliate the Scots, the two assassins, Starhead and Heron, began to show themselves openly, and the former, who appears to have been the principal offender, was the less apprehensive of danger because he had taken up his residence at a distance of ninety miles from the frontier. But the spirit of revenge never slept among the Scottish septs till it was fully satiated; and Andrew Ker, the son of sir Robert, sent two of his vassals to track him out. They broke into his house by night, murdered him in cold blood, and carried his head to their master, who raised it up as a signal of triumph in the most conspicuous part of Edinburgh. King Henry looked upon this outrage as a just subject of complaint, while James seems not to have interfered in the slightest manner.

The feelings of the latter were, indeed, at this time becoming daily more and more warlike, as he took an increasing interest in the political disputes on the continent of Europe. Engaging warmly in the interests of the king of France, he watched with anxiety the various leagues and combinations which were made for or against him; and when at length in the beginning of the year 1511, the English monarch joined the Italian league against Louis, James took up earnestly the quarrel of the latter. It was at this time that the mutual provocations just described occurred, and James was offended at the same time by some attacks of the English on his continental allies, and by Henry's refusal to deliver to the Scottish queen the jewels which had been bequeathed to her by her father. At the beginning of 1512, Henry declared war against France; and soon afterwards his ambassador, along with those of France, Spain, and the pope, arrived at James's court. James treated Henry's pacific proposals with coldness; he spoke with indignation against the league into which he had entered against France, and laboured earnestly but in vain to reconcile Louis and the pope.

James seems now to have reckoned upon war, and he showed his usual vigour in preparing for the emergency. Continual musters were held throughout the kingdom, in order to train the male population to the use of arms; the dockyards were filled with busy workmen, launching ships already finished, or completing those in the progress of building; stores of gunpowder and other ammunition were collected, new cannons were cast, and those scattered in the royal

castles were brought out to be carried on ship-board. He announced, however, no other intention than that of fitting out his fleet to place it at the service of the French, while, to gain time, he professed his willingness to listen to the amicable proposals of England. Henry was by no means desirous of counting Scotland among the number of enemies with whom he had to contend at this moment, and early in 1512, he sent lord Dacre and Dr. West as his ambassadors to king James, to propose a formal renewal of the peace between them, and to prevent if possible the Scottish fleet from sailing to France. James treated them with extraordinary courtesy, and sent them away loaded with rich presents; but they had been unable to counteract the influence of the French ambassador De la Motte, who not only persuaded the Scottish king to enter into a new and closer league with France, but he induced him to countenance an attack upon Berwick, which failed, and he himself, with the ships he had brought from France, attacked a fleet of English merchantmen on the Scottish coast, and was permitted to carry those he had captured into the port of Leith.

It still remained doubtful whether James would plunge into war or not. He had talked loudly, and had made great preparations, and he had already ordered his naval commanders to look out for English ships, but when he had completed his fleet, he found that he had spent all his money in preparations, and that he had none left for carrying on the war. It is said that in his distress he had caused it to be intimated to the English ambassador, lord Dacre, that the payment of the disputed legacy, which was withheld unjustly, and a present of five thousand angels, would be a sufficient bribe to counterbalance his friendship for France. The negotiations were again renewed; for James, pressed by his necessities, was anxious to gain more time, and Henry was engaged in projects which made him unwilling to be further embarrassed by a war with Scotland. Offers of accommodation were made on both sides, which ended in James insisting on Henry's abandoning the league against France. In spite of James's perpetual activity, which was calculated to call off his attention from such subjects, he was at times suddenly seized with attacks of bitter remorse for the part he had taken in causing the death of his father, and then he shut himself up from

the world in apparently sincere penitence. On several occasions, while labouring under impressions of this kind, he had declared his resolution to undertake an expedition to the holy land to expiate his offences by fighting against the infidels, but various circumstances had hitherto prevented him from putting this resolution into effect. At the close of the negotiations just mentioned, when Dr. West again proceeded to Scotland, to make a last effort to detach James from his alliance with France, he found the monarch labouring under one of these attacks, under the influence of which he again talked of his expedition to Jerusalem, and he had shut himself up for a week in religious retirement in the church of the friars observants at Stirling. The bishop of Moray, a crafty prelate, who was said to have been bribed by the French king, had now gained great influence over him, which he exerted to urge him into war; and all that West could obtain was a promise that he would not begin hostilities without a formal proclamation of war, and that, if Henry had proceeded on his threatened expedition into France, he would give him sufficient time to return for the defence of his kingdom.

James, now urged on by an evil genius, hastened his preparations for war with increasing activity. The two countries could hardly be said to be at peace, for his naval commanders had obtained letters of reprisal, and Leith was crowded with English prizes. James at the same time attempted to raise up a war against the English monarch in Ireland, by entering into negotiations with O'Donnell, of Ulster, and that chieftain repaired to the Scottish court in the spring of 1513. He was at the same time encouraged in his designs by the arrival of ships from Denmark bringing him a contribution of arms and ammunition; and La Motte came with a French squadron laden with provisions for the fleet, and brought rich presents from king Louis to the Scottish nobles who were believed to exercise most influence over his mind. But James was finally decided by one of those incidents which manifested his weakness and want of prudence. It appears that his backwardness had already alarmed Louis, and his queen, Anne of Britany, well aware of his temper, addressed James in a romantic letter, in which she claimed his protection as a distressed damsel, who was attacked by a traitorous monarch, and she sent him a ring from her finger as to her own faithful knight,

accompanied with a present of fourteen thousand crowns. The French king had not calculated without reason on the success of this artful stratagem, for from the moment he received the letter James seems to have resolved on hostilities; and when, soon afterwards, intelligence arrived that king Henry had landed in France, he ordered his army to assemble and his ships to put to sea.

On both elements James's proceedings ended most disastrously. His fleet was one in which at that day he might justly take pride. It consisted of the Great Michael, already described, with a thirty-oared galley belonging to her; of thirteen great ships of war; and of about the same number of smaller vessels. This fleet was well provisioned, and carried on board three thousand soldiers under the command of the earl of Arran, who, from his superior feudal rank, had the chief command of the fleet as well as the army. James embarked in the Great Michael, and remained some days with the fleet, encouraging the seamen. When he left, Arran, whose incapacity as a commander was soon obvious, instead of obeying the king's orders, which were to sail immediately for France, proceeded to the coast of Ireland, where he landed his troops and stormed the town of Carrickfergus, which was plundered and burnt, and its inhabitants, without regard to age or sex, treated with the most brutal barbarity. After this exploit, the earl returned with the fleet to Ayr, to dispose of the plunder. James was greatly enraged when he heard of the earl of Arran's proceedings, and he immediately sent sir Andrew Wood to supersede him in the command. Before he reached the coast, Arran had again set sail, but all we know of the further history of his fleet is, that it did reach France, and that at the beginning of the next reign a few of the ships returned, in a shattered and disabled state. It is supposed that the Great Michael and most of the other ships were sold for a trifle to the king of France, and that they rotted in foreign harbours or were broken up for the timber.

After the fleet had departed, the king employed himself with the utmost activity to assemble his army, and although the war was not generally popular, James was so much beloved by his subjects that they flocked from all parts to his standard, and even the clans from the highlands and the isles, joined their sovereign under their dif-

ferent chiefs. The army thus assembled amounted at the lowest estimate to a hundred thousand men. James had already sent a messenger to king Henry in France, bearing a letter of reerimination and defiance, in which he made a long enumeration of injuries, true or imaginary, which he had experienced from that monarch. These were, the denial of a safe-conduct to one of James's messengers; his refusal to surrender the jewels left to the queen of Scotland by her father; his bad faith in the treaties relating to the peace of the border; his protection of Heron, one of the murderers of sir Andrew Ker; the slaughter of Andrew Barton and the capture of his ships; his making war upon the duke of Gueldres, and now upon the king of France. The letter ended with requiring the English monarch to desist from further hostilities against this most Christian prince, certifying him that in case of refusal he should hold himself bound to assist him by force of arms, and to compel Henry to abandon so unjust a war. James's messenger found the king of England in his camp before Terouenne; and when he delivered his letter, Henry burst into an ungovernable passion, and asked him if he would take back a verbal message to his master? The messenger said that, as a subject of the king of Scots, he was bound to perform the commands of his sovereign, and that it was contrary to his allegiance to report the commands of others. He wished therefore for a message in writing; but at the same time he reminded the king that James's demand was not that he should write him a letter, but that he should straightway leave the war and return to his own country. "That," said Henry, "I shall do at my own pleasure, and not at your king's command;" and he again broke out into violent invectives against the Scottish monarch, declaring that he had heard nothing from him which he had not long expected from a king regardless of all law, human or divine; that he might act as he thought best, but that he (Henry) would not desist from his wars for any threats of his, nor had he any regard for the friendship of one whose faithlessness he had too often experienced. The herald replied to this outburst of anger by a denunciation of war.

James showed by no means the same activity in making war that he had manifested in preparing for it, and he had to contend with the earnest exhortations of his

queen and of many of his best counsellors, who deprecated the war. He seems, however, no longer to have hesitated in his resolution, and a first demonstration of hostilities was made by his chamberlain, lord Home, who crossed the border with a force of eight thousand men, and after plundering and laying waste the adjoining districts of England, returned homeward with his booty. But with an extraordinary neglect of military precautions, he forgot to push on his picquets, and at a pass called Broomhouse he suddenly found himself engaged with a strong body of English under sir William Bulmer, one of the ablest of the English commanders on the border. A part of the Scots, who were intent only on their plunder, took to flight on the first alarm, and the rest, after suffering severely from the English archers, who were distributed among the furze bushes, were charged furiously by Bulmer's cavalry, and so entirely defeated, that the lord Home fled for his life, leaving his banner on the field, and his brother sir George Home a prisoner in the hands of the victors. The Scots lost on this occasion five hundred men slain, and four hundred taken prisoners.

King James, deeply mortified at the result of this invasion, determined immediately to march into England at the head of his army, and wipe off the disgrace of Home's defeat. This fatal determination was earnestly combated by the queen and those who were in favour of peace; and unable to make any impression on his obstinate temper, they seem to have made an attempt to work upon his superstitious feelings. The king had summoned his army to assemble at Edinburgh, and while they were there, voices were heard at the dead hour of midnight, at the market cross of Edinburgh, where citations were usually made, summoning the king and the chief leaders of the army to appear within sixty days at the bar of the infernal judge. Before he left Linlithgow to place himself at the head of his troops, James attended as usual the service of vespers in the church of St. Michael. Suddenly an old man, bareheaded and of venerable appearance, was seen to enter the church and approach him. His hair, which was of a bright golden colour, flowed over his shoulders, but it was thinly scattered over his smooth bald forehead. He was clad in a long robe of blue, girt about the middle with a linen girdle. The crowd made way respectfully, as the stranger

approached, and proceeding directly to the king, he leaned over the chair where he was kneeling, and addressed him in a solemn and distinct voice—"I am sent to warn thee against proceeding in thy present undertaking, which admonition if thou neglect, it will not fare well either with thee or with those who accompany thee; I am also ordered to warn thee to beware of familiarity with women, for if thou do otherwise, it will occasion thy destruction and disgrace." The speaker then withdrew in the same mysterious manner, and when, as soon as the service was ended, James ordered him to be brought into his presence, he was not to be found, nor could any body tell how he had vanished. Buehanan received the account of this incident from sir David Lindsay of the Mount, who was standing by the king's chair at the time of the occurrence.

If this apparition caused any misgivings in the royal mind, they were quickly dissipated when he arrived at Edinburgh, and found himself at the head of one of the most numerous and best equipped armies that a Scottish monarch had ever led into the field. His large train of artillery was at that time remarkable. With this army, after having passed it in review in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, he marched, apparently with no definite plan of operations, and entering England on the 22nd of August, encamped on the banks of the river Till, one of the tributaries to the Tweed, at a place called Twiselhaugh. He remained here two days, and on the 24th of August, issued a proclamation promising that the heirs of all who fell in the present campaign, should inherit, without payment of the usual feudal fines. The next few days were spent in exploits unworthy to occupy the time of a splendid army like that which James had brought into the country of his enemy. He first marched down the Tweed, and invested the castle of Norham, which held out for a week. He then returned up the river, and besieged and took the castle of Wark. He then advanced a few miles, and took and destroyed the small fortresses of Etal and Ford, the latter belonging to sir William Heron, who was still his prisoner in Scotland. Much precious time was thrown away in these unprofitable undertakings; but this was not all. In the capture of Ford, the lady Heron, a beautiful but artful woman, fell into James's hands, and

he became deeply enamoured. She used her influence over his affections to cause still further delays, while she kept up a secret correspondence with the English leaders. Time was thus given to the latter to concentrate their forces, and march against the invaders.

King Henry had not left the defence of his kingdom unprovided for, though he had made little noise in his preparations. When he embarked for France, on the last day of June, 1513, he took the earl of Surrey, one of his ablest commanders, by the hand, and said, "My lord, I trust not the Scots, therefore I pray you be not negligent." And he knew well that he spoke thus to no deaf ears, for, when the Scottish herald at Terouenne gave him warning from James to return home to defend his kingdom, Henry replied that he had left the task of defending his kingdom to a noble person who knew well how to execute it with fidelity. He immediately dispatched a messenger to England, to order Surrey to summon the array of the northern counties, and hold himself in readiness to resist the threatened invasion. This he did so effectually, that before the enemy had been many days on the English territory, he found himself at the head of an army of twenty-six thousand men, with which he marched through Durham, and received there, as was usual on such occasions, the sacred banner of St. Cuthbert. He was soon afterwards joined by the lord Daere, sir William Bulmer, sir Marmaduke Constable, and other barons of the north; and at Alnwick his army was increased with a reinforcement of five thousand men, under his son the lord Thomas Howard, who had succeeded his brother in the office of lord high admiral. From Alnwick, on the 4th of September, Surrey sent his herald with a challenge, in which he accused the Scottish king of having broken his faith and league with the king of England, in thus invading his dominions, and offered to fight him on the succeeding Friday, the 9th of September, if he would remain in England so long. To this letter of defiance, the lord Thomas Howard added a message, informing James that he was the commander who had defeated and slain the pirate Andrew Barton, and that on the day of the battle he would be found in the van-guard to justify that act.

The herald found James still encamped at Ford, spending his hours listlessly, with his new mistress, but his spirit was roused

by the scornful challenge of his antagonists, and he replied at once that he desired nothing more than the battle offered him, and that he would be ready to fight on the day appointed, at the same time denying flatly the charge of broken faith which had been made against him. Meanwhile, James already felt the inconvenience of his position. Want of provisions and the continued rains had spread discontent among his soldiers, who were mortified at seeing him expend in his pleasures the time which ought to have been employed in military operations, and many of them deserted the banners of their leaders, and returned home with the plunder they had been able to collect. Most of his best counsellors remonstrated with him against leaving to his enemy the choice of the day of battle. But James seemed suddenly deaf to all counsels, and confident in his own power, and believing that there was no force in England able to withstand him, now that the king was absent with his army in France, would only yield so far as to change his position, which was not a good one at Ford, for a stronger one on the hill of Flodden, where he encamped on an elevation inaccessible on the two flanks, and defended in front by the river Till.

When Surrey was informed of this movement, he pushed forwards to Wollerhaugh, whence on the seventh of September he reconnoitred the Scottish position, and saw with mortification that it would be too hazardous to attack it in front. He now tried to draw James down into the plain, and with this object sent a herald with another letter, which is sufficiently characteristic to excuse our giving it entire. Surrey addressed the king as follows:—"Right high and mighty prince, so it is that lately I sent unto you *rougecroix* *poursuivant* at armes, and by him advertized your grace that I and other my sovereign lord's subjects were come to repress and resist your invasions of this, the king's my sovereign lord's realm. And for that intent I offered to give you battle on this half, Friday next coming, which my message your grace took pleasure to hear, as I am informed. And by your herald Isley ye made answer that you were right joyous of my desire, and would not fail to accomplish the same, and to abide me there where you were at the time of my message so showed unto your grace. And albeit it hath pleased you to change your said promise, and put yourself into a ground more like a fortress or camp than upon any indifferent

ground for battle to be tried, wherefore considering the day appointed is so nigh approaching, I desire now of your grace for the accomplishment of your honourable promise, you will dispose yourself for your part, like as I shall do for mine, to be to-morrow with your host in your side of the plain of Milfield, in likewise as I shall do for mine, and shall be with the subjects of my sovereign lord on my side of the plain of the said field to give you battle betwixt twelve of the clock and three in the afternoon, upon sufficient warning by you to be given by eight or nine of the clock in the morning by the said *poursuivant*. And like as I and other noblemen, my company, bind us by our writing subscribed with our hands to keep the same time to the intent abovesaid; if it may like your grace by your honourable letters, subscribed with your hand, to bind your grace for the accomplishment of this desire, trusting that you will dispatch our said *poursuivant* immediately, for the long delay of so honourable a journey we think should sound to your dishonour. Written in the field in Wollerhaugh, the 7th day of September, at five of the clock in the afternoon."

This letter was signed by Surrey himself, and by the principal commanders in his army. It is said that James refused to receive the messenger, and that when he heard the contents of the letter, he replied haughtily that it did not become an earl to dictate to a king. When Surrey was informed of the ill success of his messenger, he proceeded to act with a decision which showed his contempt for the enemy with whom he had to contend. On the 8th of September, he put his army in motion, and crossing the Till encamped that night at Barnmoor wood, about two miles from the hill of Flodden. Early next morning he continued his march in a north-westerly direction, and then turning suddenly to the eastward recrossed the Till, the vanguard and artillery under lord Thomas Howard at Twisel bridge, near where that river enters the Tweed, and the main body under the earl of Surrey himself at a ford of the Till about a mile higher up. Before the middle of the day, the English army was drawn up in battle array in the rear of the Scottish camp, between them and their own country, with an easy ascent to James's position.

The English had been allowed to make these important movements without the slightest interruption; for James seized

apparently with a fatal infatuation, lost precious moments in vain altercations with his commanders. The Scots seem to have had a prejudice against marching far into England, and, before the arrival of the army under the earl of Surrey, alarmed at their king's imprudent behaviour, they had become clamorous in their demands that, instead of advancing, he should march upon Berwick, and open the siege of that fortress. When the English division, under the lord Howard, were seen defiling over the narrow bridge of the Till, the Scottish chiefs urged James to attack them at a moment when he might take them in detail and gain an easy victory, but he refused. The earl of Angus, Archibald Bell-the-Cat, whose character and experience ought to have given weight to his counsel, advised the king to fall back upon the Scottish frontier before his retreat were cut off, or at all events not to let the enemy get in his rear, but his advice was treated with rude contempt. James told him tauntingly, that if he was afraid to fight, he might return home. Angus is said to have burst into tears at this insult, and, leaving his two sons with all his followers to join in the ensuing conflict, he took the king at his word, and withdrew. While the English army were still crossing the river, and might have been attacked with advantage, the master of the artillery, Borthwick, begged to be allowed to bring his guns to bear upon them, but received a peremptory order to remain quiet, and the earl of Huntley, giving similar advice, was treated with scorn. A last remonstrance was made by the old veteran, lord Lindsay of the Byres, at which James was so deeply offended, that he threatened on his return to Scotland to hang him at his own gate.

At length intelligence was brought that the English army was drawn up for battle, and that it was advancing steadily against his position at Flodden. The earl of Surrey had formed his army into three divisions. The van, consisting of ten thousand men, was again divided into a centre and two wings, the former led by the lord Thomas Howard, while his brother sir Edmund Howard commanded the right wing, and sir Marmaduke Constable the left. Surrey himself commanded the central division of his army; the rear was commanded by sir Edward Stanley; and the lord Dacre with a strong body of horse formed a reserve. James divided his army into four divisions,

the first commanded by the earl of Huntley and the lord Home, the second by the king, the third by the earls of Argyle and Lennox, and the last, which consisted of the men of the Lothians, by the earl of Bothwell. The three first divisions were drawn up with the king in the centre, and the fourth served for a reserve. When James knew that the English were advancing, he set fire to his camp, and made a movement down the hill to seize the high ground of Brankston before it was gained by the enemy. At this time the wind, turning in the direction of the English, threw the smoke of the burning tents of the camp between the two armies, so that they approached each other unseen, till the smoke suddenly clearing off, they found themselves face to face, with only a quarter-of-a-mile between them. The battle was commenced by the Scots. It was about four o'clock in the afternoon, when the division under Huntley and Home made a furious attack upon that part of the English van commanded by sir Edmund Howard, and beat it back, sir Edmund himself having narrowly escaped with his life. His brother the lord admiral, alarmed at the vigour of the attack, sent a messenger to his father, entreating him to extend his line and thus detach a part of the centre to his assistance. But before this could be done, the lord Dacre brought up his horse, and thus supported, the lord admiral advanced against the earl of Huntley's division, and drove it back with great slaughter. The borderers under lord Home, imagining the victory was gained when the English had retreated before them, had quitted their ranks in search of plunder, and took no further share in the conflict. As the English van advanced, driving before them Huntley's division, they soon came upon the levelled spears of another division of the Scottish van, commanded by the earls of Crawford and Montrose, and became engaged in a new and desperate conflict.

But the battle was carried on with the greatest obstinacy in the centre, where the king, on foot, and surrounded by his principal nobles, encouraged the Scots by his personal bravery. After a desperate struggle, victory seemed to have crowned his efforts, the first ranks of the English centre were broken, and Surrey's own banner was in danger of being taken, when the fortune of the day was suddenly changed by the arrival of the division under lords Howard

and Dacre, who, having defeated Crawford and Montrose, threw themselves furiously upon the flank of the Scottish centre. The earl of Bothwell, seeing the king's division waver under this double attack, brought up the reserve in all haste to his assistance, and the battle continued to rage in this part of the field without any decided advantage on either side.

Meanwhile, in the other wing, the contest had been more disastrous to the Scots. The highlanders and men of the isles, little accustomed to discipline or control, and dreadfully galled by the English archers, were eager to use their broadswords, and could not be kept in their ranks by the remonstrance of their commanders, the earls of Argyle and Lennox. La Motte and the French officers, who were in this division, foreseeing the fatal results of their insubordination, endeavoured to restrain them, not only with words, but with blows. But it was in vain; the highlanders rushed forwards, with their usual fury, on the English spearmen; but the latter, commanded by sir Edward, stood steady under the shock, and when the first force of the attack was spent, they advanced in their turn, and drove back the Scots with dreadful slaughter. The earls of Argyle and Lennox, La Motte, and many other men of distinction, fell in this struggle.

Instead of continuing the pursuit of the discomfited highlanders, Stanley wheeled about, and charged the rear of the Scottish centre with his whole force. The slaughter here now became dreadful. Anxious for the fate of the king, and disdaining to fly while he was in danger, the Scots fought with such desperate fury, that when the ground became damp and slippery with blood, the combatants threw off their shoes to obtain a firmer footing. It was late in the evening, when sir Edward Stanley's division attacked the king's division in the rear, and the approach of dusk added to the confusion; yet the king, who kept his place in the foremost ranks, continued to encourage his men by his voice and example. At length, struck almost at the same time by an arrow and a bill, James fell mortally wounded, at the distance of only a few paces from his antagonist, the earl of Surrey. The nobles and their followers, rendered still more desperate by the fate of their monarch, rushed round his body, and forming in a circle, continued to fight, although the increasing darkness rendered

it difficult to distinguish between friends and foes. At this time everything was so confused and uncertain, that Surrey drew off his men, and caused them to pass the night under arms, with strict watches. The dawn of day only brought them the full knowledge of the greatness of their victory. The field before them lay covered with heaps of corpses, and the Scottish artillery, in which James had taken so much pride, and which Surrey declared consisted of finer guns than any in king Henry's arsenal, stood deserted on the side of the hill. The only enemy that presented itself was a small body of Scottish troops, which occupied a neighbouring hill, and which, threatening to be troublesome to the division commanded by the lord admiral, was dispersed by a discharge of the English guns. The earl of Surrey immediately ordered thanks to be offered for his victory, and having created forty knights on the field, he ordered lord Dacre, with his cavalry, to gallop off in pursuit of the fugitives.

Thus ended disastrously James's imprudent campaign. The borderers of lord Home's division had rallied, and passed the night in stripping and plundering the dead, so that when the English soldiers spread over the field, they found a great part of them naked. At least ten thousand of the Scots were slain, a less number than had fallen in more than one battle against the English in former days, but never had there flowed such a fearful amount of noble and gentle blood. The body of the king was found, disfigured with wounds, but easily recognised by lord Dacre, buried under a heap of corpses. Besides the king, there were slain thirteen earls, Argyle, Athol, Bothwell, Caithness, Cassillis, Crawford, Errol, Glencairn, Huntley, Lennox, Montrose, Morton, and Rothes; the archbishop of St. Andrews, the abbots of Inchaffray and Kilwinning, the dean of Glasgow, and other ecclesiastics; the French ambassador, La Motte; fifteen lords and chiefs of clans; five eldest sons of peers; and so large a number of gentry, that every grown up male of some families was cut off; and there was scarcely a family in the whole kingdom which had not some relative to mourn over. The body of king James was carried to Berwick, where it was embowelled and embalmed, and it was ultimately interred at Richmond, in Surrey. The old chroniclers state that the royal tomb was afterwards broken open, and the

body exposed to view and treated with neglect, and finally with indignity. James's sword and dagger, taken from his person when the body was found, are still preserved in the College of Arms in London. Yet the Scots believed, at first, that their king

had escaped from this fatal field, and, amid a number of ridiculous stories, it was rather widely credited that James, on quitting the field, struck with violent remorse, had hurried away to Jerusalem, in the hope of expiating his sins by this pilgrimage.

CHAPTER XXI.

CHANGE IN SOCIAL CONDITION IN SCOTLAND; LITERATURE; THE SCOTTISH POETS; JAMES I. AND II.;
HOLLAND, HENRYSON, DUNBAR, GAWIN DOUGLAS.

THE disaster at Flodden forms a marked epoch in Scottish history, and was followed by a time calamitous to the kingdom. It is a period at which we may for a moment stop the progress of history to observe the change in society, and more especially to consider the great gage of social improvement, the progress of literature. During the long period of which we have been treating, scarcely any change seems to have taken place in the habits or condition of the Celtic population of the north; and some districts of the south, chiefly in the west, and on the border, people lived in the same state of wild clanship as they had done a century before; but generally, throughout the lowlands of Scotland, the Saxon Scottish race, though they had preserved their ancient manners and customs, had improved in social condition. This arose in a great measure from the increasing wealth of the country, owing to the extension of its commerce. A considerable advance in civilization was also shown by the increasing taste for literature and science, which was encouraged by the example of the kings of the race of Stuart. Since the middle of the fifteenth century the foundations of universities and schools had tended greatly to propagate learning, and the sons of noble families, laying aside their ancient contempt for everything but arms, now eagerly attended the lectures of the professors. A feeling of this kind, once established, was sure to increase rapidly, and the efforts of parliament were added to give it stability. Several statutes were passed during the latter part of the fifteenth century, to compel the nobility and gentry to give their sons a liberal education. In a

parliament held at Edinburgh in 1496, it was ordered that all barons and freeholders, whose fortunes were sufficient to enable them to do so, should send their sons to the schools as soon as they were eight or nine years old, and keep them there until they had attained a competent knowledge of the Latin tongue; after which they were to place them during three years as pupils in the seminaries of art and law, so that they might be instructed in the knowledge of the laws, and fitted to hold the offices of sheriffs and ordinary judges. James IV. always showed himself a patron of learning among his subjects, and it was under his auspices that the university of Aberdeen was founded by bishop Elphinston, in the last year of the fifteenth century, by which there were now three universities in Scotland. About eight years afterwards, the art of printing was introduced into Scotland by a servant of the king's household, Walter Chepman.

It was to the kings of the house of Stuart that the Scots owed the improvement of their language; under them were laid the foundations of the national poetry. At an earlier period, no doubt as early as the thirteenth century, when English poetry began to be developed, the southern bards passed over the border, whenever the warlike barons of the north gave them encouragement, to recite at their courts the songs and romances of England, which were listened to with delight, because the language of the two countries was identical, with the mere difference of dialect. Yet the poetry of the south appears long to have found few imitators in Scotland, though in the original annalists of the Scottish wars

we find traces of political satire which show that the Scots were not backward in composing songs of defiance or triumph. At length, however, in the year 1375, a Scottish ecclesiastic named John Barbour, archdeacon of Aberdeen, who was then nearly fifty years of age, composed in Scottish verse, in imitation of the metrical chronicles of the south, a laborious life of Robert Bruce. Barbour's life of Bruce does not merit the name of poetry; it is, like most of its English prototypes, mere prose, written in measure, and with rhymes. Barbour was educated at Oxford, and it was no doubt in England that he gained his taste for metrical composition. Somewhat more than forty years after the publication of this work, under the regency of the dukes of Albany, another metrical chronicler arose in the person of Andrew Winton, prior of the Inch of Lochleven, who, about the year 1420, wrote what he entitled an *orygnale cronykil* of Scotland, from an early period down to his own time. His style, if style it may be called, resembles closely that of his predecessor. In order to convey to the general reader some idea of these two compositions, it may be well to give a few lines from each, but their works are so equally flat and unadorned, that we may take them at random. A battle is described by Barbour as follows:—

The Scottismen sa wall¹ thaim bar,
And swa gret slauchter maid thair thar,
And fra sa fele² the lyvis rewyt.³
That al the feld bludy wes lewyt.⁴
That tyme thar⁵ thre bataillis wer
Al syd besid fechtend wil ner,⁶
Thar mycht men her many dint,⁷
And wapynnys⁸ apon armuris stynt,⁹
And se tumble knyghtis and stedis,¹⁰
And mony rich and reale¹¹ wedis
Foulyl defoulylt undre fete,
Sum held on loft, sum tynt the suet.¹²
A lang quhile thus fechtand thair war,
That men na noyis mycht her thar.¹³

This is a favourable specimen of the versification of John Barbour. It may be compared with the following equally favourable example of the "*cronykil*" of Andrew Winton, which states in a few words the death of St. Serf, one of the early hermits of the isles:—

Eftir al this sanct Serf past†
West onto Culrosse also fast.

* 1 Well. * Many. * Reived, took. * Left. * Their.
† Well near on all sides busied fighting. † Blow.
† Weapons. † Strike. † Knights and steeds.
† Royal. † Lost their seat. † No noise might hear there.

And he his state that he knew
That til his endyng ner¹ he drew;
This wretchit warld he forsuyk;²
His sacraments thar al he tuk,
Withe schrift,³ and ful contricion.
He yalde,⁴ withe gude devocion,
His cors⁵ till halowit⁶ sepulture,
And his saulle to the Creature.

It will be seen at once that the language had become much modernised during the forty years which had intervened between the two rhymers. Contemporary with Barbour there was, however, another Scottish writer, who is only known as "Blind Harry," and who composed in verse a life of Wallace. Blind Harry shows far more poetical talent than the two chroniclers just mentioned, although his history is like theirs, very heavy and wearisome. The following description of November, as it found Wallace and his men outlaws in the woods, may serve as an example:—

The dyrk regeoun apperand wondyr fast,†
In November quhen October was past,
The day faillit throu rycht cours worthit¹ schort,
Till banyst men² that is no gret comfort:
With thair power in pethis worthis gang
Hewy³ thair think quhen at the nycht is lang.
Thus Wallace saw the nychtis messynger;
Phebus had lost his fyry bemys cler:
Out of the wood thair durst nocht turn that tyd,
For adversours that in thair way wald hyde.⁴

While Andrew Winton was composing his dull rhymes, the young king of Scotland, James I., was languishing in captivity in England, where he passed his time in making love and in studying the then fashionable poetry of the great Chaucer. The temperature of the young prince was highly poetical, and at a court where literature was in great repute, he imbibed tastes which accompanied him to his own land, and there implanted them in the hearts of many of his subjects. That James's love of poetry was not merely assumed, we have sufficient evidence in what remains of his own compositions. We allude to the "King's Quair" (or quire), a poem in which he pictured his love for the lady Joane, whom he afterwards made his queen, and which is still looked upon as one of the choicest specimens of early Scottish verse. This poem is understood to have been written while he was still in England, and it opens with a touching picture of James's

† 1 Near. 2 Forsook. 3 Confession. 4 Yielded.
† Body. † Consecrated.
† 1 Became. † 2 To banished men, to outlaws.
† Heavy. † 4 For adversaries that would bide in their way; i. e., who lay in wait for them.

feelings in his captivity. After telling how he had been captured and carried into a foreign country, he proceeds:—

Quhare¹ as in ward full oft I wold bewaillie^{*}
My dedely² lyf, full of payne and penance,
Saing³ ryght thus, quhat have I gilt⁴ to faille⁵
My fredome in this world and my plesance?⁶
Sen every wight has therof suffisance,
That I behold, and I a creature
Put from all this, hard is myn aventure.⁷

The bird, the beste, the fisch eke in the see,
They lyve in fredome everich in his kynd;
And I a man, and lakith libertee,
Quhat sall I seyne,⁷ quhat resoun may I fynd,
That fortune suld do so? Thus in my mynd
My folk I wold argue, but all for noueht;
Was none that myght that on my peynes rought.⁸

Than wold I say, giff God me had devisit,
To lyve my lyf in thraldom thus and pyne,
Quhat was the cause that he more me comprisit,
Than othir folt, to lyve in such ruine?
I suffere alone among the figuris nyne,
And wofull wrache that to no wight may spede,
And yit of every lyvis help has nede.

The long dayes and the nyghtis eke,
I wold bewaillie my fortune in this wise.
For quhich, again distresse confort to seke,
My custum was on mornis for to rise
Airly as day, o happy exercise!
By thee come I to joye out of turment!
But now to purpose of my first entent.

James's prison, at this time, was in the castle of Windsor, and he goes on to relate how he obtained his first sight of the lady to whom he became so warmly attached. The description of the garden-view is a favourable specimen of the style of the poetic monarch.

Bewailing in my chamber thus allone,[†]
Despaired of all joye and remedye,
For-tirit¹ of my thought and wo-begone,
And to the wyndow gan I walk in hye,
To see the world and folk that went forbye,²
As for the tyme, though I of mirthis fude³
Mycht have no more, to luke it did me gude.

Now was there maid fast by the touris wall
A gardyn faire, and in the corneris set
Ane herbere grene, with wandis⁴ long and small
Rallit about, and so with treis⁵ set
Was all the place, and hawthorn hegis knet,⁶
That lyf was non, walkyng there forbye,
That mycht within scarce any wight aspye.

So thick the beuis⁷ and the leves grene
Beschadit all the allyes that there were,
And myddis every herbere mycht be sene
The scharp grene suete jenepere.
Growing so fair with branches here and there,
That, as it semyt to a lyf without,
The bewis⁷ spred the herbere all about.

* 1 Where. 2 Death-like. 3 Saying. 4 Sinned.
5 To love. 6 My hap. 7 Say. 8 Cared—none cared
about my sufferings who might relieve me.

† 1 Tired out. 2 Along in front. 3 Food for
mirth. 4 Rods. 5 Trees. 6 Knit with hawthorn
hedges. 7 Boughs.

James's poetry, it will be seen, was English in its language, as well as in its style, but his imitators adopted the broader dialect of their countrymen, and though he had done much to refine it, it was some time before it lost its old stiffness. Poetry had now gained a sufficient hold to be used in political warfare, and in the violent struggles which marked the earlier half and the middle of the fifteenth century, it was made by the different parties the instrument of bitter satire and abuse. One of these satires, which has been preserved, was composed, apparently, in the year 1453, amidst the great struggle between the throne and the house of Douglas, by a partizan of the latter named Holland, as a satire on James II., who is described under the character of the howlat, or owl. Holland has adopted the style of allegory and alliteration which belonged properly to an earlier period, and which have rendered the poem altogether so obscure, that we will only attempt to give a single stanza as an example. After describing how the Howlat, for his pride and tyranny, was deserted by all the other fowls, the nobles, the writer proceeds:—

Than this Houlat hideous of hair and of hyde,[†]
Put first fra poverty to priss, and princes awin peir;¹
Syne² degradit fra grace, for his grit³ pryde,
Bannyt⁴ bittirly his birth belfully in beir.⁵
He welterit, he wrythit, he wareit the tyd⁶
That he wes wrocht in this world wofull in weir.⁷
He criplit,⁸ he cryngit,⁹ he carefully¹⁰ cried,
He solpit,¹¹ and sorrowit, in siehingis seir,¹²
He said, "Allace! I am lost, lathest¹³ of all,
Bysym in bale best;
I may be simple heirest
That pryd yit never lest
His feir, but a fall."

Contemporary with Holland was Robert Henryson, a poet of considerable sentiment, who wrote a collection of Fables in Scottish verse. It was Henryson who first gave a more national character to the lowland poetry of Scotland. There is much simple elegance in the fables of Henryson, but their great interest lies in the applications, by way of moral, to the condition of his country. Thus, after telling the fable of the wolf and the lamb, he says that the lamb is a symbol of the poor people, merchants, and labourers, who were oppressed

† 1 Own peer, or equal. 2 Afterwards. 3 Great.
4 Cursed. 5 Balefully aloud. 6 Cursed the time.
7 War. 8 Twisted himself. 9 Shrunk. 10 Sorrow-
fully. 11 Sobbed. 12 Sore sighings. 13 Most hate-
ful.

by the extortions of the rich and the crafty. There were, he tells us, three sorts of wolves in Scotland in his time; first, the lawyers, who oppressed people by perverting and falsifying the laws; secondly, men of power, who oppressed the poor with taxes and burthens; and thirdly, the landlords, who cruelly oppressed their tenants.

The third wolf is men of heretage;*
As lordis, that hes landis be Godis lane,¹
And settis to the maillaris² a willage,
For prayer, price, and the gersum tane;³
Syne⁴ vexis him or⁵ half the term be gane,
With pykit querells, for to mak him fane
To flitt, or pay the gersum new agane.

His hors, his meir, he mone len⁶ to the laird,
To dring and draw, in court and cariage;
His servand, or himself, may nocht be spard,
To swynk or sweit,⁷ withoutin meit or wage:
Lo, as he standis in lawbour and boundage,
That skantly may he puresh by his maill,⁸
To leif upone dry breid and wattr kaill.⁹

Hes thow no rewth to gar thy tennent sweit
Into thy lawbour, full faynt with hungry wame¹⁰
And syne hes littill gude to drink or eit,
Or his menyne,¹¹ at evin quhen he cumis hame:
Thow suld be rad¹² for richtous Godis blame;
For it cryis vengeance to the hevin so he,
To gar¹³ a pure man wirk, but meit or fe.¹⁴

Another fable, entitled the *Dog, Wolf, and Sheep*, is directed against the partial and unjust administration of the law, especially in the ecclesiastical courts. Henryson was a very miscellaneous writer, and of his productions, we must not forget to mention the charming little poem of *Robin and Makyne*, which has been described as "the first and perhaps still the best pastoral poem in the Scottish language." The influence of English poetry, and especially of the writings of Chaucer, on the north, is very visible in the writings of Henryson, who, moreover, wrote a continuation of Chaucer's *Troilus and Cressida*, under the title of the *Testament of Faire Creseide*, which he affected to write in the southern dialect and orthography, and which seems to prove that he must have been educated in England. Robert Henryson was also the author of pious ballads and of other miscellaneous pieces. He lived apparently through the reign of James III., and had several poetical contemporaries, but of less note; and we must not forget that this was the age which produced two of the most celebrated burlesque poems in the Scottish lan-

guage, *Pebblis to the Play*, which was long attributed to the pen of James I., though it appears erroneously, and perhaps *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, which some have ascribed to a later and some to an earlier date.

Under James IV. flourished the two great stars of Scottish poetry, William Dunbar and Gawin Douglas. Dunbar is remarkable for his versatility of talent, and his poetry, which consists chiefly of short pieces, is extremely interesting for its historical allusions and for its pictures of contemporary society and manners. One of his earliest poems to which we can fix a date was written to celebrate the nuptials of king James IV. with the English princess Margaret, under the allegory of the *Thistle and the Rose*. In the course of this allegory, the king is earnestly warned against unjust partialities and against the love of other women, failings to which he seems from all accounts to have been subject:—

And sen thow art a king, thow be discreit;†
Herb without vertew thow hald nocht of sic pryce
As herb of vertew and of odour suet,
And lat no nettill vyle and full of vyce
Hir fallow¹ to the gudly flour-de-lyce;
Nor latt no wyld weid, full of churlicheness
Compair hir till the lilleis nobilness.
Nor hald non udir flour in sic denty²
As the fresche rois, of coulour reid and quhyt:³
For gif thow dois, hurt is thyne honesty;
Considdering that no flour is so perfyte,
So full of vertew, plesaus, and delyt,
So full of blisful angeilik bewty,
Imperiall birth, honour, and dignité.

James's pilgrimages to holy shrines, as well as his journeys in disguise in the provinces, are said to have been dictated as much by his taste for low amours, as by his penitence or love of justice. Dunbar's shorter pieces contain allusions to the king's peculiarities in these respects. One of them, entitled the *Tod (fox) and the Lamb*, appears to have for its subject some scandalous adventure of the king at Dunfermling; and in another Dunbar celebrates a burlesque dirge over the dulness of the court at Edinburgh while the king was doing penance for his sins in the religious house which he had built at Stirling. In some poems Dunbar complains of the prevalence of female influence at court. In many other short pieces the poet complains that, although he enjoyed court favour, yet

* 1 Loan. * The farmers, those who rent land.
3 The entry-money, or fee. 4 Afterwards. 5 Before.
6 Must lend. 7 Labour or sweat. 8 His rent, gain.
9 Colewort. 10 Womb, belly. 11 Household, family.
12 Advised. 13 Make. 14 Without meat or pay.

† 1 Be made equal or fellow to. 2 Such dainty.
3 Red and white, alluding to the junction of the two rival roses in Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. of England, and Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV.

all the substantial marks of that favour were showered upon unworthy objects, while he himself had only the empty name; and he manifests his jealousy of the jestours, light women, alchemists, and other such like persons, who often stood between him and the preferment he demanded. Among these was a foreign physician who gained some celebrity in his time by a bold but unsuccessful attempt to invent wings for flying. This man, whose name is believed to have been John Damian, is said to have been a native of Lombardy, and having left his native country, had for some time gained a living in France by the practice of surgery and medicine. He subsequently, in 1501, repaired to Scotland, where he was well received at court, and he soon ingratiated himself with the king, who gave him the appointment of court physician. The king imbibed, about this time, an extraordinary passion for alchemy, which was, at least, encouraged by his foreign physician, who was a great adept in this science, and he caused a furnace and laboratory to be established in his palace at Stirling. The household accounts contain entries of sums of money paid to the "French leich," or physician, for the purpose of "multiplying." The spleen of Dunbar and others was moved by the favours shown to this designing interloper, as they considered him, and they could no longer contain themselves, when, early in 1504, the vacant abbacy of Tunland, in Galloway, was conferred upon him. It is probable that the new abbot of Tunland, in spite of the obloquy cast upon him by his rivals, was a man of considerable ingenuity and talent, and that we may look upon James's attachment to him as a proof of that monarch's enlightened love of science as well as letters. At length, in the September of 1507, the abbot imagined that he had crowned all his experiments, by the invention of wings to fly! It happened that a French embassy had lately come to Scotland, and was at the period last-mentioned preparing to return to France; on which the abbot made a public boast that by means of his new invention he would start at the same time and be there before them. Accordingly he mounted the castle wall of Stirling, and fitting on his wings, which were partly made of feathers, trusted himself to the air, but instead of flying to France,

he fell to the ground and broke one of his thighs. So far from being disconcerted by this mishap, he is said to have explained it by alleging that those who had furnished him with the materials had, by accident or design, mixed with them feathers of the dunghill fowl, and that these, by their natural tendency to the earth, had broken his upward flight. Among his numerous enemies there was one general feeling of exultation at his misfortune, and Dunbar has expressed his sentiments in more than one poem on the occasion. In the bitterly satirical ballad entitled *The feigned Friar of Tunland*, Dunbar pretends that the alchemist was an apostate "Turk of Tartary," who had disguised himself in Lombardy, and passing for a friar, had practised medicine in France, until he was obliged to fly the country on account of the numerous patients he had killed through his ignorance. In Scotland the adventurer followed the same course, and was made an abbot, but instead of performing mass and the other services of the church, he was always engaged in his smithy.

Unto no mess preissit¹ the prelat,
For sound of sacrying bell nor skellat;²
As blaksmyth brukit was his pellat,³
For battring at the study.

Thocht he come hame a newe maid channoun,
He had dispensit with matinnis cannoun,
On him come nothir stole nor fannoun,⁴
For smwking of the smedye.⁵

Me thoct feir fassounis he assalyeit⁶
To mak the quintessence, and failyeit;
And quhen he saw that nocht avalyeit,

A federem⁷ on he tuke:
And schupe⁸ in Turkey for to fle;
And quhen that he did mont on hie,
All fowlis farlet⁹ quhat he suld be,
That evir did on him luke.

Sum held he had bene Dedalus,
Sum the Mynataur marvaluss,
Sum Martis¹⁰ blaksmyth Vulcanus,
And sum Saturnus cuk.¹¹

And evir the cuchettis¹² at him tuggit,
The rukis¹³ him rent, the ravynis him druggit,¹⁴
The huditt crawis¹⁵ his hair furth ruggit,
The hevin he nicht nocht bruke.¹⁶

In another short poem, Dunbar laments the death of numerous "makkars," or poets, his predecessors and contemporaries, and complains that he was left almost alone. Nevertheless, many poets of more or less merit were still alive, and others were springing up; so that Scottish poetry had undergone no decline in the reign of James V.

pared. ⁹ Wondered. ¹⁰ Mars's. ¹¹ Cook. ¹² Owls.
¹³ Rooks. ¹⁴ Roughly. ¹⁵ Hooded crows. ¹⁶ He
might not enjoy or possess the heaven.

* ¹ Hurried. ² Rattle, or small bell. ³ Head.
⁴ Scarf. ⁵ For smoking of his smithy. ⁶ Fair fashions
he assayed. ⁷ Feathering, wings. ⁸ Shaped, pre-

BOOK IV.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF JAMES V. TO THE ARRIVAL OF MARY STUART IN SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER I.

JAMES V.; THE QUEEN-MOTHER REGENT; UNSETTLED STATE OF SCOTLAND; REGENCY OF THE DUKE OF ALBANY; THE QUEEN FLIES TO ENGLAND.

SCOTLAND had seldom experienced so severe a blow as that inflicted by the defeat at Flodden. The king, the great officers of state, the magistrates, the heads of families, were almost all cut off in one dreadful disaster, and the management of affairs was left, at a moment of so much difficulty, to a young widowed queen, and a few of the less distinguished of the nobility, whose private feuds gave promise only of disunion and anarchy. The first necessity, however, was to check as much as possible the grief and despondency which showed themselves everywhere, as the fatal intelligence became known, and in this trying emergency men of all classes showed a manly courage and resolution in preparing for the defence of their country. The praiseworthy example was set by the merchants of Edinburgh, to whom the government of the city had been confided when their chief magistrates went to join the king. When the first news of the disaster at Flodden arrived, they put forth a proclamation, cautioning the townsmen against believing hastily in uncertain intelligence, and commanding them to hold themselves in readiness to take up arms for the defence of the town at the sounding of the common bell, while the women were strictly forbidden to be seen crying or wailing in the streets. As soon as the agitation had partially subsided, a parliament was called, which met at Perth early in October, but so great had been the loss of noble and gentle blood, that it was composed chiefly of the clergy. One of the first public acts of this parliament was to cause the infant king to be crowned at Scone, with the usual solemnities, under the name of James V. The queen-mother was appointed regent; and the castle of Stirling, with the custody of the king, was entrusted to the lord Borthwick. The parliament appointed, for the present, Beaton,

archbishop of Glasgow, with the earls of Huntley and Angus, to be the queen's advisers. These measures were adopted under the pressure of the moment, and as the best apparent means of preserving order, until further deliberation. But the parliament was far from unanimous, and amid much jealousy and difference of opinion, there was a strong party who objected to placing the chief power in the hands of the queen, and who secretly sent a messenger to France, to the duke of Albany, the son of the prince who had been banished for his treasons, and the next heir to the crown after the infant who now bore it, urging him to return to Scotland and assume the office of regent.

It was fortunate for Scotland that, instead of following up his success, the earl of Surrey found it necessary to disband his army after the battle, and thus the unsettled government was relieved from the distress and embarrassment which must have followed an immediate invasion of the kingdom. Hostilities, however, continued to devastate the borders without intermission, in which king Henry's warden of the marches, lord Dacre, played a principal part. Soon after the battle of Flodden, lord Dacre had distinguished himself by his activity against the Scots, and had merited thereby a letter of thanks from his sovereign, who further directed him to make two rodes into Scotland, by the west and middle marshes. Lord Dacre's reply, in which he describes the manner of his putting these orders into execution, affords so singular a picture of a border foray at this time, that it deserves to be given in his own words:—"Please it your highness," Dacre says to the king, "to know, I have received your most honourable letters of your gracious thanks for my poor service done to your grace according to my duty, which is to me the most singular com-



Engraved by J. Cockran

MARGARET TUDOR.
QUEEN OF SCOTLAND.

OB. 1541.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF LOTHIAN.

fort and rejoicing I can have; for by the same I well perceive your highness regardeth not the sinister report or rumour surmised against me, nor your grace regardeth or giveth any credence thereunto, whereby I am bound the rather to do unto your highness the most laudable and acceptable service I can or may do, and so shall undoubtedly at all my power. And whereas by the same your most honourable letters I understand your pleasure and commandment is, that I should effectually proceed to the speedy execution of two rodes upon the west and middle marches, to the most annoyance of the Scots that I possibly may, like it your grace to know, upon Thursday last past I assembled your subjects in Northumberland to the number of a thousand horsemen, and rode in at Gallespeth, and so to the water of Kale, two mile within Scotland, and there set forth two forays: my brother Philip Dacre, with three hundred men, which burnt and destroyed the town of Rowcastle, with all the corns in the same and thereabouts, and won two towers in it, and burnt both, roof and floors: and sir Roger Fenwick, with three hundred men, burnt the town of Langton, and destroyed all the cornes therein; which towns are in the heart of the country, two miles beyond Jedworth, upon the water of Cheviot. And I came with a 'stale' (*by stealth, unawares*) to a place called the Dungeon, a mile from Jedworth, and so went to the Selater ford on the water of Bowset, and there the Scots pursued us right sore, and there bickered with us and gave us hand-strokes; there came three standards to back them, that is to say, David Kerr of Fernihurst and the laird of Boudgedworth on the one side, and the sheriff of Teviotdale on the other side, with the number of seven hundred men or more. The laird of Walghope was hurt there with an arrow, and his horse slain; Mark Trumbill was stricken with a spear, and the head left in him; his horse was won; and divers Scotchmen were hurt there. And so we came forwards, where we saw my brother sir Christopher Dacre with his host arrayed at a place called the Belling, which was to us no little comfort, and to him great gladness, seeing the small power we were of at that time. My said brother came in at Cressop-bridge, and then entered the Middle Marches, and so came through Liddesdale to the Rugheswyre, fourteen miles within the ground of Scotland, and there he put forth two forays:

sir John Ratcliffe with five hundred men in one, which burnt the town of Dyker, six miles from the said swyre, with a tower in the same; they laid corn and straw to the door, and burnt it both roof and floor, and so smoked them out. Also, the said sir John and his company burnt the towns of Sowdon and Lurchestrother, with a tower in it, and destroyed all the corns about them, and took divers prisoners, with much 'insight' and goods. Nicholas Harrington, Nicholas Ridley, Thomas Middleton, and George Skelton, with others to the number of five hundred in the other foray, burnt the town of Hyndhalghakade and a tower in the same, floor and roof; and in likewise the towns of West Sawsyde and East Sawsyde, with a pile (*fort*) of lime and stone in it. And my said brother sir Christopher, with two thousand horsemen, and four hundred footmen with bows, for safeguard of the host in straits, came in a stale to Dykerawe; and there the said forays relieved (*returned*) to him, and so came forward and met me. We had not ridden above the space of a mile, when we saw the lord chamberlain (*Home*) appear in our sight, with two thousand men, and four standards; the other three standards resorted to him, and so the country drew fast to them. We put us in array, and came homeward, and rode no faster than sheep and swine that we had would drive, which was of no great substance, for the country was warned of our coming, and the beacons burnt from midnight forward. And when the Scots had given us over, we returned home and came in at the Redeswyre. I came to Harbottle at midnight; my brother sir Christopher lay that night at the tower of Otterbourne, and upon the morn to Hexham, and his folks in other towns upon the water of Tyne, and on the third day at home, as many as might get."

"Sir," continues lord Dacre, "I see not the gentlemen of the country in a readiness for defence of your borders, for certain of them to whom I had given warning, as my lord Ogle, which promised to come to me, the constable of Alnwick, and others, trusting they would have been glad to do your grace service accordingly as they have done to your wardens in time of war, came not to me at the place appointed, whereby I was not accompanied as I thought to have been. I was counselled and advised by my guides to have adjourned my purpose, and so would have done, but only that I had

appointed with my brother sir Christopher to meet him in Scotland, for he departed from me to the west marches to bring my folks from thence, whom I might not disappoint, for I had no space to give him warning, it was thirty miles from me and more, and else I had not kept my purpose, which now is performed, thanked be Jesus, and all your subjects in safety but a servant of mine, which was killed there, and two Scots were slain, and many others hurt the same time. Please it your grace, as for the rode to be made upon your west march, I cannot see how it can be done conveniently until the next light [the full of the moon was the time generally chosen for inroads of this kind,] for two considerations; one is because I dare not be absent of this middle march during this light, for fear the Scots should destroy and burn the country in my absence, which I regard greatly; and another is that my servants' horses which came to this rode were sore laboured, for they rode twenty-eight hours without any bait. And in the next light I shall, God willing, perform the said rode; and in the mean time shall cause small rodes to be made, which shall be as great annoyance to the Scots, as a great rode should be; and thus shall your money be employed to the best I can, and for the greatest hurt and destruction of the Scots; for I shall be as good a husband thereof as I would be of mine own, and always I shall be ready to give account of the same at your pleasure.*

Thomas lord Daere was a man of great talent both as a warrior and as a diplomatist, and he became one of king Henry's most faithful and unscrupulous agents in his designs against Scotland. We shall soon meet with him deeply engaged in fomenting the intrigues which disturbed that kingdom, where feuds were now showing themselves among all orders of society, and hardly less among the clergy than among the laity. The archbishop of St. Andrews and two bishops, as well as other dignified ecclesiasties, had fallen at Flodden, and there was great rivalry for the vacant dignities. A few potent nobles seemed the more violent in their feuds, since they were left almost alone. The death of the old earl of Angus and his son, had left the title to his grandson, a young man who,

proud of having thus become the head of the great house of Douglas, looked upon the all-powerful chamberlain Home with a feeling of deadly hatred, and the whole of the south was divided by the partizans of their rival interests. The most powerful lords of the north were the earls of Huntley and Crawford, who also were busy in promoting their own separate interests. Encouraged by the example of their superiors, the lower orders became turbulent and unruly, and many parts of the country were openly traversed by bands of robbers, who plundered almost without resistance. The disunion among the nobles was increased, rather than otherwise, by the arrival of the earl of Arran, who, retaining his title of high-admiral, had remained in France since the unfortunate expedition which had drawn upon him the late king's displeasure, and who now returned to Scotland with a few of the smaller ships. At the same time came a French knight well known in Scotland for his courage and accomplishments, the sieur D'Arsie de la Bastie, who had been formerly the favourite of James IV., and seems now to have enjoyed the particular friendship of the duke of Albany. The latter had received the message of the party in Scotland who wished him to assume the regency, and had acceded to their request, but, not able to leave France immediately, he sent de la Bastie to communicate with them. In the midst of all these dissensions, the kingdom was still at war with England, and in its distress it found how little it could depend upon its foreign alliances; neither the king of Denmark, whom James IV. had assisted in reducing his rebellious subjects, nor the king of France, though James's devotion to his cause had been the origin of all the misfortunes which had now fallen upon Scotland, would give her any assistance against her foreign enemy.

The young queen, though still very young, possessed great talents, but she unfortunately possessed also many of the failings of her brother, which ill-fitted her to reconcile or contend with the factions which now divided Scotland. She was not only firm but obstinate, and she was often led by passions and resentments which overcame her better judgment, while she followed her pleasures with a contempt for public opinion that was not calculated to secure the respect of the people she had to rule. A few months after the death of her husband she

* This letter is printed from the original in Ellis's Original Letters, second series, vol. i., p. 93. The language is here modernised, except in the names of places.

was delivered of a posthumous son, which was named Alexander, and created duke of Ross, and to this time her delicate situation had kept her in retirement, and rendered her an object of especial interest. Elphinston, bishop of Aberdeen, a prelate venerable for his age and for his patriotism, had during this interval exerted himself to calm the turbulence of the various claimants to power; but their feuds ran so high, that the government was only carried on with difficulty, and it seemed impossible even to call together a parliament. The only measure of any importance that was effected, was the appointment of the earl of Crawford as chief justice to the north of the Forth, and the lord Home to the same office in the south. On the queen's recovery from her confinement, a parliament was assembled, and she was confirmed in the regency, and three counsellors were appointed to advise her and to have the custody of the young king and his brother, probably the lords before mentioned. The troubles of the kingdom seemed, however, to increase, and new strength was given to them by the sudden announcement that the queen, without even advising with her council, had married the young earl of Angus. Angus was a man apparently of small talents, vain and self-opiniated, and he imagined that his own power as the head of the house of Douglas, joined with his alliance with the queen-regent, must make him at once the most important personage in the kingdom.

From this time the divisions in the kingdom assumed a new character, and they gradually separated themselves into two great parties, one of which leaned towards England and the other towards France. The latter faction consisted especially of those who wished to bring over the duke of Albany; while the former were headed by the queen-mother and her young husband, who placed themselves in intimate correspondence with king Henry and his ministers. We have already seen that the war with England which led to the fatal battle of Flodden, was not popular in Scotland, and in spite of the bitter national animosities which had been roused by it, the English party found great support, principally among the extensive vassalage of the house of Douglas. Henry seems from the first to have calculated more upon political intrigue for the advancement of his designs against Scotland, whatever they may have been,

than upon hostilities; and since the battle of Flodden he had shown no intention of carrying on the war except by border incursions, which were directed principally against the lands of those who were opposed to the English influence. In the meanwhile English agents were actively employed in intriguing in Scotland, and money was not spared to support the party of the queen; and in these intrigues the lord Dacre held a prominent place. We shall soon see how effectually this English nobleman exerted himself in creating distress and confusion in the neighbouring kingdom.

A strong feeling of opposition to Angus, joined with sentiments of nationality, caused the greater part of the nobility of the kingdom to join the party now opposed to the queen-mother. Yet they received so little encouragement from France, that the French king retained the duke of Albany from Scotland as long as he could, and in the peace which at this moment he was concluding with England, he merely inserted a coldly formal clause, by which the Scots were to be admitted to the peace, if they desired it, and if they committed no further hostilities, and if not, it was intimated that France would abandon them. The Scots were not unwilling to obtain peace, although there were some amongst them who, in a blind desire for vengeance, urged the continuance of the war; but there were difficulties to be arranged between the wardens of the borders, and these, with the desire to postpone the final settlement of the treaty until the arrival of Albany, who had already been relieved from the sentence of banishment and forfeiture, caused it to drag on slowly through several months.

In the course of these negotiations, bishop Elphinston died, and the vacancy of the see of St. Andrews led to new feuds, in which the turbulence of the church was as conspicuous as that of the laity. The queen appointed to the see a worthy ecclesiastic, celebrated as a scholar and a poet, Gawin Douglas, who was the uncle of the earl of Angus; but the enemies of the house of Douglas had brought forward another claimant, Hepburn, prior of St. Andrews, a turbulent and factious churchman, who had interest enough with the chapter to obtain his own election. The retainers of the house of Douglas seized upon the episcopal castle, and attempted to hold it by force of arms, but they were attacked by Hepburn, who carried the fortress by

storm. Angus was preparing to lay siege to them, when a third claimant came forward, to increase the confusion, and eventually to carry off the prize. This was Foreman, bishop of Moray, who had been a great favourite of the late king, and had been often employed by him in foreign embassies. By this circumstance, and his great riches, he had obtained influence at the court of Rome, and he now obtained a papal bull appointing him to the vacant archbishopric. He returned with this to Scotland, and contrived to secure the interest of the chamberlain Home, a nobieman who, during the interval before the return of the duke of Albany, had usurped almost regal power. By the influence of Home, and a judicious distribution of money, it was arranged that Hepburn should surrender the castle to Foreman, on condition that he should be allowed to retain the revenues which he had already collected, and that the rich priory of Coldingham should be given to his nephew. This was but one among many acts of violence which were daily taking place throughout the country; for the nobility had resumed their old practices of riding about the country with troops of armed followers, and private warfare was carried on without control. The queen, by her marriage, had, according to the terms of the king's will, rendered herself no longer capable of holding the regency, and the return of the duke of Albany continued to be delayed. Under these circumstances, the ambition of the earl of Arran was excited, and aspiring to the regency himself, he raised forces to make war upon the earl of Angus, and was joined by the earls of Lennox and Glencairn. In the midst of the confusion thus created, the earl of Lennox seized the castle of Dumbarton, and the earl of Angus narrowly escaped falling into the hands of his enemies, who had laid an ambush for him; while the important fortress of Dunbar, which formed a part of the territory of the duke of Albany, was delivered to the French knight De la Bastie. The French party, for whom de la Bastie had thus taken possession of the strong fortress, now received powerful support from the selfish and intriguing archbishop of Glasgow, the celebrated Beaton, who joined heartily with those who called in the duke of Albany. On the other hand, one of the most powerful of the northern barons, the earl of Huntley, with the lord Drummond, and the earl marshal, joined the party of

the queen and her husband, and thus added very considerably to its strength.

The accession of Francis I. to the French throne in 1515, seems to have renewed the friendly feeling between Scotland and France. Two French ambassadors, Le Vaire and Villebresne, repaired to Scotland to urge the government of that kingdom to accede to the peace with England, and they succeeded in their mission, the Scots declaring that they had not accepted peace from the fear of their enemies, but from their love to France and their zeal in the projected crusade against the infidels. On the 18th of May, 1515, soon after this answer had been given, the duke of Albany arrived at Dumbarton, where he was received amid a general demonstration of joy, and he was soon afterwards installed in the regency. Albany at once threw himself into the arms of the party which had called him over, and his first acts, instead of being conciliatory, showed a determined hostility towards the English party. He was, no doubt, acquainted with the intrigues of Henry VIII., whose minister, lord Dacre, by means of his agents, an English priest named Williamson, and the queen's secretary sir James Inglis, and a host of minor emissaries and spies, had gained great influence in the country, which he used continually to promote confusion and embarrass the existing government. A proposal had been made to the young queen, before Albany's arrival, to fly into England, and take with her the infant king and his brother; and this design seems to have been laid aside through the apprehensions rather than the inclinations of the leaders of her party. The daring and powerful lord-chamberlain Home, had also gradually gone over to the queen's party, as the period of Albany's arrival drew near, influenced also, as it appears, by lord Dacre's persuasions. According to Buchanan, Home was driven to join the English party, after Albany's accession to the regency, by the hostility of the regent, who was prejudiced against him by the misrepresentations of John Hepburn, the prior of St. Andrews, who believed that he had been prevented from establishing himself in the archbishopric by the chancellor's influence, and who had ever since regarded him and the successful claimant, Foreman, with the bitterest hostility. This man, Buchanan tells us, "having secured the regent's friends by private gifts, obtained the entire possession of his ear; and

by secret accusations, and a pretence of knowledge in the manners of his country, so insinuated himself into the confidence of a prince ignorant of Scottish affairs, that he was almost solely entrusted with the management of the most important transactions. He was sent by him with a commission to travel over all Scotland, and inquire into the misdemeanours of those who oppressed and enslaved the common people; and he still further insinuated himself into his confidence by the manner in which he executed this trust. He particularly pointed out, in the several districts, what recent quarrels or ancient animosities existed; likewise, what factions there were, and who were their chiefs; and the facts which were known to all, he narrated with sufficient fidelity; but as often as an opportunity offered, he excited informers to bring complaints against the tyranny of Home; and partly by true, and partly by false representations, completely prejudiced the duke against him. After he had surveyed the whole kingdom, on his return, when he explained to the regent the relationships, connexions, and leagues, which existed among the different families between themselves, he persuaded him that not one of the powerful noblemen could be brought to punishment for his crimes, however flagrant, without giving offence to a number; and that not so much on account of the enmity and conspiracies of the relations, as because, although the punishment extended only to a few guilty, yet the example would reach a great many, who, formerly enemies, from a similarity of crime, and a dread of punishment, would become friends; nor was it possible to chastise such great and extensively spread factions by domestic forces. He therefore advised him to request the king of France to send a greater number of troops, to break down the contumacious race, which would equally promote the advantage of Scotland and the interest of France; but, in the mean time, the chiefs of the factions ought to be humbled, or, if possible, cut off, yet cautiously, that they might not perceive that a number were aimed at. These, at present, were principally three, of whom Archibald Douglas (the earl of Angus), enjoyed the greatest popularity with the crowd, for the name of his family was fondly cherished on account of the many services they had rendered the Scots; besides, being in the flower of youth, and supported by

his affinity with the king of England, he was too ambitious for a private station; next, Home, who he said was a man of great weight from the power he had enjoyed for such a length of time, and more formidable; then, digressing, he proceeded invincibly to relate all that had been done by the Homes against the regent's father and uncle, in which, although the Hepburns were participators, he attributed the whole blame to the Homes; besides, he often repeated, with many asseverations, the story of their standing aloof in the late battle with the English, the malicious rumour respecting the king's death, and the rebuilding of Norham castle through their connivance; and lastly, Foreman, who, though neither formidable on account of his relations, nor his noble descent, yet would form a great acquisition to whatever side he should incline; for all the wealth of the kingdom being gathered into his one house, he could either relieve the present want of the party by money, or by his promises allure numbers to their common confederacy. Hepburn's representation of Foreman was rendered of less weight by the known enmity which existed between them; besides, the archbishop created little envy on account of that wealth, which he delighted more in scattering profusely than in hoarding, and in the disposal of which he was not more munificent to any than to the French attendants of the regent; neither did he endeavour to attach himself so much to one party, as to extend his benevolence to the whole. But the suspicions respecting the warden of the borders sunk deeper in the mind of the regent, which he soon betrayed by his estrangement from Home, and his coldness when they met. Wherefore, in a few months, not being treated as he expected by Albany, he began to hold secret meetings with the queen and her husband, in which he greatly lamented the situation of the country, because the infant king was entrusted to an exile, born and educated in a state of banishment; whose father's ambition had nearly deprived his elder brother of his kingdom, and who himself, as next heir, it was evident only waited till everything else was settled according to his wishes, to remove the innocent child, assume the crown, and complete what his father had impiously projected. One only method of avoiding the danger remained; it was for the queen to depart to England with her son, and

commit herself and her interest to the protection of her brother."

Buchanan is not correct in stating that it was some months after the accession of the duke of Albany to the regency when Home went over to the English party, as we know that Albany was not made regent till the 10th of July, and the chamberlain had openly joined the queen and her husband within a month, as his conversion is announced in a letter from lord Dacre at the beginning of August. The example of so powerful a nobleman as Home no doubt drew many to the party he had espoused, which seems at this moment to have been gaining in strength. Many wise and patriotic men, indeed, looked forward to the government of the duke of Albany with apprehension. Some were anxious for the continuance of peace, and disapproved of the hostile feelings shown by the new regent towards England, which seemed rather to have been instilled into his mind in France, than dictated by a sincere desire to promote the true interests of the people over whom he was called to rule. Others, who were equally hostile towards England, regretted their regent's French connexions, and disapproved of the servile devotion he showed to the king of France. The English party took advantage of all these feelings; they talked of the ambition and manifold treasons of the regent's father, and pointing invidiously to the conduct of Richard III. of England, they intimated their fears that the example would not be thrown away on one who, like him, had only two infants between himself and the throne. They described him as a foreigner, with none of the feelings or interests of a Scot, and totally ignorant of the laws, manners, and wants of the people he came to govern, and augured a period of misrule which was fraught with calamity for the country.

Albany began his government with manifesting the most implacable hostility towards the party opposed to him, and the queen was made to feel that her friendship was no protection to those who were attached to her or her husband. Lord Drummond, a nobleman advanced in years, and distinguished by his devotion to the royal house of Scotland, was thrown into prison in the castle of Blackness, on the pretence that he had treated with rudeness the lion herald when he had perhaps brought an unwelcome message to the queen. A charge more evidently fabricated to excuse the attack, was

made against the learned Gawin Douglas, that he had illegally procured his nomination to the see of Dunkeld through the influence of the English monarch at the court of Rome, and he also was committed to rigorous imprisonment. The queen implored in vain for the liberation of her friends and counsellors; and then gave vent to her indignation in querulous letters to her brother. But the rigour of the regent's proceedings had the effect of drawing off from her party many of those who were unwilling to expose themselves to the hostility of a party which seemed most powerful to commit injury.

These proceedings, however, were only introductory to a step of a more important character. Perhaps Albany had received some intimation of the intrigues which had been carried on for the removal of the two princes to England, or at all events he probably suspected that some such attempt might be made, and he resolved that they should no longer remain in the custody of their mother. A parliament was called at Edinburgh, and it was ordered that out of eight lords nominated by the parliament, four should be chosen by lot, and three of these, to be selected out of the four by the queen, were to take the princes into their custody. Three peers were accordingly named, and they proceeded to the castle of Edinburgh, where Margaret was residing, that the two royal children might be delivered to them. Queen Margaret was as high-spirited as she was talented, and she showed no inclination to submit quietly to the will of the regent, or even of the parliament, which she naturally looked upon as acting under the influence of the party opposed to herself. When the three noblemen presented themselves at the castle gates, these were suddenly thrown open, and the queen appeared holding the king in one hand, while a nurse carried his younger brother in her arms, and with an air of dignity and a loud and clear voice she bade the envoys of the parliament advance no further till they had declared their business. The scene was one calculated to produce an imposing effect upon the multitude who were assembled in front of the castle, and who testified their loyalty to their young sovereign by their enthusiastic shouts. The three noblemen, in reply to the queen's question, stated that they were sent by the parliament to take the two princes into their custody; upon which the queen gave a signal,

and the portcullis rolled down and opposed an insurmountable barrier to their further approach. She then said, "I hold this castle by the gift of my late husband, your king, who also entrusted me with the keeping and government of my children, and I shall not yield them to any person whatsoever; but I respect the parliament, and I require a delay of six days to consider their mandate." The three noblemen retired, and during the respite which she had thus gained, Margaret removed with the children to Stirling, which was a stronger fortress, with a garrison more devoted to her cause. Thence she sent her final answer to the regent, proposing that the royal children should be placed in the custody of the earls of Angus, Home, and Marshal, and Lauder of the Bass. As these were, with one exception, men devoted to her party, the proposal was inadmissible, and the regent proceeded immediately to take measures for reducing the queen to obedience. He assembled an armed force without delay, and directed the lords Borthwick and Ruthven to lay close siege to the castle of Stirling, while he ordered Home, as provost of Edinburgh, to arrest Angus's brother sir George Douglas, and summoned Angus himself to join the host at the head of his vassals. But the earl, who, alarmed at the consequence of the queen's disobedience to the orders of parliament, had at first urged her to deliver up the princes to the three noblemen, and had caused a notarial instrument to be drawn up of his being no party to her refusal, had subsequently retired to his territory in the Mearns, where he was collecting his vassals, not to join the standard of Albany, but to resist the storm with which he saw that he was himself threatened; whilst Home, refusing to execute the regent's orders, left the capital by night, and escaped to the border. Upon this the regent issued a proclamation against all who held Stirling castle against the government, and marched against that fortress at the head of seven thousand men. The queen, convinced that it was in vain to resist, and alarmed by the desertion of some of her friends, requested an interview with the regent, and delivered up to him the castle and her children, requesting favourable treatment for herself and her husband. This request, however, was only partially granted; for, while he assured the queen of his loyalty and attachment to the young monarch and herself,

he refused to promise any favour to the earl of Angus, as long as he remained associated with traitors to the state. The princes were now committed to the custody of the earl Marshal and the lords Fleming and Borthwick, and, a garrison more devoted to the government having been placed in Stirling, the queen was conducted back to Edinburgh, with every mark of respect, to her former residence in the castle. Her children remained with their three guardians at Stirling.

The hostility of the regent was now mainly directed against Home, who, while on one hand he used his influence over the earl of Angus to encourage him to resistance, entered into a close alliance with lord Dacre, and was urgent for a strong force to be sent to their assistance from England. The Scottish borders were thus soon in arms against the authority of the regent. The latter again summoned the force of the kingdom to reduce his enemies. He began by sending to the queen a proposal for a reconciliation, by which he offered to support her and her husband in all just and lawful actions, and to put her in full possession of her jointure lands, and maintain her according to her rank, on the condition that they should co-operate cordially with the parliament and renounce their secret connection with England. This proposal was certainly a fair and even a generous one, yet Margaret unhesitatingly rejected it, probably under the influence of Dacre and Home, though some have excused her by intimating that she mistrusted Albany's promises. Against Home the regent declared the utmost hostility, and he insisted that he should not remain in Scotland, on which that nobleman made an earnest request through Dacre for assistance from England, and assembling a strong force, he re-captured the castle of Home, which had been seized by the regent, and took that of Blacater, and in the latter, which was no more than five miles from Berwick, it was determined that the Scottish queen should take refuge, as a place from which she could at any time pass easily and rapidly into England. Margaret agreed to this proposal, and having contrived to join lord Home, who met her with an escort of forty horsemen, he conducted her to Blacater.

The regent was extremely provoked at this proceeding, and, encouraged by the full support of the parliament, he soon

raised an army of forty thousand men to suppress the insurrection, and with this force he advanced to the borders. At the same time a new proposal for a pacification was sent to the queen, but was again rejected, and the duke of Albany sent two commissioners, sir William Scott and sir Robert Lauder, to meet the English commissioners, lord Dacre and Dr. Magnus, and consult with them for the arrangement of all questions relating to the border. As the regent advanced with his army, many of Home's partizans became alarmed, and he soon found himself too weak to offer any serious resistance. Home was himself captured, and committed to the charge of the earl of Arran, who, however, suddenly deserted the regent's party, and fled with his prisoner to England. They were followed by the queen and her husband, the earl of Angus, but she went no further than Harbottle in Northumberland. Margaret was at this time in an advanced state of pregnancy, and eight days after her arrival at Harbottle, she gave birth to a daughter, named after herself Margaret. From Harbottle, on the 10th of October, 1515, she addressed a letter to the regent, in which she declared that she had been constrained to leave Scotland on account of the danger to which her life was exposed from the designs of her enemies, protested against the regent's conduct, and claimed the government of the kingdom and the custody of the young king, as a right given her by her

husband's will, and confirmed by the pope. She received a reply from the council of state, dated on the 13th of October, in which she was informed that by the terms of the will itself, she had forfeited all claim to the tutelage of her son when she married the earl of Angus, and that the disposal of the government lay entirely with the three estates, and could not be disposed of by the will of a deceased king, or by the decision of a pope. This was followed by two other letters, one from the council, the other from the regent himself, in which the queen was earnestly entreated to follow no longer the counsels of evil advisers, but to return to Scotland, where she should be treated with every respect due to her station, and she was even offered the guardianship of her children, if she would give her solemn promise that they should not be taken out of the kingdom. But the queen seems still to have been influenced by suspicions of the regent's sincerity, and she obstinately refused to listen to terms which, to say the least of them, displayed great indulgence. The three earls, Home, Angus, and Arran, had taken courage, under the influence of lord Dacre, and, at a meeting at Coldstream on the 15th of October, they entered into a bond of mutual alliance, by which they engaged to resist the regent with all their vassals and followers, and to labour together for the deliverance of their sovereign from the custody of those whom they affected to consider as his enemies.

CHAPTER II.

CONDUCT OF HENRY VIII.; NEW REBELLION OF ARRAN; EXECUTION OF THE HOMES; FRANCE DESERTS THE SCOTTISH ALLIANCE; THE QUEEN RETURNS TO SCOTLAND; VISIT OF THE REGENT TO FRANCE; INSURRECTION IN THE ISLES; FEUDS BETWEEN ANGUS AND ARRAN; ALBANY REASSUMES THE REGENCY.

THE regent, having thus driven out of the country the enemies of his government, was left to profit by his triumph, but his proceedings appear to have been characterized by great forbearance. The earl of Arran was proclaimed a rebel, and his castles were seized, but, at the intercession of the mother of the fugitive nobleman, the regent pro-

mised him forgiveness if he returned to his allegiance. Arran, with sudden precipitancy, deserted the colleagues with whom he had so recently leagued himself, and returned to Scotland, where he was received into favour. The queen and her friends in England were exasperated at this defection, and when, about the same time, the youngest

of the two royal children died rather suddenly at Stirling, she hesitated not to proclaim publicly her belief that he had been poisoned by the duke of Albany. It was not long before Home and Angus followed Arran's example, and returning to Scotland, they both promised allegiance, and were pardoned. The queen never forgave the desertion of her husband, and she implored her brother more earnestly than ever to interfere in procuring redress of what she considered her wrongs. King Henry was at this time involved anew in continental politics, and he had just concluded a new treaty with Scotland, not unwillingly, for he was well aware of the advantage of securing peace at home before he engaged in hostilities abroad. Nevertheless he wrote a letter to the estates of Scotland, in which, assuming an offensive tone of superiority, he told them that their young nephew was not safe under the government of the duke of Albany, and urged them to remove that nobleman from the regency and banish him from Scotland. This letter was laid before a parliament which met at Edinburgh in the latter end of June, 1516, and on the 1st of July the estates returned an answer expressed in firm language, declaring that the duke of Albany had been called to his high office, not in consequence of any advances made by himself, but by their own deliberate choice; that at their call he had left the service of France reluctantly; that they believed his government was in every way beneficial to Scotland; and that as they placed their entire confidence in him, so they were prepared to defend his government with their lives against any attack to which it might be exposed.

Henry saw, by the tone of this letter, that the Scottish parliament was not likely to be influenced by open intimidation, and he again left the English party in Scotland to be supported by the active intrigues of his warden of the border, lord Dacre. A letter from this nobleman to cardinal Wolsey, written on the 23rd of August, 1516, gives us a curious picture of his proceedings, and shows us that disaffection was again gaining ground among the nobles who had so lately made their peace with the regent. He says, "I have received a letter from Clarencieux king-at-arms to be sent unto your grace; also I have received another letter sent to myself from the said Clarencieux, whereby I perceive, and by such mutual communication as hath been

between us twain, as well as since his departure from your grace as before, there was tokens devised between us how I should know as he sped, and how he should know what practises as I dealt withal; whereupon by his said letter to me now directed, I perceive that it resteth upon the answer of the French king coming with Layfayette. And because I see that he goeth not so shortly to work, but driveth the time, I labour and studies all that I can to made division and debate, to the intent that if the duke (Albany) will not apply himself, that then that debate may grow that it shall be impossible to him to do justice. And for that intended purpose in that behalf, I have the master of Kilmawrs kept in my house secretly, which is one of the greatest parties in Scotland; as the queen can declare unto your grace, or any other Scotchman, if it like your grace to demand them. And also I have secret messages from the earl of Angus and others, which I trust shall be to the pleasure of the king's grace, if the said duke apply not himself. And also I have four hundred outlaws (and give them rewards), that burn and destroy daily in Scotland; all being Scotchmen which should be under the obedience of Scotland. And if the said duke will apply him to the king's pleasure, then shall all these practises be void and of none effect."

The effect of these intrigues, and the disaffection of the Scottish nobility, were soon shown openly. The earl of Arran, who imagined that he had a better claim to the regency than Albany, had already entered into a new treasonable bond with the earls of Lennox and Glencarn, Mure of Caldwell, who had married a sister of Lennox, and other barons, the object of which was to depose the present regent. Mure attacked the archiepiscopal palace of Glasgow, then the depôt of the king's artillery, and carried it by storm, and he enriched himself and his followers by the plunder; but, though he declared his intention of holding it for Arran, he was compelled to surrender it on the approach of Albany with a powerful army. The archbishop of Glasgow, the celebrated Beaton, now interposed, and at his intercession Arran was again pardoned. Buchanan says that it was Foreman, archbishop of St. Andrews, who interceded for him on this occasion. Lennox returned to his allegiance, and appears thenceforth to have remained loyal; but Mure and his followers held out for some time in the west. The short-

lived rebellions of men like Angus and Arran seem to have given little uneasiness to the regent, but Home was an abler and therefore a more formidable rival, and he seems now to have resolved on consolidating his own power by making this nobleman and his brother William severe examples to terrify his enemies. We are told by Buchanan that Albany had pardoned Home and his brother, with the express reservation that if they offended again, their former acts of rebellion would be brought forward in accusation against them. With a charge thus hanging over their heads, it could not but be easy at any time to find an excuse for putting the threat in execution, and we are told that the continued turbulence of the Homes gave good cause for suspecting that they were meditating new acts of treason. After the submission of Arran, the regent had retired to Falkland, where he appears to have matured his plans of vengeance, and he proceeded thence to Edinburgh, to meet a parliament which he had summoned to assemble there on the 24th of September. There appears to have been distrust on both sides, and it is said that the regent allured the Homes to court by an apparently friendly invitation, which seemed to leave no cause of apprehension. Nevertheless many of their most attached friends urged them not to go, and at least recommended that if the earl of Home went himself, he should leave his brother William behind him, as they believed that the regent would not dare to treat the one brother with severity while the other was at large. But, in spite of the persuasions of their friends, the two brothers, with their friend Andrew Ker of Fernyhurst, proceeded to the capital. Their arrival was no sooner known, than all three were arrested and thrown into prison. The circumstances of their trial are involved in much obscurity, but it is said that, probably in order to give popularity to the judgment, the charge of treason against the president was combined with an accusation of having traitorously deserted his sovereign at the battle of Flodden, and a ridiculous story that James had escaped from the battle, but that he was subsequently murdered privately by Home. Both the brothers were condemned; the earl was beheaded on the eleventh of October, and his brother suffered next day; their heads were exposed on the tolbooth, and their estates were confiscated. Andrew Ker was also condemned, but he escaped from prison. The lord Fleming

was appointed chamberlain in place of the earl of Home; and the office of warden of the borders was given to Albany's intimate friend, the French knight de la Bastie. The execution of the Homes appears to have been an unpopular act; and Buchanan has handed down to us as the general belief of the time that they fell victims to the hatred of the prior of St. Andrew's, who had never forgiven the chamberlain's agency in giving the archbishopric to Foreman.

Since Henry VIII.'s letter to the parliament against the duke of Albany, the present government of Scotland had been looking more and more for support from France, and now that an ambassador from that country, Francois de Bordeaux, was known to be on his way, their expectations were raised, but it was only to be again disappointed. The French king, Francis I., was desirous of conciliating England, and he treated his Scottish allies with coldness. When they asked for assistance against England, they met with a refusal, coupled with a recommendation to seize the first opportunity of concluding a peace with their southern neighbours, and Francis even refused to ratify a treaty of alliance which had been previously renewed between the council of regency and the ambassador of France, before the duke of Albany came to France. Francis showed still further an unfriendly feeling towards the Scots by declining to restore the county of Xaintongue to the Scottish crown, to which it had been given by Charles VII. in 1428. All these circumstances added to the embarrassment of the Scottish government, and a parliament was called in the November of 1516, to deliberate on the communications made by the French ambassador. It was on this occasion that the duke of Albany, anxious to visit his French estates, and encouraged by a private letter from the French king, made an urgent demand to the parliament for permission to absent himself for a short period in France.

Albany's demand of leave of absence met with very considerable opposition from all the friends of his government, who foresaw the evils which must necessarily arise from it. They represented to him that, having accepted the regency under the peculiar circumstances which called him to it, namely, the perilous position of the kingdom, the infancy of the king, and his own proximity by blood to the throne, it would be a dereliction of duty if he deserted his post before

the youthful monarch had arrived at an age to rule for himself; and they predicted the triumph of the English party during his absence, and his probable deposition from the regency. All expostulation, however, proved vain, and the parliament unwillingly consented to the regent's departure, and limited his period of absence to four months. A council of regency having been accordingly appointed, consisting of the archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and the earls of Angus, Arran, Argyle, and Huntley, Albany set sail from Dumbarton on the 7th of June, 1517. As a measure of precaution against the mischiefs foretold by his friends, Albany had taken with him in his train the eldest sons of many of the noblest families of Scotland, with the intention of holding them as hostages for the good behaviour of their relations. He had not, however, been long gone, when these predictions began to be verified. The regent had, as we have before said, placed his confidence in his French friend, De la Bastie, a man remarkable for his talents both as a statesman and a warrior, and, while he left the government of the kingdom entirely in the hands of the Scottish nobles just enumerated, he gave a still more arduous task, that of ruling the turbulent barons on the borders, to De la Bastie, with the further title of deputy or lieutenant of the governor, and in this quality he was to send Albany reports on the behaviour of the Scottish chiefs. The French knight held his court as warden of the marches in the castle of Dunbar, and he administered justice with so much firmness and resolution, that he soon drew on himself the bitter hostility of the borderers, who had been already provoked by the execution of the Homes. One of this house, Home of Wedderburn, whose wife was a sister of the earl of Angus, joining with other border chiefs, devised a plan for gratifying their revenge, and at the same time ridding themselves of a troublesome ruler. A party of borderers was collected to make a feint of attacking the tower of Langton, in order to draw De la Bastie into an ambush. The warden no sooner heard of the attack on Langton, than he hastened from Dunbar, with a few French knights in his train, to interpose his authority; but, before he had reached the scene of turbulence, he found himself and his small party suddenly surrounded with enemies, and he escaped with the utmost difficulty by the extraordinary swiftness of his horse. But he was ignorant

of the country, and he had not gone far, before he found himself entangled in a deep marsh, from which he was unable to extricate himself. He was soon overtaken, and, amid the insults of his pursuers, and in mockery of his earnest supplications for his life, he was slain by the laird of Wedderburn's two younger brothers, John and Patrick Home; and the laird, cutting off his head, hung it by the hair to his saddle bow, and rode with it into the town of Dunse, where he stuck it up on the market cross as a trophy of his vengeance.

This sanguinary outrage caused a strong sensation throughout the country, and excited the indignation of the regents, who, believing that the Douglasses were not strangers to it, appointed the earl of Arran, who was least likely to sympathise with them, warden of the marches. Arran proceeded with activity against the murderers and their accomplices, and having first seized upon the earl of Angus's brother, sir George Douglas, and his ally Mark Ker, he marched against the insurgents with an army, carrying with him the king's artillery, and soon compelled them to submit and to surrender into his hands the castles of Home and Wedderburn, as well as that of Langton which they had captured. But, with what appears to have been a mistaken lenity, although we hardly understand the motives which led to it, the murderers were all pardoned.

Another event had taken place which had some influence on the political relations of the different parties. Before Albany's departure, the question of the queen's return had been agitated, for Margaret seems to have been tired of her sojourn in England. It was accordingly arranged by the parliament, that she should be received with the honours due to her exalted rank, if she would promise not again to interfere in the political commotions of the country, by encouraging opposition to Albany's authority. She did not, however, arrive in Scotland until some time after the regent's departure from France, but she was honourably received at Lamberton Kirk by De la Bastie, with the earls of Angus and Morton, and conducted thence to Edinburgh, where, however, she was not permitted to visit her son, though this restriction was soon afterwards relaxed. It was subsequently renewed on a report, apparently without foundation, of a design of carrying away the young monarch to

England. The queen appears during this time to have acted with so much moderation, that she regained the confidence even of her opponents, and Albany, whose four months were expired, and who was disgusted by the murder of his friend and the turbulence of the Scottish barons, wrote to recommend earnestly that the government should again be placed in Margaret's hands. The nobility seem to have been willing to accede to this arrangement, but the queen, who had been reconciled to her husband, now insisted that Angus should be appointed regent. To this the nobles at once refused their consent, and the government remained as it had been left by Albany, and anxiously awaited his return.

Peace seemed at this moment to be permanently restored to the lowlands, but the highlands had been for some time in a state of open insurrection. James IV. had laboured earnestly to spread civilization among the highlanders, and for this purpose he sent for their sons to be educated in the lowland schools and universities, and brought the young chiefs to court to improve their manners, and attach them to his person. Among these were the sons of sir Alexander Macdonald of Lochalsh, in Ross-shire, the elder of whom became a great favourite of the king, who knighted him and gave him many proofs of his attachment. Young Macdonald accompanied James to Flodden, from whence he fled to the highlands to carry thither the news of the disaster, and to assist in organising a conspiracy to raise his father sir Alexander to independent power as lord of the isles. The immediate result was an alarming rebellion, led by Maclean of Dowart, in the isle of Mull, and Macleod of Dunvegan, in Skye. They seized the castles of Carnelreigh and Dunshaich, and declared war against all who refused to acknowledge the lordship of Macdonald. In spite of the exertions of the earl of Argyle, assisted by the Mackenzies, Monros, and other loyal clans, the insurrection soon spread through Lochaber, and a great part of Ross, and it was not without great difficulty that it was at length suppressed. With his characteristic leniency, Albany had forgiven the leaders, on their submission to his authority; but no sooner had Macdonald of Lochalsh made his peace with the government, than he took up arms again to prosecute a bitter feud against a rival chief, Mae-Ian of Ardnamurchan.

The attempt to restrain him only provoked the first chieftain to new rebellion, and assisted by his old allies, the Macleods, he continued to pursue his war against Mac-Ian, and at the same time to make head against the earl of Argyle, although the latter was zealously assisted by Maclean of Dowart, who had deserted Macdonald. In a desperate battle at Craiganairgid in Morvern, Mae-Ian was entirely defeated, and himself and his two sons were slain. In the midst of his triumph, Macdonald of Lochalsh died unexpectedly, and as he left no descendant, the rebellion in the isles soon died away.

In the south the peace was soon disturbed again by the intrigues and rivalry of the different factions. Angus, as he grew in years, began to show greater abilities than he had displayed before, without losing his turbulence of character. His reconciliation with the queen had given great strength to his party, but it did not last long; for his irregularities and amours soon gave greater offence than ever to his wife, while the latter seems to have become convinced that she was best promoting the welfare of her son by joining cordially with the other nobles in supporting the dignity of his throne. In her anger, Margaret broke into violent recriminations against her husband, and announced her resolution of immediately obtaining a divorce. Angus was looked upon at the court of Henry VIII., as the head of the English party, since the execution of the Homes, and Henry was not a little alarmed at the proceedings of his sister. He sent in haste to Scotland an English friar named Chatsworth, the bearer of violent expostulations to the Scottish queen, forbidding the divorce, and with little delicacy intimating to her his belief that her own private life had not been more irreproachable than that of her husband. She was so far influenced by these representations that she did not press forwards the divorce, but she showed no inclination to be again reconciled to her husband, and joined herself more and more with the contrary party.

The foreign relations of Scotland continued to be unsatisfactory. An application came from Christiern of Denmark for a new aid to reduce to obedience his subjects who had been driven into rebellion by his tyranny, but it was prudently refused. In France, the duke of Albany was unable to change the policy of Francis I., who

having conditionally included the Scots in his treaty with England, sent two ambassadors to England, with orders to announce to the Scots that if they rejected the treaty they must look for no further support from France. The two ambassadors proceeded to Scotland in company with the English clarencieux herald, and a parliament was immediately called to deliberate upon their message. The threat of the French monarch seems to have produced an immediate effect; and the parliament made no difficulty in accepting the treaty. A public proclamation at Stirling, in presence of the regents and the ambassadors, announced that the truce with England was prolonged to the 30th of November, 1520.

We have some difficulty in understanding all the intrigues which were now going on in Scotland, but the only opposition to the truce seems to have come from the earl of Angus. This nobleman had now organized a formidable party, and counted among his supporters the earls of Crawford and Errol, the lord Glamis, and the bishops of Aberdeen, Dumblane, and Orkney. Arran had been elected to the presidency of the council of regency in opposition to Angus, with the title of lieutenant-general, and the country was soon disturbed by the rivalry between the two factions. The first act of open hostility was committed by the earl of Angus. Although the Scottish government had before decided on accepting of the peace with England concluded by the king of France, it seems to have dragged on without being finally concluded, until now the ambassadors of Francis I. passing through England, and bringing with them a fellow-ambassador from that country, pressed its ultimate decision, and it was agreed to by the regents and approved by the parliament. Angus, however, opposed it, apparently from mere factious motives, and he attempted to intrude himself into Arran's place, that he might manage the treaty himself. Failing in this, he raised his vassals, and intercepting the ambassadors on their way back to England, accused them of having acted in contempt of his authority, and severely upbraided them before they were allowed to proceed.

This occurred in the latter end of the year 1519. It was followed quickly by outrages of a still more serious character. The time was at hand for the election to the high office of provost of Edinburgh, and Arran, who held that office and believed

that he was secure of the citizens, expected as a matter of course to be re-elected. But the intrigues of his opponents carried the election against him, and Angus's uncle, Archibald Douglas, was installed in the office. The election appears to have been made irregularly and tumultuously, and Arran's partizans attempted to force their way into the city, for the purpose of restoring order. This led to an obstinate and sanguinary struggle, in which sir James Hamilton, popularly known as the bastard of Arran, slew the leader of the tumult, a carpenter named Gawin, one of Angus's most unscrupulous partizans, but in the end Arran and his people were compelled to retreat. An outrage of a more brutal character was perpetrated in another part of the country by Angus's brother-in-law, Home of Wedderburn, the murderer of De la Bastie. It appears that William Douglas, a brother of the earl of Angus, who was an ecclesiastic, looked with an eye of envy upon the rich priory of Coldingham on the border, upon which Home attacked the prior then existing, and murdered him and six of his family. The vacancy of the office having been thus created, William Douglas seized upon the priory and intruded himself into the office by force.

The division between the two parties had risen to such a height that the regents were no longer able to exercise their offices, and it was determined to call a parliament to interpose its authority in appeasing the troubles which disturbed the peace of the country, while a messenger was sent to France to consult with the duke of Albany. The regent directed that, with regard to the provostship of Edinburgh, no person of the name of Douglas or Hamilton should be capable of election, and this prudent recommendation found so much weight, that Archibald Douglas resigned the office, and another person, a citizen named Robert Logan, was chosen in his place. Still the Douglasses remained masters in the capital, though their influence was considerably weakened by the new disposal of the provostship. The parliament was to meet in Edinburgh on the 29th of April, 1520, and Angus, not apprehensive of any danger, and unwilling perhaps to have unnecessarily the appearance of overawing the parliament, had sent away all his forces, except a body-guard of four hundred spearmen. Meanwhile Arran had mustered his friends in considerable strength, and they resolved, at

the instigation, it was said, of archbishop Beaton, who then held the office of chancellor of Scotland, not to let slip the opportunity of crushing their formidable opponent; and for this purpose a meeting of the leaders of Arran's party was held on the 30th of April, in the church of the Black Friars, at which Beaton attended with a coat of mail under his linen rocquet, and where it was resolved to arrest the earl of Angus. The latter had been partly made acquainted with their designs, and, alarmed at the power of his opponents, he sent his uncle, Gawin Douglas, the bishop, to temporise with them. Gawin entered the church of the Black Friars, and, addressing himself to the chiefs, expostulated with them on their violent designs, asserted the peaceful intentions of the earl of Angus, and declared his readiness to meet all charges that might be brought against him, according to the laws of his country. In reply to this earnest appeal, Beaton declared on his conscience that he and his friends had no hostile intentions, and in the warmth of his denial, struck his hand with so much force on his breast, that his concealed armour rung with the blow. It is said that Gawin Douglas observed with a smile, that he perceived the archbishop's conscience clattered. Nevertheless, his appeal had produced a deep effect, and the sanguinary scene which followed might have been prevented, but for the untimely interference of a fierce member of the house of Arran, Hamilton of Finnart. Home of Wedderburn had brought a party of borderers to the assistance of the earl of Angus, and these, joined with the four hundred spearmen, had now been brought out, and were drawn up on the causeway in front of the church in battle array, with Angus himself at their head. This ill-judged display was enough to inflame the wild passions of many of the chiefs who were rallied round the banner of the earl of Arran, and just as that nobleman's brother, sir Patrick Hamilton, moved by the appeal of the bishop of Dunkeld, had offered his services as a mediator to procure a reconciliation between the two rival factions, Hamilton of Finnart stepped up to him, and pointing to the hostile array of the Douglasses in the street, accused him of cowardice in wishing thus to avoid the combat. The proud spirit of the Hamilton fired in an instant, and contemptuously addressing Hamilton

of Finnart by the title of bastard, which was perhaps a true one, sir Patrick rushed out with a few of his retainers to show his courage by attacking the Douglasses. He was immediately slain, it is said, by Angus's own hand, and his followers shared his fate. All attempt at negotiation was now in vain, and a desperate combat ensued, in which Arran and his party were defeated with considerable slaughter, and driven out of the city. Arran himself escaped with a few of his followers, by a ford through the north loch; others concealed themselves in the capital, and archbishop Beaton fled to the church of the Dominicans, where he sought shelter behind the high altar, whence, however, he was speedily dragged by the fierce soldiers of the earl of Douglas, who would have put him to death, had he not been rescued by the bishop of Dunkeld.

Soon after this combat, a large body of the vassals of Angus rushed into Edinburgh, and enabled their chief to expel as many of Arran's adherents as remained in it. He was now entirely master of the capital, and for some months he usurped the supreme power, in spite of the government and the laws, while his opponents wasted their strength in a few petty hostilities which produced no results of importance. Such of the Homes as had been banished, were recalled, and they all crowded to the capital, where Angus gratified them by causing the heads of the earl of Home and his brother, which had remained exposed in front of the prison, to be taken down, and masses and other expiatory ceremonies to be performed for them. Arran and the regents held together, but without daring to attempt anything, and when, on one occasion, they had agreed to hold a meeting at Stirling, they were compelled to separate in haste, by intelligence of a design of the earl of Angus to surprise and arrest them. At length Angus himself was obliged to retire for a while to his extensive estates, to attend to his private affairs, and then a kind of compromise appears to have been spontaneously assented to, by which that nobleman's overbearing power in the government was not diminished.

We are told by the old chroniclers of these events, that during this time the whole kingdom had become one scene of confusion, rapine, and slaughter. The only measure which seemed to hold out any

hopes of a remedy seemed to be the return of the duke of Albany, who had now been absent nearly five years, instead of four months. Hitherto great difficulties had stood in the way of his return. The French king had been supporting the designs of England, and his ambassadors urged peace with England, and supported the party of the earl of Angus, while they advised both parties to a reconciliation. They represented the return of Albany as an event not to be wished for, and declared that the French king would not allow him to come. They endeavoured in vain, however, to procure a reconciliation between queen Margaret and her husband, and the violent threats and recriminations of her brother and his ministers had gradually excited her indignation to such a degree that she also was now ready to join a French party. It happened at this moment, in consequence of the election of Charles V. to the empire, that the policy of the French king had undergone an entire change, and he was no longer opposed to Albany's return to Scotland, while Margaret, convinced that no time was to be lost in adopting some plan for overthrowing the power which her husband had usurped in the state, wrote a letter in her own hand to the duke of Albany, urging him to return and reassume the regency, and promising him her entire support. The English party was alarmed at this step, and the voice of scandal was soon raised to invent motives and attribute designs. It was said that Albany had employed his influence at the

court of Rome to procure a divorce between the queen and her husband, in order that he might marry her himself: and a rumour was sedulously spread abroad, that the young king of Scots had been privately carried to England, while the child of a plebeian had been purchased and exhibited to the people as their king.

In consequence of the queen's representations, the duke of Albany again set sail from France, and on the 19th of November he arrived in the Gareloch, in Lennox, whence he landed and proceeded to Stirling. The news of his arrival was hailed with enthusiasm, and people hoped at last for a settled government. The queen joined him at Stirling, and exhibited her friendship with so much warmth, that her enemies made it the subject of reports of the most scandalous character. The principal nobility soon rallied round him, and he proceeded to Edinburgh, in company with the queen and archbishop Beaton, attended by a numerous escort of nobles and their retainers. Angus and his friends fled from the capital when they heard of his approach; and when he entered Edinburgh castle, the captain of that fortress delivered the keys to the regent in the presence of the young king. Albany immediately offered them respectfully to the queen, who returned them to him with the assurance that she considered him by his services and loyalty fully entitled to hold the custody of the king and the government of the kingdom, and the promise that she would support him in it to the utmost of her power.

CHAPTER III.

ALBANY REGENT AGAIN; INTRIGUES OF HENRY VIII.; HOSTILITIES WITH ENGLAND; ALBANY'S INVASION OF ENGLAND HINDERED BY THE MUTINY OF THE CHIEFS; ALBANY RETURNS TO FRANCE.

THE duke of Albany was thus reinstated in the office of supreme governor of Scotland. During his absence he had been fully informed of the excesses of the Douglasses and their allies the Homes, and he was determined to reduce their power. Accordingly, he had no sooner established himself in the capital, than he cited the earl of Angus and his partizans to appear and answer to the charges to be brought

against them in a parliament which was summoned to meet at Edinburgh. The Douglasses appear to have found little support, and Angus himself, with two of his chief partizans, Home and Somerville, fled to an obscure place called the kirk of Steyle, from whence the bishop of Dunkeld was sent on a mission to England. The learned prelate was first to visit the lord Dacre, and consult with him on the best means of sub-

porting their party in Scotland, and he was to proceed thence direct to the English court. His instructions, still preserved, show that he was commissioned to excite king Henry against the regent and the Scottish government by the most unscrupulous misrepresentations, which it is possible that the bishop, biassed by his own prejudices, may have believed to be true. He not only intimated his suspicions that the regent aimed at the crown, and that he harboured designs against the life of the young king, who he said was kept in a state of imprisonment, and even of want, but he accused him of showing him so little respect that he had converted the royal robes into dresses for his pages; and he declared that his designs were manifested by his placing the royal fortresses in the hands of French garrisons; that he put up the ecclesiastical benefices of the kingdom for sale; that he made away with the crown lands; and that he had usurped the office of regent, which he had forfeited by his long stay in France.

All these representations were readily listened to at the English court, for they were in fact but repetitions of the information which had been continually sent up by lord Dacre. This nobleman was again busily engaged in encouraging the disaffected and bribing the venial, in accordance with the earnest recommendations of Wolsey, who, when news was brought of the regent's return, saw the danger in which the English interest in Scotland would be placed, and recommended that Dacre should be doubly diligent in his intrigues to prevent it. He was, to use the words of the crafty and ambitious ecclesiastic, "favourably to entertain the Homes and other rebels, after his accustomed manner, so that they may continue the divisions and sedition in Scotland, whereby the said duke of Albany may, at his coming hither, be put in danger; and though," he says to the king, "some money be employed for the entertainment of the said Homes and rebels, it will quit the cost at length." Dacre, in his communications to the king, made no scruple in speaking of an adulterous intercourse between Margaret and the regent, and spoke of rumours which accused the latter of having attempted to bribe Angus to consent to a divorce, in order that he might himself marry the queen as a preliminary step towards the murder of the king and the seizure of the crown.

Henry affected to believe all these accu-

sations, and he treated with scorn the expostulations of his sister, who had sent an envoy instructed to refute temperately the misrepresentations of the bishop of Dunkeld, and to represent the state of affairs in a favourable light. In a haughty communication to the Scottish parliament, Henry spoke of the queen as Albany's paramour, and again insisted on the expulsion of the regent, with a threat of immediate war unless they complied; and clarencieux herald, who was the bearer of this dispatch, was commissioned also to carry one of the monarch's violent reprimands to his sister. The Scottish parliament again replied with dignified firmness; they denied the truth of the imputations which had been thrown upon the character of the queen, and declared that their king was in perfect safety; that Albany had returned to reassume the regency at their own invitation; that they were satisfied of his fidelity and patriotism, and of his ability to govern; and that so far from being willing to dismiss him, they would not permit him to depart, if he desired it, until their king had completed his minority; and that if the king of England made war upon them for their refusal to obey him in this particular, they doubted not that their countrymen would be willing and able to repel the aggression.

In spite of these provocations, the Scottish government appears to have been anxious to avoid hostilities, and the regent's policy was marked with the utmost moderation. It was determined to assemble the force of the kingdom, but to act as long as possible strictly on the defensive. But the English king, exasperated at the reply to his message, although he was at this moment again engaged in a war with France, determined to carry out his threat of compelling the Scots to drive away their governor. He suddenly issued a proclamation, banishing all French and Scottish subjects from England, and confiscating their goods; and he insisted, as a special mark of ignominy, that the Scots should be driven out of the kingdom on foot, with a white cross attached to their garments. He at the same time gave orders to the earl of Shrewsbury to raise the force of the north and invade the Scottish border, and that nobleman had advanced in his destructive course as far as Kelso, when he was encountered by the borderers of Merse and Teviotdale, and driven back with considerable loss. An English fleet had been more

fortunate, in ravaging the coasts of the firth of Forth without serious opposition.

The regent now assembled another parliament at Edinburgh, and it was at once resolved that war should be proclaimed against England, and writs were issued for arraying the whole force of the kingdom. It was further ordered, as a measure of precaution, that the young king should be removed to the strong castle of Stirling, where he was to be placed under the guardianship of the lord Erskine. But while these preparations were making, a new change in the queen's inconstant attachment came to embarrass the government. She suddenly proclaimed herself the advocate of peace, and, entering into secret correspondence with lord Dacre, betrayed the regent's plans to the English, while she intrigued among the Scottish nobility to prevent hostilities on the part of the Scots.

It was the autumn of 1522, when the Scottish army assembled, in obedience to the summons of the regent, in the fields near Rosslin. Buchanan states, which is scarcely credible, that the soldiers were ignorant of the cause for which they were thus brought together, and that they were not informed of the object of the expedition, until they reached Annan, on the borders of the Solway. While this imposing army, said to have consisted of eighty thousand men, with a formidable train of artillery, encamped here, Albany called together the chiefs, and explained his designs, but he found to his mortification that the majority were unwilling to pass the border. He, however, pushed on with a part of his force as far as Carlisle, causing a general panic through the neighbouring counties, which were unprovided for such an attack. It was probably Albany's intention, by his silence as to the object of the expedition, to take lord Dacre by surprise; but that nobleman received secret information not only of the movements of the Scottish army, but of the distaste of their leaders for the war; and, although the temptation for a powerful army under such circumstances to invade a rich and exposed country was great, he seems to have been confident that the regent's expedition would have no serious result. He immediately entered into negotiations with the duke, and it was pro-

posed that he should visit the Scottish camp. Buchanan tells us that the negotiation was first opened by the regent himself, who secretly, by means of a merchant accustomed to transact business in England, apprised Dacre that an arrangement advantageous to both parties might be made if they had a conference. Dacre accordingly obtained a safe-conduct, and proceeded to the Scottish camp with an escort of twenty esquires; and held a private interview with Albany, at which it was agreed that hostilities should cease for a month, to give time for negotiating peace. In consequence of this arrangement, the regent retired from the border, and disbanded an army which he could probably no longer keep together.*

While we condemn the character of king Henry's intervention in Scottish affairs, and the unscrupulous means by which it was carried on, we must not imagine that he acted without an object of considerable importance to himself. We have seen that a French influence had long reigned in Scotland, and as this threatened to be extremely embarrassing to him, he was naturally desirous of establishing an English influence in its place. As long as the English king was engaged in war with France, he could not but entertain a hostile feeling towards the duke of Albany, who openly acknowledged himself a subject of France, and boasted of his devotion to his French sovereign. In the recent expedition against the English border he had two objects: one the national honour, the other to oblige the king of France, the latter of which seemed now to weigh more heavily on his mind; and he determined to visit France again, in order to explain to Francis the cause of his failure. Having, accordingly, appointed a council of regency, consisting of archbishop Beaton, the earls of Huntley, Arran, and Argyle, and a French knight named Gressolles, all of whom he bound by oath to attempt nothing contrary to his authority during his absence, Albany left Scotland at the end of October, promising to return by the first of August in the following year. Another period of anarchy ensued, the effects of which are thus summed up by Buchanan, who lived at the time, and who has given us by no means an unfair estimate of parties. "I have shown," he says, "in what a wretched state Scotland was

* Tytler has given a somewhat different account of this transaction, and has offered some explanations of the regent's conduct, which seem more

specious than sound. Buchanan's account is so circumstantial, that we can hardly avoid giving it credit.

during the last summer; the nobles at variance with each other; those places next to England visited with all the horrors of war, and so blockaded by sea, that every hope of aid from abroad was cut off. The design of the enemy in all this was evidently to humble the fierce spirits of the Scots, and force them to make peace, while the Scots who were averse to the French party laboured strenuously at the same time to promote a perpetual league with the English. At the head of this party stood the queen; for after Home was executed, and Douglas (Angus) banished, those who remained being considered as fit rather to follow than to lead, all who were opposed to the French applied themselves to her. She, that she might at once gratify her brother, and obtain possession of the chief power, dissembling her private ambition, advised her party that, as her son was now almost of age, they ought to free him from the hands of strangers and from a foreign yoke. She likewise looked forward to a protection against her husband, whom she had for some time past begun to dislike. The king of England, too, by frequent letters and promises to the Scottish nobles, promoted the design of his sister. He told them that there remained with him no obstacle to continual peace between the neighbouring kingdoms; that as formerly he still greatly desired it, not from any wish for his own aggrandisement, but to show to the world that he wished to cherish, protect, and by every means in his power promote the advantage of his sister's son; and, if the Scots would consent to break their alliance with France and join with England, they would soon be convinced that he was influenced neither by ambition nor love of power, but by a desire of concord alone, in uniting his only daughter Mary in marriage with James, by which alliance the Scots would not be reduced under the government of the English, but the English under that of the Scots. He added, that hatred as inveterate between other nations had been subdued and extinguished by affinities, commerce, and mutual kindnesses. Others enumerated the advantages and disadvantages which would arise from the friendship of the two nations. The one (the English) were a people born in the same island, reared under the same sky, the same in language, laws, customs, and manners; so like, even in countenance and colour, that they appeared rather one than separate nations. The other (the French), not more

divided by climate and country than by their whole manner of living, could do the Scots little harm by their enmity and little service by their friendship. The English were at hand, but the French were friends afar off, whose only communication by sea might be obstructed by enemies or storms, and it ought to be considered how inconvenient it must be for the government, and how dangerous for the public, to have all hopes of assistance hanging on the wind, and the safety of the state placed at the mercy of an inconstant element. How much the aid of absent friends against present danger was to be depended upon, they might perceive, for they had felt it during last summer, when the king of England invaded them, and they were deserted by their allies; while, on the one hand, with his whole force he threatened to overwhelm them, and on the other, kept the assistance so often promised blocked up in the harbours of France by his fleet. These were the reasons urged when the league with England was discussed, and not a few, convinced by them, favoured the alliance. But they were combated by a strong opposition, for the majority in that parliament were previously secured by French bribes; and others, who reaped private advantage from the public distress, hated all idea of peace. There were, likewise, some who suspected the sincerity of the English promises, from the readiness with which they were made, especially as the direction of the English government was then chiefly committed to cardinal Wolsey, an ambitious priest, whose whole measures tended to increase his private power and dignity, and therefore he accommodated them to every breath of fortune. All these, influenced by different reasons, yet equally promoted the French alliance, and denied that this sudden liberality of the enemy was gratuitous. It was not the first time they said, that these arts had been used by the English for decoying the unsuspecting Scots. Edward I., after he was sworn and bound by every legal tie to act honourably, on being chosen as arbiter by the competitors for the throne, most unjustly created himself king of Scotland; and even lately, Edward IV., after he had betrothed his daughter Cecilia to James III., when the princess arrived at the proper age, and on the very eve of the marriage, took advantage of a war which arose from their domestic dissensions, and forbade the nuptials.

Nor did the English king intend anything else now, than by flattering them with the empty prospect of dominion, to make them really slaves; and when he had deprived them of all foreign assistance, to overwhelm them unexpectedly with the whole weight of his power. Nor was the assertion which the others seemed to exult in true, that an alliance is more secure with a near than with a distant state; for causes of dissension are constantly arising between neighbours, often from chance, and often from very trifling incidents among the nobles; that the terms of peace are always prescribed by the strongest; nor was there ever yet any treaty of friendship so sacred between neighbouring nations, but opportunities offered, or occasions were sought for violating it; nor could it be expected that the English would abstain from such violations under a king of Scottish descent, more than they did under so many kings of their own blood. For the sanctity of leagues, the holiness of the most solemn oaths, and the faith of treaties, which are the firmest bonds among the good, are among the wicked only convenient snares for deceiving; and these can be most successfully laid among bordering nations, whose language is the same, and whose customs and manners are alike. But setting aside all these arguments, two things ought to be considered; first, not to renounce rashly old friends, to whom they were under many obligations, and next, not to waste their time in fruitless altercation on a subject which could only be determined in a meeting of the estates. In this manner did the favourers of the Gallic faction restrain their opponents, and prevent any decision from being come to, till they had received certain intelligence of the arrival of the French auxiliaries."

But we have somewhat anticipated the course of events. In spite of the peaceful declarations of the English monarch, as soon as the departure of the regent was known, Henry began to intrigue to hinder his return to Scotland, and to embarrass the Scottish government by raising new troubles on the border. The earl of Shrewsbury was removed from the office of chief warden of the borders, and the earl of Surrey, a man of greater vigour and ability, was appointed to replace him. Under him the wardens of the east and west marches, the marquis of Dorset, and the lord Dacre, commenced a series of

destructive incursions into Scotland, ravaging the Merse and Teviotdale. When the English retired, weary of destroying, the Scots retaliated by crossing the border and laying waste the adjoining districts of Northumberland. Surrey, provoked at this attack, collected his forces, and sweeping across the border, burnt the towns of Jedburgh and Kelso, but the English were driven back by a sudden and unaccountable panic which seized their horses. A somewhat striking account of this destructive raid is given by Surrey himself, in a letter written from Berwick, on the 27th of September, 1523, addressed to cardinal Wolsey. "On Friday at ten o'clock at night," says Surrey, "I returned to this town, and all the garrisons to their places assigned, the bishopric men, my lord of Westmoreland, and my lord Dacre, in like wise, every man home with their companies, without loss of any men, thanked be God, saving eight or ten slain and divers hurt at skirmishes and assaults of the town of Jedworth and the fortresses; which town is so surely burnt, that no garrisons nor none other shall be lodged there, unto the time it be new builded; the burning whercof I committed to two sure men, sir William Bulmer and Thomas Tempest. The town was much better than I wened (*thought*) it had been, for there was two times more houses therein than in Berwick, and well builded with many honest and fair houses therein, sufficient to have lodged a thousand horsemen in garrison, and six good towers therein; which town and towers be clerely destroyed, burnt, and thrown down. Undoubtedly there was no journey made into Scotland in no man's days living, with so few a number, that is recounted to be so high an enterprise as this, both with these countrymen and Scottishmen, nor of truth so much hurt done; but in the end a great misfortune did fall, only by folly, that such order as was commanded by me to be kept was not observed, the manner whereof hereafter shall ensue. Before my entry into Scotland, I appointed sir William Bulmer and sir William Overs to be marshals of the army; sir William Bulmer for the vanguard, and sir William Overs for the rearguard. In the vanguard I appointed my lord of Westmoreland as chief, with all the bishopric, sir William Bulmer, sir William Overs, my lord Dacre, with all his company; and with me remained all the rest of the garrisons and the Northumberland men. I was of counsel

with the marshals at the ordering of our lodgings, and our camp was so well environed with ordnance, carts, and dikes, that hard it was to enter or issue, but at certain places appointed for that purpose; and assigned the most commodious place of the said camp for my lord Dacre's company, next the water, and next my lord of Westmoreland. And at such time as my lord Dacre came into the field, I being at the assault of the abbey [of Jedworth, which was burnt], which continued unto two hours within night, my said lord Dacre would in no wise be content to lie within the camp, which was made right sure (*secure*), but lodged himself without, wherewith at my return I was not content, but then it was too late to remove. The next day I sent my said lord Dacre to a stronghold called Fernyhirst, the lord whereof was his mortal enemy, and with him sir Arthur Darcy, sir Marmaduke Constable, with seven hundred of their men, one 'cortoute,' and divers other good pieces of ordnance for the field. The said Fernyhirst stood marvellously strongly within a great wood. The said two knights, with the most part of their men, and Strickland your grace's servant, with three hundred Kendal men, went into the wood on foot with the ordnance, where the said Kendal men were so handled that they found hardy men that went no foot back for them. The other two knights were also so sharply assailed that they were enforced to call for more of their men, and yet could not bring the ordnance to the fortress, unto the time my lord Dacre, with part of his horsemen, lighted on foot, and marvelously hardily handled himself; and finally with long skirmishing and much difficulty, got forth the ordnance, wan the house, and threw down the same. At which skirmish my said lord Dacre and his brother sir Christopher, sir Arthur, and sir Marmaduke, and many other gentlemen, did marvelously hardily, and found the best resistance that hath been seen sith my coming to these parts, and above thirty Scots slain, and not passing four Englishmen, but above sixty hurt. After that, my said lord returning to the camp would in no wise be lodged in the same, but where he lay the first night; and he being with me at supper about eight o'clock, the horses of his company brake loose, and suddenly ran out of his field in such number that it caused a marvelous alarm in our field; and our standing watch being set, the horses came

running along the camp, at whom were shot above one hundred sheaf of arrows and divers guns, thinking they had been Scots that would have assaulted the camp. Finally the horses were so mad, that they ran like wild deer into the field, above fifteen hundred at the least, in divers companies; and in one place about fifty fell down a great rock and slew themselves; and above two hundred and fifty ran into the town being on fire, and by the women taken and carried away, right evil burnt; and many were taken again; but finally, by that I can esteem by the number of them that I saw go on foot the next day, I think there is lost above eight hundred horses, and all with folly, for lack of not lying within the camp. I dare not write the wonders that my lord Dacre and all his company do say they saw that night, six times, of spirits and fearful sights. And universally all their company say plainly the devil was that night amongst them six times. Which misfortune hath blemished the best journey that was made in Scotland many years. I assure your grace I found the Scots at this time the boldest men and the hottest that ever I saw any nation; and all the journey, upon all parts of the army, kept us with so continual skirmish, that I never saw the like. If they might assemble forty thousand as good men as I now saw fifteen hundred or two thousand, it would be a hard encounter to meet them. Pity it is of my lord Dacre's loss of the horses of his company. He brought with him above four thousand men, and lodged one night in Scotland in his most mortal enemy's country. There is no hardier nor better knight, but often time he doth not use the most sure order; which he hath now paid dearly for."

On the very day in which Jedworth was burnt by the English, the duke of Albany landed in the isle of Arran on his return from France. He had sent before five hundred French foot-soldiers, who had been encountered by the English ships as they entered the Forth, and very roughly handled. He now brought with him a French force of four thousand foot, five hundred men-at-arms, a thousand hagbutters, six hundred horse, of which one hundred were barbed, and a fine park of artillery. It is said that his arrival had been delayed by the close blockade of the French ports by the English fleet. To deceive the English commanders, instead of collecting a few large ships in one port, Albany had caused a great

number of smaller vessels to be fitted out unostentatiously in the various harbours along the coast, and collected his soldiers privately at different points inland, so that there was no outward appearance of hostile preparation. The English admiral had kept the sea, and watched in vain, till the month of August was advanced, and then he became convinced that no attempt would be made till the spring. The moment the regent was assured of the departure of the English fleet, and as soon as the stormy weather of the equinox was past, he hurried his soldiers to the coast, embarked them in no less than eighty-seven small vessels, and set sail for Scotland.

The courage of the French party in Scotland was suddenly raised by the arrival of the regent with so large a body of auxiliaries, and he was received by them with the utmost joy. But disaffection and intrigue had been busy during his absence; the queen had gone over entirely to the English party, and was in confidential correspondence with Surrey and Daere; and few of the nobility could be relied upon. Nevertheless, the duke had brought with him a large sum of money, which for a while had its weight, and many of the nobles crowded round him with the warmest professions of devotion, who intended to betray him the first opportunity that offered. Albany was compelled to act with decision. He now undertook the war more as the ally of France than as the governor of Scotland; he knew that he must employ his French soldiers immediately, before they became burthensome to the state; and he knew also that he could depend on the support of the nobility no longer than his French money lasted. He had so entirely entered into the policy of the French king, that it was understood he had invited over to Scotland Richard de la Pole, the last representative of the house of York, who had been set up by Francis as a claimant to the crown of England, in the hope of disturbing Henry's government at home. This was a proceeding not likely to be forgiven by such a proud-spirited monarch as Henry VIII.

Immediately after his arrival, Albany called a parliament, and he summoned the whole force of the kingdom to meet him on the 20th of October. When that day arrived an imposing force assembled at the usual place of rendezvous, the Boroughmuir of Edinburgh, although signs had already been shown of an indisposition to

the service. At Glasgow, the army was joined by Argyle and his highlanders, and the regent had now under his command an effective force of about forty thousand men. With these he marched slowly towards the border. But his march was attended by strong symptoms of disorder in his host, arising from jealousy of the French allies, from disinclination to the war, and from the severity of the weather, for the winter was setting in unusually early.

Meanwhile the earl of Surrey was informed of the regent's movements and of the temper of the Scots, by the queen and by his numerous spies, among whom the two prioresses of Coldstream and Eccles appear to have been particularly active. The best account of Surrey's proceedings are given in his own letters, which are further curious as containing some interesting traits of the personal character of the Scottish regent. On the 8th of October, when the first rumours of the regent's intentions arrived in England, Surrey, then at Newcastle, wrote to Wolsey as follows:—"Please it your grace to be advertised, that this day at ten o'clock, I received one letter of news from sir William Bulmer sent him from the prioress of Coldstream, and one other sent to me from the lord Ogle from Wark, of such news as he hath from the prioress of Eccles in Scotland. I believe right much that the contents of the prioress of Coldstream's letters be true; and the other do not much vary from the same. Also, by divers other ways, I have advertisements that the duke prepareth all that he can to invade this realm with the light of this next new moon, and by his words do right little esteem the power of England. Wherefore, to the effect of your grace's late letter, I shall to-morrow send letters to all the noble-men and gentlemen dwelling within the shires contained in my commission to be here in this town the 20th day of this month, trusting that, if all men come accordingly, the said duke shall find more sharp resistance than he doth look for. And notwithstanding that the weather hath been here so foul with marvelous great rain divers days, and most specially yesterday with rain and this day with snow, so that the opinion of many wise men is, it shall be very difficult for the said duke to carry any great ordnance, unless it be to Berwick, yet forasmuch as he might do infinite hurt in overrunning the country unless he were resisted, I shall cause all my said power to

come forwards, and to be here at the day prefixed. And if I shall see that the duke shall alter his purpose in setting forth, I shall countermand them, to the intent the king's highness shall be put to no more charge than shall be requisite; whereunto I shall have the best regard I can, the danger of destruction of the country by the enemies provided for. Most humbly beseeching your grace to help that some noblemen and gentlemen of the king's house and the south parts may be sent hither, though they bring no great numbers with them. God knoweth, if the poorest gentleman in the king's house were here, and I at London, and were advertised of this news, I would not fail to kneel upon my knees before the king's grace to have license to come hither in post to be at the day of battle. And if young noblemen and gentlemen be not desirous and willing to be at such journeys, and to take the pains and give the adventure, and the king's highness well contented with those that will so do, and not regarding others, that will be but dancers, dicers, and carders, his grace shall not be well served when he would be; for men without experience shall do small service, and experience of war will not be had without it be sought for and the adventure given. Of likelihood no man living shall ever live to see the Scots attempt to invade this realm with the power of Scotland, if they may be well resisted now. And by many ways I am advertised, that the duke of Albany is a marvelous wilful man, and will believe no man's counsel, but will have his own opinion followed. And because the French king hath been at so great charges by his provoking, having his wife's inheritance lying within his dominions, he dare not for no Scottish counsel forbear to invade this realm. I am also advertised, that he is so passionate, that if he be aperte (*open*) among his familiars, and doth hear anything contrarious to his mind and pleasure, his accustomed manner is to take his bonnet suddenly off his head, and to throw it in the fire; and no man dare to take it out, but leave it to be burnt. My lord Dacre doth affirm that at his last being in Scotland he did burn above a dozen bonnets after that manner. And if he be such a man, with God's grace we shall speed the better with him. Finally, most humbly I beseech your grace to send more money, at the least eight thousand pounds; and to advertise me of the king's pleasure and

yours, how I shall be further ordered in anything ye will command me, which to the best of my power I shall fulfill, trusting that the gunners be well on the way hitherwards."

Some time passed after this, before any certain intelligence of the duke's movements was received, and in the mean time a constant correspondence appears to have been carried on with the queen and her party, who were desirous of hindering hostilities. At length, in the night of the 23rd of October, when the duke's army was already on its march towards the border, Surrey wrote to Wolsey the following letter, in which he appears labouring under some melancholy forebodings with regard to his own personal risk. "Pleaseth it your grace," he says, "to be advertised that I have forborne to write to your grace sith the 18th of this month, having no very certain tidings what the duke intendeth to do, unto this day that I have received divers letters, as well from the queen of Scots as from sir William Bulmer and others, all which letters I send herewith unto your grace. And where in one letter is contained, that she doth send her servant unto me for peace comprehending France, I trust this night or to-morrow to be advertised from your grace of the king's pleasure and yours, how I shall be ordered in answering any offer to be made to me for truce or peace, and shall defer making any answer unto the time I shall know the same. And as touching the comprehension of France, unless your grace do write to me what answer I shall make therein, I shall say that I have none authority to speak therein; and that I believe verily the king's highness will not be content therewith, and that I believe his highness will think the duke of Albany to be too mean a personage to meddle with so high a matter. Notwithstanding, I will advertise his grace thereof, and when I shall know his most gracious pleasure, I shall advertise your grace of the same. And as touching her coming away, I shall show her that I have commandment to receive her if she come, notwithstanding I think she might both do more good in Scotland to the king's highness and to the king her son, than she should do being in England. Assuring her that she shall lack no good help of the king's grace, she continuing in her good mind towards his highness.

“Also,” continues Surrey, “pleaseth it your grace to be advertised, that upon Tuesday last my lord marquis (of Dorset) with all the gentlemen of the king’s house came hither; and the same day came my lord of Northumberland, my lord Clifford, my lord Latymer, my lord Darcy, my lord Scrope. And sith that time is come all their power, and all other gentlemen of Yorkshire wholly, and in likewise Lancashire, and divers of Cheshire, Nottingham, Derby, Stafford, and Shropshire, and all your grace’s retinue. And this day is come your grace’s treasurer sir William Gascoyne. I assure your grace, God willing, we shall have men enough; and the best willed men universally from the highest to the lowest, that ever I saw. And because all be not yet come as far as Durham, and also that the weather hath been so marvelously rainy, which have so raised the waters that no man may pass from hence northward, and also for that I was not advertised that the duke was set forwards, nor knowing which way he would hold, I have stopped those that came first in this town and between this and Morpeth and Hexham, and the others about Durham. And to-morrow my lord marquis shall march to Alnwick, and with him my lord Darcy and many others, to the intent that if the duke would send in any good number to overrun the country, they may be ready to defend the same. And I with the rest will not march past Morpeth myself, and those now that be at Durham unto this town, unto the time I shall surely know whether he will go to the east border or the west. For if I should go any further, I should be compelled to return for lack of victual; for I can get no carriage in any manner for money to carry any with me. Assuring your grace that I think it not possible the duke can bring his ordnance unto Norham, Wark, or Carlisle, before Monday, though it rained no more unto that time, the waters be now so marvellously great that no man living hath seen them greater; but unto Berwick he may well come upon the further side of the water. Praying God to send him thither, where I trust he shall not only consume his time in vain, so many good men now being within the town, but also we coming thither shall have some reasonable store of victual, and shall be able to give battle at our advantage. Finally assure your grace, I and ail others here be all

afraid of one thing, that he shall not dare abide us. And great pity it were, that the king’s highness should spend thus much money without battle. And as I think, if he abide us, we shall meet about Tuesday next. He doth make great boast of the landing of Richard de la Pole in Scotland, assuring the lords of Scotland that he shall have great help in this realm, wherefore, after my poor opinion, it were well done sir Rice ap Thomas were warned to be in readiness, for the said duke saith he shall land in Wales. If your grace know any man suspect, I doubt not ye will provide that he shall not ship away. I know no man living that I should mistrust, but he hath spoken so largely, and daily doth, that I know not what to think. Most humbly beseeching your grace, that if I fortune to miscarry in this journey, to be good lord to my poor children, assuring your grace that without the king’s gracious favour and your grace’s shown unto them, they shall be undone. For I have spent so much to serve the king’s highness, that, if God do now his pleasure of me, I shall leave them the poorest nobleman’s children that died in this realm this forty years; having neither goods nor foot of land to put in feoffment to do them good after me. And therefore most humbly I beseech your grace to be good and gracious lord to them for my poor service done in times past.”

From George Buchanan, who was a volunteer in Albany’s army, we have the most authentic account of the remainder of the regent’s march. He directed his course from Glasgow to Melrose, where the Tweed was then crossed by a wooden bridge, across which his army proceeded to defile. A part only had crossed the river, when the rest of the army refused to follow them, alleging their disinclination to the war, and the troops which had crossed the river made common cause with them, and repassed the bridge. A council of the chiefs appears to have been held, with results similar to those in the previous expedition to the Solway, and the regent, under this second mortification, seems to have given up all further intention of marching into England, and proceeding down the river on the Scottish side, he halted opposite Wark castle, for the reduction of which he made immediate preparations. Albany appears to have placed no further confidence in his Scottish troops, but he employed the French auxiliaries in the attack on this fortress.

The castle of Wark, as Buchanan describes it, consisted of a strongly fortified and very high tower in the inner court, which was surrounded by two walls. The outer wall enclosed a large space of ground, in which the peasantry sought refuge in time of war with their cattle and goods; while the inner wall enclosed a much narrower space, and was surrounded by a ditch, and well fortified with towers. The French easily carried the outer court, but they were compelled to retreat by the flames and smoke of the straw and other agricultural produce with which it was filled, and to which the English set fire as they retired into the interior. When this was cleared off, the French returned to the attack, and during two days they battered the inner wall with cannon, until they had made what appeared to be a practicable breach. But when they marched to the attack, they were received so resolutely, and they found themselves exposed to such a heavy discharge of every kind of missile from the keep tower, that they were beaten back, and obliged not only to evacuate the castle, but to repossess the river. Albany was so much discouraged at this defeat, that, hearing of the approach of the earl of Surrey with a force which it would have been madness to encounter in the present temper of his troops, he commenced his retreat by marching with the French auxiliaries to the monastery of Eeels, about six miles from Melrose, and immediately afterwards, in the midst of a violent snow-storm, he disbanded his army and returned to Edinburgh.

The earl of Surrey has given an account of his own movements on this occasion in a letter to the king, which is preserved in the British Museum. "Pleaseth it your highness," he says in it, "to be advertised, that upon Saturday, at night, the duke of Albany, with a great puissance, brought his ordnance into Wark, on the far side of Tweed, upon Seotland side, and began to shoot right sore upon Sunday by the break of day, and so continued all that day and Monday. At which time I being at Holy Island, seven miles from Berwick, was advertised of the same at seven o'clock at night the said Sunday; and incontinent sent letters to my lord cardinal's company, my lord of Northumberland, my lord of Westmoreland at St. Cuthbert's banner, lying at Alnwick and thereabouts, and in likewise to my lord Daere and other lords and gentlemen lying abroad in the country,

to meet me at Barmore Wood, five miles from Wark, on Monday, who so did. And the said Monday, at three o'clock at afternoon, the water of the Tweed being so high that it could not be ridden, the duke sent over two thousand Frenchmen in boats to give assault to the place, who with force entered the base-court, and by sir William Lisle, captain of the castle, with a hundred with him, were right manfully defended for the space of one hour and-a-half, without suffering them to enter the inner ward; but finally the said Frenchmen entered the inner ward, which perceived by the said sir William and his company, they freely set upon them, and not only drove them out of the inner ward, but also out of the outer ward, and slew of the said Frenchmen ten persons. And so the said Frenchmen went over the water. And incontinent the said sir William advertised me of the said assault, desiring to have rescue this day, or else the place would be no longer kept. Whereof I being advertised by three o'clock this morning, advanced forward with the whole army by the break of day. And the duke, hearing that I came towards him, took away his ordnance, and in likewise departed himself with his whole company, but as yet I cannot advertise your grace of truth how far he is gone, but to-morrow I doubt not I shall know the certainty. Sir, I doubt much that if he hear that I break this army, that he will return with his ordnance unto Wark, which I fear will not hold long against him; for and if I had not made new fortifications of bulwarks of earth, it had not been tenable one half-day. I would it were in the sea, for I know not how to get men to remain in it. Sir, undoubtedly there was never man departed with more shame nor with more fear than the duke hath done this day; and notwithstanding the great assembly that he hath made in Scotland, he hath not done ten shillings worth of hurt within your grace's realm, nor never durst himself enter the same. Sir, I fear me it shall not be possible for me to keep this army no longer together; for such as come out of the bishoprick, this country, and other places, at their own costs, have spent all that they have; and with much difficulty and fair words I have kept them here thus long. Notwithstanding I shall do my best to keep them together unto the time that I shall know the duke's army be perspoiled (*dissolved*). Assuring

your grace that master Magnus hath but three thousand marks left, and if the army should be discharged to-morrow next, I think ten thousand marks will not pay that is owing and conduct money home. And considering how painfully and with how good will they have served, it were pity they should depart without having that was promised them, wherefore most humbly I beseech your highness that convenient money may be sent hither with diligence. And if it come not before the departing hence of the army, to the intent they should not go hence grudging and speaking shrewdly, I shall deliver them as much as is here with as much as I may borrow. And also I shall bind myself by my bill signed with mine hand to pay them as much as shall be due for the rest; most humbly beseeching your highness to see me discharged of the same with convenient diligence, or else I shall be utterly undone for ever. Also, I beseech your grace to send thankful letters to such as have done good service at this time, whose names be contained in a bill here inclosed; also sixty-four score blanks to be written here to such as I do not remember the names of; assuring your grace that in all my life I never saw so many Englishmen in none army nor so well willed as these were from the highest to the lowest, nor never was gentleman so much bound as I have been this journey to all noblemen, gentlemen, and soldiers; which favour they have shown me for the great love they bear to your highness, and the desirous mind they have to do your grace service. Written in the camp two miles from Wark, this Tuesday at night."

The Tuesday on which this letter was written was the third of November, and the next day Surrey received full assurance of the retreat of his opponents. The dispatches must have been carried with rapidity, for the condition of the age, for on the twelfth of November the king wrote a reply to all these dispatches, which is curious as giving Henry's view of his own policy, as communicated to a confidential counsellor. "We have received your letters," says the king, "bearing date the third and fourth days of this instant month, the first mentioning the siege laid by the duke of Albany unto the castle of Wark, with the assault given unto the same and the valiant defence thereof by sir William Lisle, captain of that place; and how, upon knowledge given to the said

duke that ye with our whole army was coming to the rescue, he shamefully and cowardly removed his siege and fled, but to what place ye then knew not. By the second letter appeareth, upon the report of the prioress of Coldstream, that on Tuesday at night last past about midnight, the said duke being then at Eccles, informed that our army passed the river after him, removed from thence, took his ordnance away, and is clearly departed; the truth whereof ye doubted not to be advertized from divers ways by the next day, at which time, upon the more knowledge had, ye would assemble all the noblemen to devise and determine what ye and they should further do, desiring that after the duke's army scaled (*dispersed*), we, in consideration of your disease and sickness, would discharge you, giving you licence to return; and thinking the lord Dacre, as well for his strength as experience in those parts, most meet to take the charge of office of warden till such time as that we shall appoint some other thereunto; and finally requiring that both money and our letters of thanks may be sent, as in the said letter is contained more at large. As herunto we signify unto you, like as thanked be Almighty God, these news be right good, comfortable, and honourable unto us and this our realm; so they be and shall be unto the said duke of Albany's perpetual reproach, shame, and loss of reputation both in France, Scotland, and elsewhere, and to the no little abashment and discourage of the French king, besides the alienation percase of the minds of the lords of Scotland more easily than afore from the faction of France unto our devotion. And for the great travail, labour, study, pain, and diligence by you with all effect right actively, valiantly, and with perfect courage, discretion, and good conduct taken and used by many substantial, discreet, and politic ways for resistance of the said duke of Albany, with deliberation and intent to have given him battle in case he durst have abiden the same, we give unto you our most cordial and hearty thanks; assuring you that amongst many your high and notable services done unto us, we shall have this in our continual and perfect remembrance to your weal, exaltation, honour, and profit, as your merits and deserts condignly and worthily do require. Praying you also to give on our behalf special thanks unto all the lords, captains, and others which to their great pain and travail have right

towardly, benevolently, and conformably served us under you in this journey, for whose more courage and comfort we at this time send such letters of thanks as ye desire. Over this, we having tender respect unto your health and comfort, have resolved and determined that upon advertisement received from you of skaling of the said duke's army, and answer thereunto given unto you, with order for establishing such garrisons and other direction to be taken there as for the surety and weal of that country shall be thought expedient, ye shall then have our letters of discharge of your office there and return unto us accordingly; being minded according to your advice and opiniou, that our right trusty counsellor the lord Dacre, whom we think most meet and able therefore, shall exercise also the office of warden of our east and middle marches for a season, to whom we shall then with our letters send sufficient commission accordingly. Having no doubt but that by such direction as our most entirely well-beloved counsellor the lord legate cardinal archbishop of York, and our chancellor, hath advertised you, ye be before this time sufficiently furnished of money for defraying of that our army, as shall appertain. Given under our signet, at our manor of Woodstock, the twelfth day of November."

Albany's retreat was a severe blow to his influence in Scotland. Whatever foundation there may have been for the charge, it was not in England alone that he was accused of cowardice. One of Surrey's spies, who had been present in the Scottish camp when the regent departed at midnight from Eceles, stated that as he was taking horse, the gentlemen of the Merse and Teviotdale expostulated with him on his retreat. "My lord governor," they said, "ye have remained in our borders a long season, so that all that the earl of Surrey hath left undestroyed, ye and your company have clearly wasted and destroyed the same; and by the said earl our border is for ever undone; and ye promised us to give him battle, whereby we might recover us, and never by other means. Wherefore we beseech you to abide, and give him battle, as ye have promised." Upon this, "the said duke answered angrily, 'I will give him no battle, for I have no convenient company so to do;' and with that went towards his horse. With which words the said gentlemen being evil contented, said with one voice, 'By God's blood, we will

never serve you more, nor will we ever bear your badges again!' And they tore them off their breasts, and threw them on the ground, saying, 'Would to God we were all sworn English!' and so departed from the duke in great anger." This, moreover, was not the only way in which they showed their hostility, for it appears that they plundered their own army, and robbed the "inland" men of a great number of their horses.

Albany, on his retreat, summoned a parliament to meet him immediately in Edinburgh; and there, in the midst of numerous and violent recriminations, a measure was adopted which showed a determination on the part of the duke to strengthen the French party. It was resolved that the king should be taken out of the queen's keeping, and that he should be committed to the custody of the earl of Murray, and four other noblemen, the earl of Cassillis, and the lords Fleming, Borthwick, and Erskine, each of the latter to take his turn as guardian during three months of the year. The queen was no longer to remain with the king, and was only to be permitted to pay him short visits, from time to time, under the control of the guardians. Margaret breathed forth her indignation in a letter to the earl of Surrey, which will give the best picture of her character and of the intrigues which were now going on. She says to the earl, "My lord of Surrey, when I had written all these letters that I send to you with this, there came a bill to me this Tuesday out of Edinburgh, that had ridden all night, warning me of the new rule that the governor and the lords hath made at this parliament, and hath concluded, that is to say, they have ordained that the earl of Cassillis, the lord Fleming, the lord Borthwick, and the lord Erskine, these four, to be quarterly with the king my son, and the earl of Murray to be daily with the king, and I to come and see my son and not remain with him. Thus, my lord, I see great appearance of evil and danger to the king my son's person, when that they that are true lords to the king my son be put from him, and them that love the governor put to him, and that I know perfectly would have my son destroyed for pleasure of the duke; and most suspicious of all, they would not that I remain with him, but to come and go. But as yet I am here with my son the king, and shall remain in

despite of the governor, without that he take me away perforce. And, therefore, my lord, for God's sake, look well upon this matter, for now is time, when such rules is begun for the utter destruction of my son, and that ye will see some remedy to this, and to advertise me what I shall do; and, if I and the governor discord, what shall be your part to me, and what help I shall get to bear me forth; for he and I shall not agree upon this. I set not by nothing in Scotland, if the king my son be not well. My lord, I pray you look well upon this matter, and haste me your mind with all diligence; and, if it happen that I be put from the king, as they have ordained in the parliament to do, what can my bidding here do to the king my son nor to myself? For from that I be put from the king my son, there will none set by me here; and therefore, my lord, I pray you let me come to that realm, and devise the best way for me and the king my son, as my trust is in you. And be not blinded no more with the duke's falsehood, and make no truce nor abstinence, while this be remedied, for no sending, without that I send you a token. And haste me your counsel, I pray you, and cause the prioress of Coldstream to send surely the answer to me of this bill, and send her word that ye will do for her and keep her from trouble, so that she will be true to me. For there is none that may do it so well and surely as she may, to convey letters betwixt; and, if she fails to do it, that ye will cause her place to be burnt. And this I pray you not fail to do, and God keep you, and send you grace to help the king my son out of his enemies' hands; which he will daily be in now with these persons that they put to him. For the lord Fleming, for evil will that he had to his wife, caused to poison three sisters, and one of them was his wife; and this is known of truth in all Scotland. And if this be good to put to the king my son, God knoweth! And another thing I know perfectly, that he would have my son dead, for the governor, and the earl of Murray such like, for the governor hath his sister now to his paramours. All this is of truth that I write to you; and therefore I pray you, my lord, see the best remedy, as my trust is in you. Written in all haste possible, this St. Katherine's eve (Nov. 24), at Stirling."

Two days after the queen addressed a letter to the regent, much in the same

spirit. She acknowledged the receipt of the new order by which she was deprived of the custody of the king, adding: "I think it right strange that this is your will, seeing the good and true part that I have kept to the king my son and to you and to this realm, and the displeasure that I have had of the king my brother and my friends for your part. Thinking firmly to have been assured of your good will towards me, as your letters do show by your fair words: the which that I have hope that such a prince as ye will not forget, nor cause me to lose my good will for your own honour, seeing that so many princes know how I have done for you, and have never failed to the king my son nor you. Wherefore, if this be your pleasure, let me wite (*know*) it, and I shall do the best I may for myself, while that I may find a better time. But I shall be continually in great fear for the king my son's person, as I shall gar (*make*) it be well known; and ye shall know, my lord and eosin, hereafter, that it is and shall be in my power to do good and honour to you and this realm, if I were well treated, and one truer than me ye shall never find, and have so evil a reward as I. I think also that for the good part that I have kept to the French king, that I should not be thus treated; as I will ask if it be his pleasure. For, my lord, ye said to me that he commanded you to do for me and to treat me well; which had been to his honour and yours. It is foree that I speak for myself, when I am put from the thing that I love best in the world; as God knows, who give you better counsel for the good of the king, and your own honour!"

The parliament began at the same time to show a greater jealousy of Albany's leaning to France, and they were so eager to get rid of the French auxiliaries, that they insisted on their putting to sea at that inclement season. The consequence was that some of the transports were wrecked among the western isles, and that many of their crews perished. This was the more mortifying to Albany, as he was still at war with England, and he despised the Scottish soldiery. The English had made no hostile retaliation upon the Scots, yet, when a truce was demanded, it was refused for reasons which are very distinctly stated in a letter from the all powerful minister Wolsey to the earl of Surrey on this occasion. "First," says the cardinal, "it is to be considered and remembered by his

highness and his council, that in all writings and intimations made unto the Scots in this time of the wars, it hath been plainly declared and shown unto them for a final and resolute answer, that the king's grace, who maketh war into that country not for any displeasure of the young king, but to compel those which favour the duke and the French faction, suspect unto the life of the said young king, to abandon the same, would never grant unto them any truce or peace, unless the said duke were first expelled and removed from the governance of the said young king's person and realm. Which thing, by your answer now lately made unto the queen of Scots' former letters, was again largely confirmed; by means whereof, as it is thought, the said duke, who, having up his army, supposed with a visage to have had his truce at his pleasure, was clearly disappointed of his purpose, and, contrary to his hope, thinking the truce once attained, to have returned with glory, was compelled to recule and fly with shame. Wherefore, if the king's highness should now, contrary to the former plain answers made, consent unto a truce with Scotland, the said duke remaining in the same as governor, it might be thought that either his grace were fatigate and wearied by the Scots, or else not able longer to continue the wars in justifying his firm resolution and answer oft times made to them, as is aforesaid." Another reason stated by Wolsey for declining the truce was, "what commodity might be given unto the said duke, a truce so attained, to convey with him into France the young king, or to do some other notable act sounding to his danger or destruction, and to the king's dishonour; and semblably (*seemingly*) what hindrance may ensue unto him, lacking the truce, he being in universal hatred and indignation of the people of Scotland, is facile and easy to be considered. Wherefore, the premises with many other things concerning the same well pondered and remembered, the king's resolution and determination in nowise is, that by this means or fashion any truce or abstinence of war shall be granted or taken with Scotland, nor that it shall be thought, either by them or any other, that the king's highness would be glad or inclinable to send his lieutenant, or any other noblemen or commissioners, to meet by way of a diet to be kept in any place within his realm or without, for treaty to be made with the said Scots. But, in

case they, expelling the duke of Albany from the said governance, shall fortune, in the name of the said king, being once established in his authority royal, and the queen, with consent of the lords of Scotland, to send unto the king's highness an honourable embassy, or at the least some good personage, to require or desire truce, peace, or abstinence of war, his highness, finding once his young nephew out of danger and peril of the said duke, and the Scots inclined and disposed to live in good rest, tranquillity, and love with England, shall make unto them such benign and gracious answer as shall be for their weal, and as they shall have cause to be contented therewith."

It is clear that, however little foundation there might be for such a belief, the English party in Scotland did believe that their king's life was not safe in the hands of the duke of Albany, and that they were strongly influenced by it in their actions. Surrey expresses his alarm on this occasion in a letter to Wolsey, dated on the 2nd of December:—"Undoubtedly, after my opinion," he says, "the said duke will shortly depart into France, and it is to be feared that he will take the young king with him; and, if he do not, I think he shall be, ere long, poisoned and destroyed; the which to be hindered and provided for hath been as much done as can be devised." It was indeed one of the chief reasons of the duke of Albany for calling together the parliament then sitting, that he might obtain their licence to repair to France to consult with the French king. We learn from the active correspondence of the English ministers and their agents, which are our principal authority for the events of this time, the unwillingness of the Scots to let the regent depart. Dacre writes to Wolsey from Morpeth, on the morning of the 27th of December, that when "the duke of Albany was at the point of his departure from Scotland; so it was, the said duke's ships were already decked, lying at Dumbarton, and himself all in readiness, and his gear packed and trussed, to go away; and in his going he appointed with the lords of Scotland to have a council in Stirling for licence to depart, thinking that he should have no stop thereby; and so, when all the said lords were gathered and set in council there, he desired licence to pass into France for five months, and desired also that they would not condescend to take peace with England without comprehension of France.

And the said lords made the bishop of Aberdeen attorney to speak for them all. Which bishop, in open audience, made answer to the said duke, saying that they would give him no licence to pass, and if he would pass without their licence, he should be clearly exempted from all his authority in Scotland; and besides, that he should not depart until such time as he had delivered into the king's hands the castles of Dunbar and Dumbarton, wherein he had put Frenchmen, and all the ordnance and artillery of Scotland. Whereupon the said duke, being in a marvellous great anger and foam, sore against his will is stopped, and so at this time doth not depart, as I am credibly informed." Daere adds, "I am surely ascertained, as well by divers my spies, as also by some great men of Scotland that know much of the said duke's counsel, that he will not remain in Scotland, for neither his heart nor his mind is there; and so he tarries for nothing, but only unto such time as he may, by his false and feigned persuasions, induce the lords of Scotland to give him licence to depart, which licence he trusts yet to obtain of them, for because that heretofore they have not been accustomed to stiek long at one point. And for that purpose his ships, wherein he purposes to pass away, lie yet at Dumbarton, ready crossed for sailing, when as the said duke shall come to them."

At the beginning of January, the regent made more direct proposals for a truce, but was met with a scornful denial, and the English garrisons on the border were immediately employed in petty excursions into Scotland. Albany, meanwhile, was passing his time chiefly at Glasgow and Dumbarton, in readiness to sail suddenly, from which he appears to have been restrained by the urgent representations of Francis I., who no doubt foresaw in the departure of the regent at this moment, the overthrow of the French party in Scotland. Early in February the regent had again taken up his residence in Edinburgh, where he was pressing his demand on the Scottish estates for license to depart, but he met the same unwillingness on their part. It was not until the end of May that Albany at last obtained his leave, and his last transactions in Scotland are related with much minuteness in two letters from lord Daere to cardinal Wolsey. In the last day, written from Whittingham on the last day of May, 1524, Daere gives the fol-

lowing account of the duke's last consultation with the Scottish lords. "My lord, please it your grace to know, that this present hour I am advertized by my secret espial out of Scotland, that the lords of the same continuing together all Whitsun week in Edinburgh, were in the Tolbooth of the same, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday last past, in council, and there the duke of Albany demanded of them by his writing certain things articularly (*in articles*), as your grace may perceive by them, with the lord's answers ensuing: that is to say—

"First, the said duke desired three months license of the king and lords, to the intent in that time he might depart into France and return into Scotland again for certain considerations moving the king and weal of Scotland, specially for the making of provision for the defence and sustaining for the wars anent and against the king's highness our sovereign lord and his realm, and to know what the French king's part should be to the supply of Scotland; and to that effect desired a commission with servants of the king to pass with him into France for his answer, good counsel, and supply to be had and known towards Scotland.

"The lords answered saying it was not time now for him to remove forth of the realm, remembering the great damages that the realm and poor subjects had sustained in his absence past, and considering that towards the king and realm were apparent great wars, and also, as they were advertized, the realm by all likelihood would in short time be preserved by our sovereign lord and his realm, and seeing the king now at nonage, and he having governance of his realm, it were not his honour to be absent from the defence of it. He answered and said he had such secret business to do with the French king concerning the same, that he must needs in his own person speak with him. The lords hearing the same, granted him the said license with a commission to one master David Beton, a clerk, and a herald, to depart with him into France; which three persons are delivered with power and departed with him accordingly.

"Secondly, the duke desired the band that was made in Rouen by the bishop of Dunkeld, the secretary, and the bishop of Ross, to be kept by the king and the lords to the French king, and no peace to be

taken with this realm of England during the time of his license, and further in his absence, without the advice of the French king and him.

"The lords answered that the band made in Rouen they were contented should be kept, so that the French king would in the mean season keep the band made to the king of Scots; and in likewise the lords of Scotland are contented to continue the war during his license, and further, until they had the French king's advice, except that the king's highness our sovereign lord by his main power in the mean season furnished to invade and pursue Scotland, which Scotland were not able to resist, that then he being absent, of force they must need take peace with our said sovereign and his realm.

"Thirdly, the duke desired the queen and the lords to hold the king in the castle of Stirling and bounds devised for him before, till his return into Scotland again, binding the queen neither to confederate with the king's highness our said sovereign lord nor to consent to peace.

"To the which desires the queen denied him in a part, saying if he yode (*went*) away she must needs do for herself; and in likewise the lords said, promising to do their best to cause him keep in, so far as they might solicit him.

"Fourthly, the duke desired that Gressolles, a Frenchman, his servant, might remain in Scotland as treasurer of the same, having the authority of his office whilst his return again into Scotland, and nothing to be done or consented unto in any great matters until they had his advice.

"The lords answered saying, what servant soever he pleased to leave them should be welcome, but they thought not such a man meet for that office.

"Fifthly, the duke desired that the queen should be obeyed in all her rights.

"The lords answered and said, the pleasure and service that they might do should be at her commandment.

"Sixthly and last of all, the duke desired to have and borrow of the lords forty thousand crowns of the sun,* to furnish him certain wages, and for the furnishing of his ships, and he to deliver the same again to the merchants of Scotland in the town of Dieppe.

"The lords made answer hereunto, they

could not make him any such sum of money; and said, if he would remain with them to the supplying of the wars, they should war with him their bodies and goods.

"Whereupon the said duke having all the lords afore him on Friday last past, took leave of them and rode that night to Linlithgow; on Saturday to Stirling, and there remained Sunday, taking his leave of the king and queen; and determined to be in Glasgow yesterday, and this Tuesday to Dumbarton, where as he will take ship, if the wind will serve him. Immediately after he be entered ship, and sailed out of sight from Dumbarton, I am promised to be surely and diligently advertised thereof; and if there be any return of him, your grace shall be certified accordingly."

Dacre's second letter was written from Hexham, on the eleventh of June. "My lord," he says, "please it your grace to be ascertained, according to my former advertisements made unto your grace, of the duke of Albany's departure out of Scotland, so it was at his said departure the lords of Scotland and he did not agree very well; for his intent and purpose was to have gone with a certain number unto the isle of Man, and had victualled his ships and made all other provisions for the same accordingly. And when it came to the point of his departing, all those that had promised to go with him sat down and refused the journey. Albeit, of truth, the lords of Scotland are straightly bound and sworn to stiek still at the said duke's opinion and the league of France unto the last day of August next coming, at which day he hath promised to return into Scotland; and, if he fail thereof, he shall be clearly exempted from all his authority in Scotland. And I am surely informed that the said lords of Scotland will keep their promise to the said duke, and nothing do contrary to the same for the time, except it be by force and compulsion. Albeit I am in likewise informed, and verily trust, that if it so fortune that the said duke break his promise, and come not again at his appointed day, the said lords and council of Scotland will not only leave his ways, and exclude him clearly from all his authority which he hath in Scotland, but also seemably (*seemingly*) provide so that they may have peace with the king's highness by their own means; and give over all bands, leagues, and promises that are confirmed between

* Crowns of the sun, *ecus du soleil*, so named from the mint-mark of a sun, were first coined by Louis XI.

them and the French king. Wherefore, seeing that the said lords of Scotland will not make pursuit to the king's highness for peace or truce now in the duke's absence, without it be for a surcease of war to be taken betwixt the wardens upon the borders for a season (which is only for their and the duke's commodity), right necessary and requisite it is that the king's highness and your grace devise a substantial order what is best to be done for their annoyance now in the most commodious time of the year; for, according as I have declared to your grace in my former writings, it is but small exploit that I can do with the number of men that lie now here in garrison, remembering how the borders of Scotland have been continually destroyed since the wars began, so that there is no rode that can be made upon the said borders with so small a number to the king's honour. Howbeit I assure your grace, for it that we might do, I have holden them in quick occupation, making of excursions continually. And for proof that the frontiers of the borders of Scotland are in a manner destroyed, now lately the eighth day of this present month, sir William Eure, lieutenant of the middle marches, accompanied with one thousand men and more, made a journey into Scotland, and did very well, and seized and brought away above eight hundred neat, with many horses and other cattle, as sheep and goats to a great number, and much insight (*household furniture*), which I assure your grace they did fetch sixteen miles within the ground of Scotland. And in like wise my son, my brother sir Christopher Dacre (accompanied with a part of the west marches), the same time made another journey into Scotland, and there seized and got nigh upon a thousand neat, and much other cattle, which they did fetch twenty miles within the ground of Scotland. And so your grace may perceive that it is little that we can do but only keep the borders from excursions, though the king's highness be at great charge; seeing that little or nothing is left upon the frontiers of Scotland, without it be part of old houses, whereof the

thatch and coverings are taken away, by reason whereof they cannot be burnt, as my lord treasurer can show your grace. And therefore, under correction of your grace, if it be the king's pleasure and yours (as I trust it is), that sharp war be made upon Scotland, provision must be made for the same now in time; and not only the number of five or six thousand men to be put in readiness as nigh hand the borders as may be conveniently, to come forward at divers times when they shall be called upon, for making of certain great rodes, and alway, after a great rode made, to have wages for that time only and to depart, and return to an order as they shall be called upon; but also ordnance and horses to draw the same, with all other necessities thereunto belonging, to be made ready accordingly. For surely, to drive the time as we do, living in defense (*on the defensive*), and doing but small hurt to the king's enemies, it is nothing to the honour of his highness, and far less to his profit, as your grace may well perceive. And if the king's highness and your grace will not take this order, or other like order, for oppressing of the said Scots, then (under your grace's correction) best it is that a surcease of war be taken by the wardens for a season, which I am sure the lords of Scotland will specially desire, because it is for their own commodity, and after that, I trust, the chancellor of Scotland (with whom the duke hath left his whole authority) would be contented to meet at the borders any honourable person that the king's highness and your grace would appoint, for to commune and speak of peace and tranquillity to be had between these two realms, whereunto he hath always alleged that he is right well affectionate and minded. And if a surcease of war were taken, whereby that the borders of Scotland might be replenished, and the estates of the realm get profit (which they now lack), percase they should find it so sweet, that they would be well advised ere they brake again, either for the pleasure of the French king, the duke of Albany, or of any other."

CHAPTER IV.

JAMES V. ASSUMES THE GOVERNMENT; RETURN OF THE EARL OF ANGUS; OVERTHROW OF THE FRENCH FACTION; THE QUEEN'S DIVORCE.

THE departure of the regent was the signal for a revolution which entirely changed the prospects of Scotland. The king had now entered his thirteenth year, and displayed intelligence and energy beyond his years, and the queen, alarmed at the late attempt to separate her from her son, seems, in conjunction with some of her more intimate friends, to have conceived the design of playing him off against the regent. On a fair examination of the evidence which has descended to us, we can have little doubt that this plot was planned before the departure of the regent, that it was begun and carried through with considerable rapidity, and that it was quite independent of the plans of the English monarch. The monks and friars appear in the ages of the papal supremacy to have been the great political intriguers, spies, and informers, and it was one of these who crossed the border and gave the first secret intimation of this plan to sir William Bulmer, one of the English captains of the marches, who was in command of Norham castle, on the 24th day of May, a week before the duke sailed for France. The same day Bulmer wrote to Wolsey, giving to the all-powerful minister the following account of this visit:—"There came an observant, the father of the observant friars of Jedworth, and desired of me that he might come over and say the word of God in your church of Norham; and so he came over, and preached, and made a good sermon. But yet I suppose it was not his errand, for he seemed desirous to have communication with me; and the effect thereof was, that if I thought that the king's highness would do for his nephew the king of Scots. And I answered him, as methought the king's highness had done very much for him, but whether the Scots king did consider it, or were of 'obedite' to consider it, or not, I know not. And the said observant said, the king did consider it, and could consider as much as was possible to be considered of any person being of his age; with many great praises that he gave unto his king, saying unto me that, if it pleased the king's highness to write a letter to his nephew the king of Scots, that,

if he took upon him to rule himself and his realm, he would be good unto him and to them that took his part, the said observant trusts that he would upon the same take upon him to rule both himself and his realm. And I asked the said observant, if it pleased the king's highness to write a letter to his nephew the king of Scots, whether the Scots queen might know it, yea or nay. And he said, nay, for she and the duke was all one. And I asked him whether he durst take upon him to convey the said letter, or not. And he said, yea, he would take upon his conscience to do that thing which might be for the weal of his prince and his realm. And so, if it please the king's highness, and your grace, for to write to the young king, I trust he will convey it; for I suppose it was his errand." It appears by the sequel of the correspondence that the English king wrote a letter accordingly, which was dated from Greenwich, on the 12th of June, of which the observant friar undertook the conveyance, and by him, through the intermediation of another person, it was accordingly conveyed to the young king's hands.

It appears by this communication with the English court, that the project was first started independently of the queen, and there are reasons for believing that it originated, at least partly, with the earl of Arran. The queen was, however, soon made a party to it, and she embraced the design with the utmost eagerness. On the 26th of June, a messenger from the queen reached Norham with a letter from the queen to her brother, which it was earnestly requested might be sent forward with the utmost haste, and in dispatching them to Wolsey, Bulmer informed the minister that the queen was about "to meet certain lords in Galloway by the way of pilgrimage in secret manner, which lords she trusted would take the king her son's part and her's, and with the help of the king's highness would set her son at liberty." In a letter subsequent to this, the queen urges her brother for speedy assistance in the design. "Also, dearest brother the king," she said, "I beseech your grace to remember well upon my last writings sent to your grace, and to make

not long delay in helping of the king my son to put him to freedom and out of danger of his enemies; for now is the time; for your grace shall understand that there is many lords well minded to the same, and will be better, so that they may have your assistance and help, whereof your grace puts me in good belief, saying that the duke of Norfolk shall be here right shortly with your mind and pleasure, whom to you bid me give credence. Wherefore I beseech your grace to do substantially and kindly, so that this realm may have cause to do for you, and leave other ways; and do your grace the contrary, the king my son will be the longer from his liberty, and his person in danger."

It appears that when the young king received his uncle's letter, he was so overjoyed with the prospect of liberation from the restraint in which he had been held, that it was not without much persuasion that his mother prevailed upon him to wait patiently a few days. In the meanwhile, Margaret had taken into her confidence the chancellor, archbishop Beaton, and in a secret interview with this able but crafty minister, he had promised at least to connive at the execution of the plot, provided that she would agree to a further delay of a few days. The duke of Norfolk, who was at Lincoln, on his way to Scotland, wrote a letter from Lincoln on the 28th of July, to Wolsey, in which he expressed his apprehensions that the duplicity of the chancellor and the delay might overthrow the queen's plans. "After my poor mind," he said, "by this time either the king is at liberty, or else the chancellor with fair words hath blinded the queen, and hath put her from about the young king, and put sure custody about him, or else taken him away, and sent him further off from Edinburgh; which I doubt right much, for the said chancellor is very crafty and subtle." It is evident that the English government entirely approved of the queen's plan, for in the conclusion of the same letter, the duke of Norfolk says, "If it might stand with your grace's pleasure that I might incontinent (*immediately*) go to Newcastle without tarrying at York, I think such as would take part with the king's coming forth should be the more bolder, knowing me to be so near to help, if need were. And also I should be much nearer them, daily to advertize them what I thought best to be done. And now the iron is hot,

it is time to strike." But a long letter from Wolsey to Norfolk, written on the 1st of August, shows us more fully the light in which the matter was viewed by the English monarch and his crafty minister. It was evident that the chancellor Beaton was hesitating, and calculating the prospect of success, and the extent of the advantages which he might derive from it, and it was his unwillingness to appear in it that had hindered the plot from being put in execution sooner. The English monarch still entertained doubts of his sincerity, and Norfolk, who seems to have been in communication with him on the subject, is told by Wolsey to "exhort the said chancellor, that if he mind the weal and surety of the king his master, and the good of peace, he in nowise use further delay or tract of time in the said erection; considering that now it may be done, and the king's effectual assistance with men and money to concur with them against all those that would attempt anything to the contrary. To which purpose also expedient it is, that both you and my lord Daere, of new, write unto the queen of Scots, animating and encouraging her, without further delay or abiding time of any ceremonies, which be things devised only to put over the time till either the duke of Albany should arrive, or the said young king might be brought unto more sure and straight custody, to take forth the said king, and to put him to his own rule and governance. In doing whereof ye shall offer unto her all assistance possible, granting unto her or other such sums of money, as by your wisdom and discretion ye shall think good, to attest and win them unto her devotion for this purpose, though it amount in the whole to the sum of one or two thousand pound or more. And in declaration of the premises ye shall put the said queen in remembrance, what peril and extreme danger not only the king her son, but also she which so far hath laboured and enterprized this matter in the duke of Albany's absence, should stand in, in case by this her delay, which she might have remedied if she had suffered the said young king come out when he was minded so to do, the duke of Albany should arrive in that realm before the said erection was fully perfected and finished." Money was at the same time directed to be sent to the young king, to the queen, and to the earl of Arran, and, in reply to an application of the queen and her friends to that effect,

Norfolk was assured that the English king "liked very well the device of appointment of two hundred persons to be in a guard about the said young king's person, of such trusty and elect folks as he shall think good, by the advice of the queen his mother; and is pleased and contented that, of such money as ye have there, ye take order for the payment of them at the king's charges, deputing some trusty clerk for that purpose; being the thing which shall in such wise strengthen him, that having such a band about him, there shall not be in Scotland that dare attempt (the said king once erected) to enterprise anything to the contrary."

At the date of this letter, the revolution so anxiously looked forward to by the English court had been completed. On the 26th of July, queen Margaret, having gained over the lords who had the custody of the young king, suddenly left Stirling with her son and a small retinue, in which were the earls of Arran, Lennox, Crawford, and other nobles, and proceeding direct to Edinburgh, they were there received amid the joyful acclamations of the populace. They proceeded at once to the palace of Holyrood, where a council was held, at which the king was declared of age, and a proclamation was issued in his name. He then formally assumed the government, and the peers present took the oath of allegiance. On the 30th of July, the queen and many of the bishops and lords signed a paper binding themselves in allegiance to king James, revoking their promises to the duke of Albany, and renouncing his authority as regent. The news of this event was received in England with the utmost joy, and, in accordance with the queen's desire, a guard of two hundred men-at-arms was immediately sent for the security of the young king. Presents in money were sent to the queen, and to the earl of Angus, who, she acknowledged, had been her chief support in effecting this sudden revolution. A parliament was called, which met in August, and confirmed everything that had been done. Almost the only opposition came from the chancellor archbishop Beaton, and Gawin Dunbar bishop of Aberdeen, who refused to renounce their allegiance to the duke of Albany until after the 31st of August, when he had promised to return. But Albany's friends in Scotland were now few, and the two prelates, who found little support, were committed to prison, but they

ultimately made their peace with the new government, and the archbishop added his signature to the bond of allegiance to king James.

When we peruse the documents relating to these events, we cannot help feeling astonished at the selfishness displayed by all the actors in them. The lords who supported Margaret were influenced by the least worthy of all motives, the prospect of gifts of money and pensions from England, and in a letter written not many days afterwards, she declared that she put no faith in any of them but the earl of Arran. The queen herself was equally insincere in her professions to her brother; who, on his side, only supported her because he believed that her plot would effect more directly than any other plan, the establishment of his political influence in Scotland; but he was embarrassed at the same time by a previous intrigue of his own, by which he aimed at the same ultimate result. When the earl of Angus retired into England on the return of the duke of Albany from France, he entered into a sort of compromise with the regent, by which he went into voluntary exile in France, on condition that his estates should not be confiscated. In that country he had been attentively watching the progress of events at home, and taking lessons in the art of intrigue, to be put in practice when the occasion should at length offer itself. After the return of Albany from his fruitless expedition to the English border, Henry's ministers, guided by constant reports of the decline of the regent's popularity, imagined that the Scottish earl might be brought forward against him with advantage, and intimations were made to him in France, that he would be well received at the English court. Angus accepted the invitation with eagerness, and the earl and his brother, William Douglas, arrived in England apparently towards the end of June, 1524, and were entertained at the expense of the king of England. Early in July the earl appears to have been sent on to the border, to watch his opportunity of entering Scotland. When queen Margaret received the first intelligence of the return of the earl, she was exceedingly troubled and indignant, and she concluded a warm remonstrance to the king her brother, dated on the 14th of July, with the strong declaration, "Dearest brother, please your grace, touching my lord of Angus coming here, I would beseech

your grace to be well advised in the same, as I have written of before; and as touching to my part, if he will put hand to my gown-ruff, I will not be contented therewith, for I have but right sober thing to find myself with, and have shown your grace that divers times, and got but little remedy. Wherefore, now, an I be troubled with my lord of Angus, it is your grace that doth it, and then I will be constrained to seek other help; for I will not let him trouble me in my living, as he hath done in times past." This high-spirited letter is signed somewhat inappropriately, "your humble sister, Margaret."

When Henry and his ministers were convinced of the determination of Margaret not to consent to the return of her husband, they saw that under the present circumstances it was their interest to conciliate and support her, and they resolved to retain the earl as long as they could in England, which was no easy matter, for he was anxious to proceed in all haste to Scotland. He, however, remained for some time with lord Daere, corresponding secretly with his friends in Scotland, and continually urging for permission to join them. A long letter of instructions, written by cardinal Wolsey to the duke of Norfolk, on the 1st of August, when Angus was on the border, displays, in an extraordinary manner, the crooked and treacherous policy of that powerful minister. It appears that the chancellor Beaton had been invited to a meeting, or diet, as it was called, with Angus and Norfolk, which the Scots were led to suppose was for the purpose of treating of peace between the two kingdoms; but Wolsey states without scruple in this letter, that it was a mere bait to entrap the chancellor, who then appeared to be the main obstacle to the king's designs. "It was done," says Wolsey, "only to the intent under that colour to have intercepted the said chancellor by means of the earl of Angus, whereby he, with all his adherents, should the more easily have been induced or compelled to condescend to the erection of their king, and the extinction of the duke of Albany's government; being the principal things which the king's highness goeth about, touching the affairs of Scotland." It proved, however, "that the said chancellor, either percase suspecting the danger of such interception, or otherwise, was not minded to come himself unto the said diet." Thus the first unworthy plot in

which Angus was to be employed came to nothing. "And thus, my lord," continues the minister, "I send you no safe-conducts for the chancellor or other; for if the chancellor will come, in which case the king's mind is that ye set forth the practise for his interception, it were not convenient he should have a safe conduct, but to be trained by other dulce and fair means thereunto."

Wolsey and his royal master distrusted the queen all this time, and suspected the sincerity of her professions of devotion to the English interest, and the wily minister's advice to the duke of Norfolk is singularly characteristic. "And, my lord," says he, "albeit the king and I think good that the queen of Scots is to be used, as most propice and convenient instrument in this matter, by all good ways possible, pretending that nothing shall be wrought but only by her means; nevertheless, so to be used that all shall depend upon her proceeding and doing, it were perilous and dangerous. Wherefore, expedient it shall be, that practise be set forth by her hands, and yet not neglected by others; to the intent that that thing which cannot be attained by her means, may be brought to effect by some other ways. For it is no folly for a good archer to have two strings to his bow, especially where as one is made of threads wrought by women's fingers. In which case I refer you to your instructions, and such other politic ways as by your wisdom, with the advice of the lord Dacre and the earl of Angus, shall be thought convenient; foreseeing always that haste and diligence be used in this behalf, lest that the duke of Albany shall arrive there before the execution thereof; immixing always your certificates and communications with dread of raising of the king's army, and in the mean time of treating this matter, causing some actual exploits to be done, which may be to their dread and terror; whereby it is thought ye shall the sooner induce them to the king's intended purpose. And whereas the queen in no wise would that the earl of Angus should have any intermeddle herein, or enter into Scotland, pretending thereby that such as now favour her party and be contented with the erection of the young king should fall from her and the said king, turning to other ways, which might be to the impeachment thereof; in this matter you ought to have a great circumspection, lest that those which favour the duke of Albany, not minding the

said erection, shall make semblance to the queen that they mind the same effectually, so that the earl of Angus do not enter Scotland, nor intermeddle therewith, by the means whereof keeping him out, they shall abuse the queen, be in the more strength, and treat the said erection at their pleasure, without any resistance; whereas, if the said earl of Angus should put his hand thereunto, with his friends, adherents, and partakers, the contrary party should be more afraid to gainsay or withstand the said erection. Wherefore a vigilant eye and regard is to be had hereunto accordingly, and the matter so to be handled, that the earl of Angus be not discouraged, or think that the king hath any mistrust in him." At the conclusion of the same letter, in reference to further and favourable communication from the queen of Scots, Wolsey adds, "Finally, touching the earl of Angus, ye may of new assure the said king and queen, that the king's grace will nothing attempt or do, by him or his means, but as the said queen will herself have done, nor his grace ever bare any favour to the said earl, but for their sakes. For his highness more esteemeth the least thing that may sound to the honour and contentation of the said young king and queen, than twenty times the earl of Angus. Wherefore she shall not need to doubt anything in that matter, but that it shall be ordered according to her own will, mind, and pleasure, and as she shall think or desire."

At this moment the revolution so anxiously desired had been effected by the queen and her friends, in such a manner, that it became more necessary to keep back the earl of Angus for a short time. This was done under various pretences, and at the same time an attempt was made to bring about a reconciliation between the queen and her husband, but this Margaret resolutely refused, and she became more anxious to keep Angus away. The English ministers, therefore, found it now necessary to appease her in this point, and she was assured that no further steps should be taken in the matter, and means were taken to keep Angus quiet.

No sooner had the new government in Scotland been established in apparent security, than the queen, in announcing her success to Wolsey, intimated her wish for establishing peace between the two kingdoms, with a proposal for a marriage between the young king and Henry's only daughter Mary.

These proposals were favourably accepted, and a short truce was immediately agreed to for the purpose of facilitating the negotiations. Both the peace and the marriage seem to have been approved by the Scottish parliament, which met in the autumn, but the kingdom was still full of intrigues, and the queen's own imprudent conduct was rapidly destroying her personal influence. She had become enamoured of Henry Stuart, the second son of lord Evandale, and to him, an inexperienced young man, she had entrusted the important office of treasurer, and soon after that of chancellor. Her behaviour disgusted most of the nobles who had joined with her in liberating the king; while the English minister, who saw that her anxiety to keep Angus away from Scotland was in no small degree prompted by this new passion, began to be offended at her violent and peremptory language, and at her greedy demands for money. The queen and Arran had, moreover, already entered into communication with the king of France, who accepted the new state of things, and warned them against permitting the earl of Angus to return into Scotland. On the other hand, the lords of the English party began to fall off from the queen and the earl of Arran, and to wish for the return of the Douglasses, whose name was still popular in Scotland; while the queen seemed inclined to join with the party who had hitherto supported the duke of Albany and the French interest.

Warned and provoked by these various symptoms, king Henry and his minister Wolsey determined to detain the earl of Angus no longer, and at the same time to hasten the departure of the two English ambassadors, Dr. Magnus, a man known for his diplomatic abilities, and a gentleman of the privy chamber named Roger Ratcliffe, whose mission had been announced soon after the "erection" of the king, as it was termed. In the middle of September, Wolsey wrote to the queen, again recommending a reconciliation with Angus, representing that he might be made of good service in Scotland, and that the king had no just reason to detain him in England, and that he was at a loss for further excuses to prolong his stay; and the same day he wrote to Norfolk, announcing that the two ambassadors were on their way to the border. In reply, Norfolk states that he had learnt from Scotland that "the grudge was universal against the queen, as well for that

she took so much upon herself, and was only ruled by the earl of Arran and Henry Stuart, and did little by the advice of the noblemen, as also for her ungodly living, and for keeping the earl of Angus out of the realm, unto whom more than the half of the realm would come incontinent to take his part, if he were once there." The English ministers still hesitated. On one hand they feared that, if Angus returned suddenly, the queen and the earl of Arran might liberate archbishop Beaton, who was still in custody, and join openly with the party of Albany and the French, which might thus become too strong for Angus to cope with, and Wolsey again attempted, before dismissing Angus, to get possession of the archbishop as a hostage, by persuading the queen to remove him to Berwick as a place of security. In this, however, he failed, and the queen became more and more estranged from the English interests.

Meanwhile the earl of Angus had returned from the border to the English court, where he had been retained under various pretexts. At length it was determined that he should be sent to Scotland, preparatory to which, on the 4th of October, he entered into a bond with the English king, and signed a series of articles of agreement, by which he bound himself entirely to the English interests. Some intimation of Angus's speedy return having been carried into Scotland, the queen and Arran joined in an energetic protest, threatening that they would neither send ambassadors to England, nor give safe conduct to Dr. Magnus and his colleague, who were waiting for them at Newcastle. The English ministers again temporized; Angus was retained by the duke of Norfolk at Newcastle; and it was determined that he should not be suffered to depart, until the English ambassadors had reached Edinburgh, and tried by their verbal explanations and persuasions to change the queen's resolution.

At length, on the 29th of October, the English ambassadors arrived in Edinburgh, and their letters give us an interesting picture of the Scottish court. The ambassadors were kept three days waiting, until some of the nobles who were absent returned to court, and during this unexpected delay the earl of Angus had entered Scotland before the ambassadors were allowed the opportunity of breaking the matter to the queen. At length, on the 1st of November, the feast of All-Hallows, they were invited

to an audience. "The same day, afore mass," they say in their letter to Wolsey, "we came to the court at Holyrood House, and there we delivered our first letters both to the king's grace and the queen's grace, and according to our instructions showed our credence openly afore a great number of noblemen, both spiritual and temporal; amongst other the archbishop of St. Andrews and the bishop of Aberdeen being present, both at liberty now, as your grace knoweth, whereof we doubt not; and the earl of Arran absent, as is said, because he would not be here at our coming. The king our master's letters with our credence were right joyously accepted, as well of the young king as of the queen's grace his mother, and of all others, as far as we can perceive; and forthwith the trumpets and shamulles' did sound and blow up most pleasantly; and so the king and the queen his mother passed to mass to the abbey church, and we both ordered in our going with the best. In the mass time the young king, with his master, was a good season occupied, as it appeared, to his most singular comfort, in looking upon the king our master's letters, so lovingly and in so cheerful manner, that in our opinions, though he were the king our master's own son, we could not have thought he should have done more. And forasmuch as there was a great number, both of the lords spiritual and temporal, we devised that they were assembled into an oratory or chapel there; and delivered to them the king's most honourable letters, and showed unto them our credence, according to our instructions. Which they received and heard at large right thankfully, and forthwith showed the effect of the same to the queen's grace, which was much to her comfort.

"And," continue the ambassadors, "because we had privy word that the earl of Angus was come into Scotland, we devised, for the better obtaining of the queen's gracious favour, to present her grace with such things at the first as were most pleasant. And immediately after that we had dined at our own lodging, we brought to the king his coat of rich cloth of gold, and the sword sent by the king's highness our master. Whereof both the queen's grace his mother and his grace were so glad, that forthwith it was put upon his said grace, as meet as was possible, and so he did wear the same all that afternoon in the sight of the people; saying openly, 'Ye may see how

well my good uncle doth remember me with many things, and yet I was never able to do his grace any pleasure.' After this, finding the said queen's grace very pleasantly disposed, we first made your loving recommendations to her grace, showing how good, gracious, and how assuredly your grace is determined towards her and all her causes; and then touched three things contained in the last instructions sent unto us, that is to wit: first, the king our master's answer to the thanks that the queen's grace gave to his highness for his great charge, cost, and kindness shown to the young king her son and to her grace; secondly, the king's mind for the continuance of the guard; and thirdly, touching sending of the ambassadors; wherein her grace is and will be of as good mind as we can desire. And upon this point I, Thomas Magnus, secretly having her grace sworn unto me not to disclose the thing that I would show unto her said grace, declared what was the king's high pleasure and purpose touching marriage to be between the young king of Scots and my lady princess. This matter shown, with other circumstancees to allect her grace to our purpose, and that her grace should not only be the authoress of the peace, but the highest advancer of the commonweal that ever was in Scotland, her grace was right joyous thereof, and thereupon did wholly put the young king her son and her grace to be at the king our master's order and high pleasure, showing that, as fast as she could, her grace would set forth the ambassadors."

In the midst of this private interview, while everything went to the satisfaction of the ambassadors, and they had not yet ventured to allude to the subject most difficult of arrangement, intelligence suddenly arrived which seriously disconcerted them. "Even upon this communication had between the said queen's grace and us, alone in her privy chamber, one came suddenly knocking at the chamber door, saying he must speak with her grace in all haste. And so he did; and as it appeared by her countenance, and as it was of truth, the hasty tidings were, that the earl of Angus was come into Scotland. At this time for awhile we had some business with her grace, and first her said grace disclosed the matter unto us, and forthwith we confessed the same, showing it was not possible to be the contrary, and that the king our master with honour could

not nor might retain him against his mind; foreseeing he escaped from out of France, and came to the king's grace our said master for succour; and so, specially for her sake, he was received, and had much honour and pleasure done unto him, with great gifts, neither the king's highness nor your grace being privy nor having any manner knowledge of her displeasure towards the said earl of Angus, neither that there was a grudge between him and the earl of Arran; and that as soon as the king's highness and your grace had perceiving of these displeasures, albeit the said earl of Angus had his leave and license to depart, and was at Berwick homeward, the king's grace our master, by your discreet advice and counsel, to his charge, sent for the said earl again, to his great pain to go so far southwards; albeit also the king our master and your grace did find the said earl loyal, true, and faithful to the king his master, being also minded to do unto the said queen's grace the most humble service he can, with the pleasure and honour to be shown by him to the same possible; yet the said earl, for performance of these promises, and to make a whole party against the duke of Albany, if he attempt to arrive in Scotland, and that he shall not come into the queen's presence, nor intromit, nor meddle with anything appertaining to her grace, but at her pleasure, is so straightly bounden, that, if he alter or transgress any part of the said bond, it shall be too sore for him to bear or answer unto. And over this, as truth is, we showed to the queen, that if the said earl offend, upon monition given by us to the contrary, the queen should have the body and life of the said earl in her own hands at her pleasure. Wherewith, and with the showing of his goodly personage, and like demeanour, and how well the king's highness and your grace, and the noblemen of England, do commend his stature and manners, added thereunto that the said earl is far altered sithence his departure from out of Scotland; her grace began roundly to incline, saying these words, 'God forbid that my lord of Angus, being so noble a man of this realm as he is, should be in any such danger for my sake!' showing to us also that, inasmuch as the said earl of Arran did take a good part with her grace in the erecting of the young king, her said grace therefore would full fain there should be some good

way of agreement taken between them. Wherein she said, though yet she could not be familiar with the said earl of Angus, remembering the displeasures that he hath done to her said grace, yet she would follow our counsels in that matter; and hath promised to send for the said earl of Arran to come hither unto us; and in like manner we will send to the earl of Angus to stay him upon his own lands, till he shall know further of our minds."

It would seem by the report of the ambassadors, that the queen was at this time ruled by the counsel of Arran and others who were personally hostile to Angus, and although in this interview she had shown an inclination to yield to the representations of the English envoys, the latter had scarcely finished their letter, when they were summoned to another audience, and they found that her temper had undergone a complete change. She declared, threateningly, that "now she would make her friends, and would see for herself, trusting the king her son should be sufficient to maintain her and her causes against the earl of Angus." Immediately afterwards, having refused to read Angus's letter, containing the humblest promises of allegiance and obedience, she ordered letters to be directed to him and his brother William, forbidding the former to ride abroad with more than forty horses in his company, and ordering the latter to quit immediately the abbey of Coldingham. Dr. Magnus wrote in haste to Angus, advising him to pay obedience to the queen's commands, but the earl knew now that the greater part of the Scottish nobility, disgusted with Margaret's government, were ready to join with him, and if he did profess moderation and forbearance, it was only as a cover to his ultimate designs. A complication of mysterious intrigues was now carried on, in the midst of which the queen's bearing was often imperious in an extraordinary degree, while she never continued for any length of time in the same mind, except in her hostility to the earl of Angus, and with the utmost greediness in obtaining money under any pretext from her brother, she was evidently throwing herself into the arms of the remains of the extreme French party. Ambassadors were to have been sent to England to treat of peace, at the time that Magnus and Ratcliffe went to Scotland, but these were now held back, and at times Margaret threatened that they should not be sent at all, and she even tried to force away Magnus

and his colleague. These, however, remained at their post, confounded by the spirit of turbulence and anarchy which prevailed around them, and intent, as far as we can gather from their correspondence, upon one object, that of establishing the English party in Scotland by procuring a reconciliation between the queen and the lords, who were disgusted at the influence of her favourites. "Without doubt," writes Magnus on the third of November, "the most part of Scotland, as far as we can understand, be glad of the coming in of the earl of Angus, and right few do speak against the same, but only a small sort about the said queen's grace, as the said Harry Stuart, and some other his companions."

The extreme selfishness of the queen, as well as her dissolute life, had indeed alienated from her the greater part of the kingdom, and she was only hindered from seeing the powerful coalition which was forming against her by wilful blindness. The archbishop of St. Andrews and the bishop of Aberdeen had been set at liberty, a grace which they were said to have obtained by bribing Henry Stuart, and these two crafty politicians held themselves apart, watching the course of events. The archbishop suddenly professed a great attachment to the English interests, and entered into an apparently confidential communication with Henry's ambassadors, while, in the middle of November, the queen, after having for some time treated them with coldness, suddenly became more friendly towards them. "Now," they say in a dispatch written on the 15th of that month, "all things proceed more pleasantly than they did afore, by reason of our poor suits most humbly made to the queen's grace, little touching any matter for this time contrarious to her pleasure; insomuch that the queen's said grace hath had us forth to solace with the king's grace, here, at Leith, and in the fields, and to see his said grace stir his horses, and run with a spear, amongst his other lords and servants, at a glove. And also, by the queen's procuring, we have seen his said grace use himself otherwise pleasantly, both in singing and dancing, and showing familiarity amongst his lords. All which his princely acts and doings be so excellent for his age, not yet of thirteen years till Easter next, that in our opinions it is not possible they should be amended. And much more it is to our comfort to see and conceive that, in person-

age, favour, and countenance, and in all other his proceedings, his grace resembleth very much to the king's highness our master. And over this his said grace hath, with the most pleasant and most loving countenance, showed unto us both, that much it pleaseth his grace to see and hear of the good manners of England, and much it displeaseth him to see his subjects to exercise or use the fashions and manners of France; and we being present saw and heard his said grace reprove one of his own servants for the same cause." The queen had at this time two causes for conciliating her brother; she wanted money, and was more and more terrified at the threatening coalition of the Scottish lords; and she accordingly hurried forward the departure of her ambassadors, and talked again of a permanent peace and of the marriage of the Scottish king with an English princess.

But a few days after the date last mentioned, the lords of Angus's party made what appears to have been an unexpected demonstration. About four o'clock in the morning, Angus, with the earl of Lennox, the master of Kilmaus, and the laird of Buccleugh, accompanied with divers other gentlemen, scaled the walls of Edinburgh, and then opened the gates of the town and let in their followers to the number of four hundred. The citizens appear not to have offered the slightest opposition. When they came to the cross by St. Giles's church, they caused a proclamation to be read, stating that they were come as the king's faithful subjects to serve his grace, intending no hurt or displeasure to any person, and commanding that all their company should pay well and truly for everything they took. The two earls and their friends then proceeded to the lords who were met in council, who were the archbishop of St. Andrews, the earl of Argyle, the bishop of Aberdeen, the bishop of Dunkeld, the abbot of Holyrood, the abbot of Cambuskenneth, and others, several of whom were known to be favourable to Angus. It has been supposed that the crafty archbishop Beaton was not ignorant of this attempt, but that he had secretly promoted it as a trial of Angus's abilities and prudence. The two earls then stated to the lords of the council that divers precepts had been directed unto them in the king's name, containing divers commandments on pain of treason, which were contrary to their deserts, and proceeded from the personal hatred of those who had

possession of the king's person. They said further, that as long as such counsellors should have any rule, they would go about to destroy and put down the nobility of the realm, and they therefore required the said lords of the council that they would take into their own hands the rule and guiding of the said young king, "for the weal of the realm and of all the noblemen of the same." They concluded by asserting that they were true and faithful servants to their king, and desired no authority, but to be received as barons of the realm, as their ancestors had been before them; and that the cause of their coming was to declare this their mind to the noblemen of the council, without doing any further displeasure to any one.

It was thereupon determined in the council that the bishop of Aberdeen and the abbot of Cambuskenneth should proceed to the abbey of Holyrood to communicate with the queen. "And we," say the English ambassadors, "were specially instanced (*pressed*) by the lords, because we were Englishmen, and supposed therefore to be better heard than Scotchmen, that we would go with them to move her, that, where her grace had straightly commanded guns to be shot from out of the castle into the town, for beating forth of the said noblemen and their company, that a sparing thereof might be had for a season, to the intent that in the mean time some good order might be devised in avoiding such danger and hurts as might ensue, as well to the town and the inhabitants thereof, as to the said noblemen and their company. At our coming to the abbey, there were divers lords with four or five hundred men in harness, and did set forth before the outer gates such small guns as they had, hagbuts and others, showing that they would set upon the said two earls and their company. And, as soon as we were come thither, the queen sent for the said bishop of Aberdeen and the said abbot of Cambuskenneth, and commanded us twain by message right roundly to depart home to our lodging, and not to meddle with any Scottish matters; and so we did. And in the mean time a gun was shot out of the castle, and killed two merchant-men, a priest, and a woman. All this day the said two earls, having many friends in the town, did take their pleasures in the same, and would not suffer anything to come, go, or pass, but at their wills. And albeit, there were divers noblemen between

whom and these there was deadly feuds, yet the said earls and their company did no displeasure unto them. Thus they continued till four of the clock at afternoon, and then upon the king's commandment given unto them to avoid, they departed to Dalkeith. Immediately after that they were gone, the queen's grace, taking with her the young king her son, departed in the evening by torch-light from the abbey to the castle, and there continueth; all the lords being also departed from hence, but only the earl of Murray, fully of the French faction, and newly come into favour of the queen's said grace."

Such is the minute account of this affair given by the English ambassadors. It appears that archbishop Beaton was satisfied with the earl's conduct, as he began from this moment to side more openly with his party: The queen, shut up with a few unpopular friends in the castle of Edinburgh, was obstinate in resisting the demands of the lords, and, although she was at the same time receiving money from France as well as from England, and was talking of the marriage of her son to both, now attempted to gain further advances from her brother, by flattering him with proposals for peace, and professions of anxiety that the marriage with England should be pressed forward. But she was no longer trusted by any party, and the English ministers became more and more convinced that it was their interest to support the party of the lords. Even the earl of Arran began to show an inclination to join the other lords against her. On the 22nd of September, Magnus wrote to Wolsey, "immediately upon the making of this letter, I have had communication with divers sad, wise, and expert personages, by whom I understand, and some part otherwise I hear and see, that the lords, both spiritual and temporal, for want of justice and good order in this realm, be likely to join all together for the most part in one opinion, for the better ordering of the king's grace here, and of this his realm. The queen's grace hath had, and daily hath, monitions of these matters, but her grace hath some special way by herself that she trusteth singularly unto, and else I doubt, in conclusion, her grace will be disappointed." Margaret still pressed the English ministers for money, urged them to assist her against the lords who were joining against her, and tried still to flatter them by expressions of anxiety for

the conclusion of the peace, and for the marriage of the king of Scots with the princess of England.

On the 9th of January the English ambassador announced that "the said earl of Arran, calling to remembrance the good service that he hath done to the erection of the young king, and that he seeth now by the means of Harry Stuart, that the earl of Murray, all of the French faction, with his adherents, is more accepted into favour and counsel than he is, grudgeth and is not content, and said unto me of late, that rather than the young king should come into the danger of Frenchmen, he would pass with him into England; and, if in anywise he should see the queen's grace incline to any like matter, he would give up all kindness and promises by him made to her grace." Magnus then goes on to say, "This realm is marvellously divided, so as hard it is to know to whom the king's highness and your grace should most assuredly trust. The queen is counselled by such as are more inclined to the devotion of France than of England, and continually without reason she will be calling upon the king's highness for money. The archbishop of St. Andrews, with his band, is not a little suspect, by occasion of the repairing of Frenchmen unto him, and for their long continuing at St. Andrews, and the good cheer he made unto them, with other considerations afore specified. And as to the lords temporal, there is much division amongst them; and unless it be the earl of Arran, they are all poor and of little substance in goods. Here is no justice in this realm, but continual murders, theft, and robbery." In the sequel, Magnus recommends to Wolsey, "that my lord of Arran should have a loving letter from the king's highness, of thanks for his good persevering with his faithful service and assistance to the king his master, and for the good mind he beareth to keep the said king from out of the Frenchmen's danger, and especially that he is so well inclined to a perpetual peace to be had between England and Scotland. Surely there is in the said earl neither high cruelty nor great malice, and yet he is strong of men and of good substance in goods, and liveth in order and policy, above all other here, most like to the English manner. He is noted some deal variant, especially as he shall be moved by sir James Hamilton, his son, one of the best undertakers that I mark here; and

yet the said earl doth not vary from the matter afore rehearsed, but, both between him and me, and in open presence, keepeth the same opinion; and so doth the said sir James." It appears that Arran, with all his power and wealth, was no more inaccessible to a bribe than his fellow peers. "Under the correction of your grace," the ambassador concludes, "I think it should do well, that the same earl should have a reward. He had nothing since my coming hither. And if he were remembered both with a letter and some money, it would cause him to do the better service."

The storm was now rapidly gathering. In the course of January, 1525, the lords of the council were summoned to Edinburgh to hear the report of the earl of Cassillis on his return from his embassy to the court of Henry VIII. But they met at St. Andrews under the direction of archbishop Beaton, and put in writing a demand to the queen that an assurance should be made for two months between the earls of Arran, Eglintoun, Angus, and Lennox; that a writing should be subscribed by the king and queen promising that no one coming to Edinburgh should be arrested, attached, or otherwise molested, and that the prelates of St. Andrews and Aberdeen, with the earls of Arran and Argyle, should be appointed to assist the queen; that the king should be removed from the castle to the abbey; that no footmen should be hired or had in wages, and that no artillery should be shot from the castle; and, lastly, that pledges should be given for the performance of all these points. These demands met with a refusal, and the lords agreed to meet at Stirling on the sixth of February, "well furnished with spears and fensible gear as appertaineth," to use the words of their summonses.

The meeting at Stirling was immediately forbidden by a proclamation in the king's name, charging the archbishop of St. Andrews, the bishop of Aberdeen, and the prior of St. Andrews, with treasonable designs and practices, "with Archibald earl of Angus, John earl of Lennox, Walter Scott of Banxhame, knight, and other broken men, their complices, favourers, and assisters," and with having "lately drawn and persuaded to their evil, perverse, and treasonable opinion, our trusty cousin and counsellor Colin earl of Argyle, with divers other great men our true lieges," and denouncing against them the heaviest penal-

ties. The lords immediately issued a counter-proclamation, declaring the miserable state of the realm through the ill-government of a small party who held the king's person in their hands, and their intention of proceeding at once to effect a reformation; they announced their determination to hold the meeting at Stirling in spite of all opposition, called upon all true lieges to assist and concur with them, and declared that they would pay attention to no letters given under the signet or privy seal during the king's minority, unless they were authorized by the council appointed by the three estates. At this time Dr. Magnus stated the general opinion "that no great number of men would hold fast and surely to the queen's party, albeit the king's person were present; but that the taking away of the young king from the queen's grace would be in jeopardy, and more likely to be done than otherwise. For there are right few men that will fight against the said lords on the other party, as is said, but rather it is thought that much more people will favour and fall to the said lords than to the queen's party."

On the sixth of February, according to their announcement, the lords assembled in great force at Stirling. There were the archbishop of St. Andrews, the bishop of Aberdeen, "with sundry other bishops," the earls of Angus, Argyle, Lennox, and others, and a large body of inferior barons. After various messages had passed between them and the court, without any satisfactory result, the lords marched with their whole strength to Dalkeith on the ninth, under pretence that their proximity to the capital would facilitate their intercommunications. Margaret showed her usual spirit, and wished the nobles who were in attendance on her person, including the earls of Arran, Murray, Eglintoun, and Cassillis, to march out and give battle to the others; but they refused, unless the king went out with them in person. In this the queen no doubt suspected treachery, and she declared that the king should not leave the castle. Surrounded with difficulties, Margaret agreed to refer all disputes with the earl of Angus to the arbitration of the lords of both parties. "Whereupon," says Magnus, to whom we owe the most minute account of these transactions, "her grace sent for me; and, after much communication, some part pleasant, and some part to the contrary, it was not possible she should be better

mind and inclined, than she was at that time, to accept the earl of Angus to her gracious favour, for the better relief of her causes in controversy. Notwithstanding, the morrow after, all was turned to the contrary, both concerning the promise made to the said lords, and the communication had between the queen's grace and me, as is aforesaid, with such manner and words as I think not convenient to be written."

After further wrangling between the two parties, a deputation from each met to arrange some terms of agreement, but when the lords of the queen's party returned to the castle, Margaret had changed her mind again, and refused to ratify what they had done. In the midst of these attempts at negotiation, the citizens of Edinburgh suddenly turned against the queen, and, to use the words of Magnus, an eye-witness, they "sent word to the lords that they should come thither and be welcome unto them, and forthwith set their gates open, being afore sparred, and nightly kept with watch and ward. And soon after midnight (on Sunday the twelfth of February) the earl of Angus and the earl of Lennox came into their town with six or seven hundred men, all at their pleasures, and so did take their lodgings, and went to their rest. The residue of their men, as is said to the number of two thousand, remained with the bishops, earls, and others the lords at Dalkeith, the same men being for the most part, as is reported, landed men of good honesty, and household men, well chosen and well horsed. Yesterday [Monday] against night, the said lords and other their company aforesaid came hither, and lodged themselves in this town [Edinburgh], and nigh thereunto as they may without the danger of gun shot from out of the castle, and intend to keep the parliament [which had been called for the fifteenth of February], for the weal of the young king and of this his realm, and as far as in any way I can conceive, for a peace to be between England and Scotland."

The queen had now but a small force in the castle, and those were mostly well-affected towards the lords, and she felt that her only hope lay in effecting a compromise. Under these circumstances she applied again to Dr. Magnus. "In the mean time," writes that diplomatist to Wolsey, "the queen's grace sent unto me a right good and an honest priest, her steward, and by him desired me to speak with the

earl of Angus, showing, as her grace had done afore, if she might be put in surety to enjoy the authority granted unto her said grace in the parliament last holden here, without diminution thereof, she would accept him into her gracious favour. Whereupon I had communication with the said earl, and found him right reducible, and well inclined to the queen's pleasure; and right so I advertized the queen's said grace by her said steward; by whom after again the said queen sent unto me a ring, requiring me by the said token to proceed in the message afore sent unto me. And so I did, and at large commenced therein with the said earl of Angus, who by the advices of the archbishop of St. Andrew's and the bishop of Aberdeen, besought the said queen's grace to put her pleasure in writing, and she should have a reasonable answer by the consent of the lords. With this message I went to the queen's grace at the castle; and, as well as I could, I gave her said grace my poor advice in these troublous and cumbersome causes. After this her said grace sent unto me a letter by her said steward, directed to the lords, containing her mind to be shown unto them; which letter, in the best manner I could, I delivered to the said lords the 17th day of this month, and received an answer thereunto from the said lords. Thus I, without help but myself, continued in suit between these great parties, from the 12th day of this month to the 17th day of the same; which day, about noon, I received the king's most honourable letters, with your gracious letters also, and other directed to the queen's grace, and the king's letters addressed to the archbishop of St. Andrews and to other the lords; which I delivered with some business (*trouble*), by occasion that the coming hither of sir Christopher Dacre's servant with the same letters was known by the watch kept daily and nightly both about the town and castle, and that also both the said parties were suspicious one upon another, especially for such tidings and news as should come from the king's highness and your grace. Yet nevertheless I passed through with good manner, first to the queen's grace, and then to the lords. The queen's said grace accepteth in reasonable good part the king's said letters and yours; but the lords received the king's letters in the most joyous manner, with lowly thanks to his highness, that so graciously, so indifferently (*impartially*), and

in so pleasant a manner, had them in his blessed remembrance; which I assure your grace is highly esteemed, to the comfort of the greatest part of all the noble, wise, richest and hardiest men of this realm. The said 17th day the earls of Cassillis and Eglintoun came from out of the castle, upon assurance, to speak and commune with the lords in the town, and by their means and such other further suit, assurance was granted to all the lords in the castle to come also into the town to commune of all causes without any assurance required or demanded on the other party. Thus, by means of the king's most gracious letters and yours, the good minds of the lords well-inclined to good unity and concord, and some part of my poor soliciting and labouring, there is a concord and agreement between the queen's grace and other the lords, concluded yesterday the 21st day of this said month."

The final proposals of the lords, to which Margaret found herself under the necessity of acceding, placed the custody of the king's person in the hands of the queen and a certain number of the lords, to be chosen by the three estates, who formed a council of which the queen was the head. This council was virtually vested with the government of the realm. The king was to be removed from the castle, and to reside at Holyrood house. The earl of Angus bound himself in a separate article not to interfere under colour of being her husband in any way with the queen's person, goods, or lands. This bond, however, was limited to a certain period, because it was understood that within that time the queen was to obtain a divorce.

The English party had now obtained the whole power of the kingdom, and all difficulties that had been thrown in the way of a peace between the two kingdoms seemed removed. But in the very letter in which Magnus announced the conclusion of this treaty, he expressed his doubts of the queen's sincerity, and mentioned that Margaret had already shown some symptoms of the instability of temper and purpose which had already produced so many evils. Indeed, while she was professing her satisfaction at the new arrangements, she had dispatched a secret messenger to the duke of Albany, to announce her devotion to him and the French.

According to the agreement with the lords, the queen brought the king out of the

castle on the 23rd of February, and having first presented him to the parliament, proceeded thence, in procession, to Holyrood house, the earl of Angus carrying the crown, the earl of Arran the sceptre, and the earl of Argyle the sword, "and so after, one with another, fell in further favour and good familiarity; and by means of friends, with little suit, the said earls of Angus and Arran were right well accorded and agreed, in such wise and manner as I suppose they will not break again; albeit the queen's grace be not greatly pleased therewith." The parliament then proceeded to choose the lords who were to form the government, and their choice fell upon the archbishop of St. Andrews, the archbishop of Glasgow, the bishop of Aberdeen, the bishop of Dunblane, and the earls of Angus, Arran, Argyle, and Lennox. The matters of most importance which now occupied the attention of the Scottish parliament were the peace with England, and the marriage of the young king with the princess Mary, and in spite of the professions of the men now in power, of friendship for England and hostility to France, the English ambassador Magnus confesses that he found more obstacles to contend with than he could possibly have foreseen. The ambassador's own position in Scotland began also to be unpleasant, for, while some looked upon him as a mere mischief-maker, and as one who rejoiced in their dissensions, those to whose favour he more particularly addressed himself became more self-important from the circumstance that they were the object of solicitude to so powerful a monarch as the king of England. Magnus, therefore, pressed for his recall, "for," says he, "oft I am in suspicion and some danger, and spend the king's money and mine own in right large manner, and do none otherwise prevail in the cause of my coming hither, but as your said grace doth conceive. Some persons say, 'This Englishman doth no good amongst us, and hath no care though one of us beat down another; for we would be of the same mind and opinion if we were in England.' Other there are also, that by occasion of my long continuance here making reasonable suit, be therefore more haughty and high in their opinions, thinking and also speaking many simple words, as if the king's highness were right nude and bare of friends, and glad therefore to set so much by their favours."

All these appearances gave great offence to king Henry and his minister, and pro-







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